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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

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Volume XXVII

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The
KANSAS HISTORICAL
Quarterly



CENTENNIAL ISSUE SPRING 1961

Published by KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY *Topeka*

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Correspondence concerning articles for the *Quarterly* should be addressed to the managing editor. The Society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Second-class postage has been paid at Topeka, Kan.

THE COVER

Samuel J. Reader's water color of his first log cabin at Indianola (Shawnee county), in June, 1855. The picture represents the typical "Home, Sweet Home" of many who were settling in Kansas about the time statehood was achieved 100 years ago.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXVII

Spring, 1961

Number 1

When Kansas Became a State

CLOUDS were looming ominously over the not so United States in January, 1861. After 85 years the Union seemed on the verge of dissolution over the vexing question of slavery. Saber rattling Southern senators did nothing to alleviate the situation and men with nerves frayed raw continued to jump at one another in the halls of congress over this ideological problem which had existed longer than the nation itself.

In Kansas the immediate future seemed likely to be as gloomy as the past. Not only had the territory been the scene of a six-year struggle identical to the one which would soon inflame the whole country, but hunger, poverty, and disaster still confronted her pioneers. The territory was in the midst of a severe drought which brought carload after carload of supplies from sympathetic and more fortunate friends and relatives in the East. The drought caused tight money and low employment. Despair was the lot of many a hardy soul.

Then, in the darkness of a cold January morning, came news that gladdened the heart of nearly every Kansan; the future seemed less dreary, spirits soared, and hopes were revived. Kansas had been admitted as the 34th state of the Union.

Joyful as the news was, it was not unexpected. For four years Kansans had been attempting to write a constitution under which the territory might be admitted as a state. Instruments drawn at Topeka, Lecompton, and Leavenworth had failed for various reasons—but the basic one, of course, was slavery versus freedom. A fourth constitution had been written at Wyandotte in 1859 and an admission bill introduced in congress the next year. Though the bill had passed the house of representatives, the senate's Southern bloc was able to keep it buried. In December the Kansas bill was brought up in the second session and in January, 1861, after the senators of seceding states had begun to withdraw, it finally was passed by both houses. President James Buchanan signed the bill into law on January 29.

Overanxious Topeka editors began to announce admission after

the bill passed the senate on January 21. The *Topeka Tribune*, January 26, 1861, stated:

KANSAS A STATE.

From the following dispatch to the *Leavenworth Times*, it will [be] seen that our hopes have at last been realized, and Kansas admitted, a bright, new ★, to adorn the glorious constellation:

ST. LOUIS, Jan. 21, 11 P. M.

J. K. BARTLETT:—The Kansas Bill passed the Senate with Fitch's amendment, relating to Judiciary, by a vote of 36 to 16.

McKEE & FISHBACK.

There is no doubt at all as to the success of the Bill in the House.

Gov. Robinson can now call together our State law-makers, lubricate the wheels of government and "we'll all take a ride."

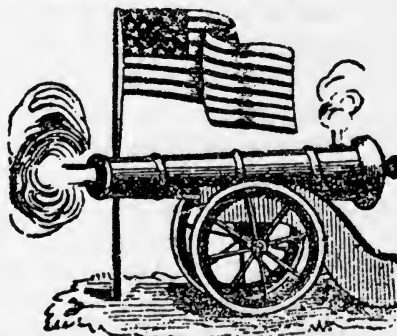
"In Dixie Land we'll take our stand—"

Further rejoicing deferred until next week.

The *Topeka State Record* carried the news on the same date in a column headlined "Kansas Admitted."

A second and more general round of rejoicing was had within the territory after the Kansas bill passed the house on January 28. The first to announce the news this time was the *Leavenworth Conservative*, established only two days before. A telegram announcing house passage was sent by Kansas Congressional Delegate Marcus J. Parrott to Abel Carter Wilder, chairman of the Republican central committee for Kansas whose brother, Daniel Webster Wilder, was editor of the *Conservative*. So it was that within an hour, by four o'clock in the morning of January 29, 1861, this newcomer to the Kansas journalistic scene had scooped all its established contemporaries. Unfortunately no copies of that famous *Conservative* extra are known to exist. The next regular edition of the paper, however, perpetuated its feat:

KANSAS IN THE UNION!!



WE WILL FIGHT FOR THE UNION.

The news of the admission of Kansas, announced by THE CONSERVATIVE yesterday—and *only* by THE CONSERVATIVE, no other paper in Kansas having the news—was the most important that ever reached our borders. . . .

KANSAS ADMITTED! RECEPTION OF THE NEWS!

Yesterday morning, THE CONSERVATIVE, in an extra, announced to the people of Leavenworth the long-wished for and glorious tidings of the passage of the Kansas Bill. The news flew like wild-fire. Men seemed to forget all other considerations, and to unite heart and hand in giving expression to the universal joy. At every corner might be seen throngs of enthusiastic people giving vent in cheers to the general gladness. At an early hour a large number of the members of the bar waited on Chief Justice [Thomas] Ewing and Judge [William C.] McDowell, with their congratulations, and spent with them an hour of unwonted hilarity. About noon, old Kickapoo [historic cannon now in the museum of the Kansas State Historical Society], in the presence of a joyous crowd, sent forth, in thunder tones, a greeting to the now sister State of Missouri. The day was given up to general rejoicing. Those who entertain the singular notion that the people of Kansas didn't want to be admitted, would have been startled by the demonstrations of yesterday. Then hurra for the STATE OF KANSAS! Our days of probation have been long and tedious, but we believe the future, upon which we are about entering, will amply compensate for the dangers and toils of the past. . . .

Col. Slough, Lieut. Gov. Slough, (if he had been elected), was seen yesterday in company with one of the Democratic candidates for the Supreme Court, consulting in regard to the possible chance of getting a new count of the votes for State officers under the Wyandot Constitution. It is needless to remark that the *quasi* Judge was one Stinson.

THE STATE TREASURER.

The State Treasurer elect was seen shortly after the admission news was received, seated on the ammunition chest of the Kickapoo cannon. An impression having gained credit that the State treasure (and some Territorial bonds) was contained in the chest, a demonstration was made by certain State officers elect to capture the cannon, chest and treasure, with a view of distributing the contents as advance salaries. The timely rescue of the Treasurer and cannon by the Shields' Guards, headed by their valiant Captain, prevented the improper use of the public funds. This illustrates the necessity of an efficient military organization.

SINGULAR EFFECTS OF THE ADMISSION NEWS.

An eminent member of the Judiciary of this State, and a General (?) under the Territorial military organization, were seen on the Upper Esplanade within fifteen minutes after the news was received, in the act of *standing on their heads*. What does this mean? Is there a secret organization among us?

EFFECTS OF ADMISSION.

We have great respect for the proverb, "There is a time for all things," &c. We were pained to notice yesterday, several gentlemen in high social standing, gentlemen who do or will hold, by the suffrages of their countrymen, high official positions under the new State, walking (or attempting to) the streets of our city in a state of inebriety.—This is sad indeed.

LET US REJOICE!

Now that Kansas is admitted, let us all take heart—hope on and hope ever. Let us forget border wars, drouth, and hard times. A new era is to be inaugurated, and those who have undergone the privations of the pioneer, may

date from this a cessation of terrors, uncertainties and privations, and look confidently for the time when they shall reap their reward.

With the fairest land and sky in (what we hope may yet prove) our united and glorious Union, who can predict the future wealth, prosperity and grandeur of this, our free State of Kansas?

LET US ALL REJOICE!

In the troubles of Kansas was created that great party which, at the last national election, gave to the nation a President. Our position, as the battle ground upon which the new slavery issue was fought, gave us a prominence for which subsequent events developed our fitness. Upon us—a new people—emigrants, and soldiers of fortune all, was precipitated the most momentous question which has ever yet agitated the American people. We met the issue. The history of Kansas, even now, stands prominent in the annals of the nation. To rehearse the story of the struggle between slavery and freedom in this Territory, would be but to recount a story familiar to the whole civilized world. Now is not the time or place for such a history.

The election of Lincoln, glorious as was the triumph, was, in our estimation, far less important and decisive than the admission of Kansas. Against our devoted people have been arrayed the whole force of the slavery power. The ingenuity of the pro slavery partisans has been exerted to its utmost to prevent the recognized expression of the will of the Free State people of Kansas. Every resource having been exhausted, the persistent, manly efforts, and the godlike courage of our people have at last prevailed, and the glorious reward, so gallantly earned, has been doled out to us with an unwilling hand. Yet we accept the boon—accept it gratefully, and hasten to take our place as a free State in the glorious Confederacy. Knowing, as we do, the resources of our State, and the courage and endurance of our people, we feel that this accession will go far to fill the gap made by the seceding States.

Our people have an abiding love for, and a loving faith and confidence in, the Union.—This love and faith has been bred in the bone—it has stood the test of desertion, and even oppression; but is as strong and confident as ever. For them, we send greeting to the sister States, and if ever the time should come when the Union and the Constitution should call for defenders, we pledge the faith and the strong arm of that gallant people, who, for the institutions they loved, have heretofore trod the wine-press of oppression, and come out unscathed in honor from the trial.

Then, to our Republican brethren of Kansas we send one joyous greeting—to Republicans everywhere we extend the same joyous greeting. The grand culminating triumph [of] Republicanism has been achieved. Kansas has been admitted.¹

A sister Leavenworth paper, the *Herald*, took a momentarily realistic view of admission in its issue of January 30, 1861:

The rejoicing over the momentous event was quite boisterous, but by no means general. The principal participants were State officers elect and individuals who are not burthened with taxes. Could the citizens of Kansas be divested of political bias on the subject, they would soon realize that our admission places us in a situation similar to the man who bought the elephant, and impoverished himself in satisfying the capacious maw of the monster

1. The *Leavenworth Conservative*, January 30, 1861.

beast. A State government adds about four hundred thousand dollars, the first year, to our expenses, and of course must be raised in the form of additional taxes. But, the thing is done, and "it is useless to worry over spilled milk."

The editor of the Leavenworth *Daily Times*, January 30, 1861, began majestically:

The long agony is over. The dream of years is realized. Justice, tardy but ever-certain, has been meted out to this people, and this soil which [they] have chosen as their heritage is embraced within the charmed circle of a State Sovereignty, distinct and yet reciprocal. The field of blue upon our national flag is to be embellished with another star, the luster of whose orb, we predict, will vie with the fairest of the constellation. The last act of the drama which opened in blood and was continued in violence, has been enacted, and the curtain has fallen upon a happy consummation, long desired and long postponed.

We trust that our history as a State may be as brilliant as the struggles and trials of our Territorial condition have been severe and aggravated. If such shall be the case, Kansas will stand in the records of the future without a peer.

We suppose that, when official information of the admission of the State reaches the proper authorities, the functions of our Territorial officers and the present Legislature, will cease. Wishing all a safe and *speedy* return to their homes and hearths, we join them in toasting the youngest of the thirty-four.

The reference to the territorial legislature, then in session at Lawrence, was a two-pronged jibe. Kansans not only wished to see the end of that territorial body so that it could be replaced by a state legislature but also because it was charged with being peculiarly engrossed with the passage of unimportant private bills to the detriment of more substantial public needs. A Lawrence correspondent of the Atchison *Freedom's Champion*, February 2, 1861, summed things up:

The Legislature has done but very little business thus far, chiefly because there is nothing to do. Everybody has been incorporated and divorced. Every stream has its chartered bridge, every creek its ferry, every town its College and University, granted by some previous assembly; the real interests of the country have been so confounded by absurd and impertinent legislation that all hope of extrication under the present system of things is vain.

On January 30 the Lawrence correspondent of the Topeka *Tribune* wrote that the "Territorial Legislature, in point of ability, are an able body. . . . [There is] a good deal of fun in these same Honorables. Dixie is heard at all hours."²

But the most revealing description of that last territorial legislature came from the pen of the Leavenworth *Conservative's* correspondent:

2. Topeka *Tribune*, February 2, 1861.

LAWRENCE CORRESPONDENCE.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Jan. 29th, 1861.

The appearance of the messenger, bearing the "CONSERVATIVE" extra, containing the intelligence of the admission of Kansas, created a fury of excitement which can hardly be imagined, much less described. The powder mongers of Lawrence immediately started a subscription to procure the necessary materials wherewith to fulminate the long suppressed joy of the people, and as I write, the deep reverberations of the dogs of war resound from the regions beyond the turbid Kaw.

Gentlemen with no axes to grind, greeted members and officers with the broad grin of delight, making jocular pantomime with the hand to the throat, to indicate that the head was about to fall in obedience to the inevitable law of mutability. They of the third house, whose little matters were yet in suspense, shook their heads dubiously, and hoped the best was yet to come; they thought of oyster suppers and champagne, and the non superfluous expenditures to grease the ways of legislation, and grieved at empty exchequers, pockets depleted, and desire unattained. Unhappy husbands, hoping for release from hymen's hateful bonds, suffered immense facial elongation: incorporators of towns and ferries, future professors in literary and scientific institutions, grew despondent and morose. The whole social scene ranged from grave to gay, from lively to severe.

The Governor [Territorial Gov. George M. Beebe], long depressed with cares of State, seemed to greet with pleasure his prospective release from the gaudy but lonely pleasures of his high position, and to contemplate his descent to the ranks of common men, with unfeigned satisfaction.

The Exchange of the Eldridge House was vocal with a strange combination of sounds; grave and reverend Seignors adjourned to the bar and took a drink; the rooms above and below resounded with bursts of laughter and congratulation, and the throng seemed festive and jubilant, save where some forlorn Democratic officials wandered through the crowd like condemned ghosts upon the banks of the Stygian stream gazing at the fields from which they are forever excluded.

The Council unfortunately adjourned at noon until 10 o'clock to-morrow, but the House had provided for an afternoon session. With a punctuality unparalleled this session, the members were in their places at the hour, and went to work with an ardor which attested the sincerity of their convictions that their time was short. No provision had been made for the pay of the Clerks or Assistants, and the airy rhetoric of the past week had congested the calendar with the unfinished business of weeks. Behind the "Bond Swindle" as behind a dam the bills had accumulated till the pressure threatened to bear everything before it, if the obstruction once gave way.

The lobby was crowded to its utmost capacity. On the stove, on the benches, on the ledges of the windows, looking over shoulders and under arms and between heads, peered a dense mass of eager and painfully expectant faces, each hoping that by some lucky accident his pet scheme might even now be reached. The room was as tight as a bottle; not a breath of fresh air or an ounce of oxygen enlivened the horrible atmosphere; the heat was stifling, the stench overpowering; the windows reeked with a dark typhoidal moisture, and when the Speaker had called the House to order, and announced that a quorum was present, at least one half the members sprang to their feet with one hideous

yell of "MR. SPEAKER," with an unanimity as astonishing as it was deafening. Twenty hands, outstretched with sheets of rustling paper, menaced that innocent but undisturbed functionary. With smiling composure and commendable firmness, he held the reigns of control, amid what seemed to be the wreck of matter and the crash of worlds, on a small scale. . . .

LATER.—The House adjourned for an evening session, after a protracted debate.

The indications are that the night will not be very favorable for meditation or reflection. The symptoms are unusually violent. There is to be a "hop" at the Eldridge, and a gay time is anticipated.

"D--n it," said a Democratic office-holder to me to-night, with a melancholy countenance and a series of exclamations more forcible than polite, "Kansas ought not to have been admitted for ten years." B.³

The citizens of Lawrence, Kansas' Free-State headquarters, were jubilant over the victory. The Lawrence *Republican*, January 31, 1861, almost shouted:

GLORIOUS INTELLIGENCE!

KANSAS IN THE UNION!!

We have received the glorious news that Kansas is admitted into the Union! The Kansas bill passed the House with Fitch's amendment in regard to the Judiciary, yesterday. The following dispatch was sent to the Leavenworth *Conservative*:

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28, 1861.

A. C. WILDER:—The State bill, with Fitch's Judicial Amendment, has passed the House.

MARCUS J. PARROTT.

Somebody gave us a copy of the *Conservative*, and, without waiting to inquire to whom we were indebted, we hurried to the office and placed it in the hands of our printers. It was sent here by the proprietors of that paper, by express, some five hours in advance of the mail.

We hear the jubilant news vocally heralded in the streets, and the sounds of the "spirit-stirring drum" admonish us that the "immortal Stubbs" are glorifying the event. All hail! We are citizens of the United States once more—partners in "Hail Columbia," "Yankee Doodle," the stars and stripes, the Declaration of Independence, and the Fourth of July!

TUESDAY NIGHT'S JUBILEE—THE OLD SACRAMENTO.

Yesterday, when the news arrived of the admission of Kansas, our whole town was elated. Men ran from place to place proclaiming the glad tidings. Cheering and music and all manner of exultation was heard everywhere through our streets. A deputation was immediately sent to Capt. [Thomas] Bickerton's for that celebrated old piece, the Sacramento [historic cannon now preserved at the University of Kansas], and it was brought to town after dark and thirty-four guns fired at about twelve o'clock, and renewed at sunrise this morning.—The long hoped for event, the final triumph of Freedom, was achieved, and never in the history of Kansas was such exultation known amongst our people. . . .

3. Leavenworth *Conservative*, January 31, 1861.

KANSAS A STATE.

Two days ago Lawrence was electrified by the announcement of the admission of Kansas to the Union. She had been a virgin Territory so long, we feared the fate of all over-ripe maidens; but as some women, like fruit, are sweetest just before they begin to decay, Kansas, in her maturity, was more attractive than in her youth. After a long candidacy, she has formed a union—a union, too, for weal or woe with discordant and beligerent States. She will take her stand by the side of those sisters who are loyal to the Constitution, and join in their appeal to those who are disaffected, first in the gentle tones of love, and then, if need be, in the stern voice of war.

But it is not meet for us to conjure visions of terror to the bridal feast—to mingle strains of sorrow with your joyous epithalamium. Let men shout till the welkin rings; let women smile till the prairies blossom and the birds sing as though it were not winter.

A little while, and Charles Robinson assumes his official robes, with more prestige than Governor ever had since the days when Isaiah sang his psalm over young Hezekiah's accession. He goes into office elevated by the suffrages of "the wisest and the bravest and the purest people under the sun." He stands at the head of, we trust, the never ending column of Kansas Governors. After long years of suffering, under the despotism of a Democratic administration; after a long series of insults and abuses from delegated Governors, Kansas is free, and has a Chief Magistrate of her own choosing. May he be unto us all as a pillar of fire by night, and as a pillar of cloud by day.

Although Kansas is the youngest, she is by no means the weakest of the States. She has grown strong from defending herself, and from long wrestling with the Lord in prayer. She has taught Slavery to more dread her hug than the Spanish Protestant did the Maid's of the Inquisition; and when she speaks her sovereign voice, at home and in the National Senate, treason will be sicklied o'er with the pale cast of fear.

The men of Kansas are conservative, but if any people under our broad aegis have cause of irritation, they are the members of the new State. They are those whose rights have been violated, whose interests neglected, whose humanity outraged, yet they are those who most love the Union and the Constitution. If, then, we are devoted to the federal government—if, after all our abuses, we love it still, can we submit to its overthrow by men who have never felt a wrong or knew an injury? No! a hundred thousand times, no! for such is the answer of every human being in Kansas.

One year of peace and plenty will relieve our personal wants, and supply the exchequer of the State. When this is done, we go out into life under more favorable auspices than any of our sister States have ever emerged into existence—with a more beautiful country, a more prolific soil, a clearer empyrean, and a more intelligent, patriotic and courageous people.

Our State: Length of days be in her right hand, and in her left riches and honor; may her ways be ways of pleasantness, and all her paths be peace.

At Lecompton, the territorial capital and unofficial headquarters of the Proslavery faction, the news was received with resignation. On January 31, 1861, the *Lecompton Kansas National Democrat* commented:

KANSAS ADMITTED AS A STATE.

It is reported, with apparent good authority, that the Senate amendment to the Kansas bill, was agreed to in the House on Monday last. When the President signs the bill, which he undoubtedly will do, we become one of the States of the Union. Kansas comes into the Union at a critical time, *but it is all well if an end should thereby come to the political capitol manufactory called Suffering Kansas, versus the present Administration.* We hope for other good, also. . . .

In another center of Free-State activity, John A. Martin, editor of the *Atchison Freedom's Champion*, wrote the territory's obituary on February 2, 1861:

DIED.

Of Chronic Worthlessness, on the 28th ult., at his father's house in Washington, the child "K. T.," aged six years. His father was the notorious Squatter Sovereignty, and his mother the infamous Slavery Extension. The child had been an orphan for some time past, his father having been killed at the election of 1857, and his mother murdered in November last by the people headed by one A. Lincoln. Peace to his manes.

The above announcement will be read with satisfaction by the people of this particular section, but with no particular surprise, because as "K. T." had been a hopeless invalid for some time past, his sudden demise was expected. "K. T." lived a nuisance and died a pauper. He was noted for Missouri Raids and Divorce Bills; thrived on Montgomery Scares and the Drought; his jewels were the frights and furor of Williams and the frowns and foolishness of Beebe; he lived on Governors, whom he masticated without salt or pepper, and Federal Judges, whom he swallowed without a gulp; he sent Pierce into obscure retirement and Buchanan into notorious infamy; his cause murdered his god father Douglas, and quartered his god-mother, Democracy; he was the pet of Missouri and the hatred of Massachusetts; like Ishmael his hand was against every one and every one's hand was against him; he sprang into being despised and went out of life disgraced.

His place is filled by the youth, KANSAS. It is a general opinion that his successor is a good egg; keeps his nose clean; isn't ashamed to work for a living; spells colored individual with one "g;" is clothed in the Stars and Stripes and crowned with the American Bird; wears his heart on his sleeve for a friend and carries his Colt cocked for an enemy; can read the Declaration without stopping to spell the hard words and believes the Constitution doesn't mean Slavery when it says Justice; goes his pile on Major Anderson and Capt. Montgomery, and thinks Seward and Old Abe are the brains and the hub of the universe; imagines that the Pacific Railroad is a good idea and that Barnum is proprietor of the "What Is It;" would like to apply the toe of his boot to the coattails of Secession, but wouldn't disgrace himself by kicking Bigler and Pugl; thinks the Dis-unionists are fools, but knows the dough-faces are; believes New York might have continued the Empire State if Kansas hadn't been admitted; likes manliness and dispises skulking and shirking; supposes Mt. Oread to be just as sound on the goose as Bunker Hill, and Old Constitution Hall as much pumpkins as Fanieul; wears his trowsers in his boots without ostentation and sustains the rights of Humanity without fear; smokes a pipe and believes in Tom Jefferson; likes Garibaldi and hates men who believe that

government has to pay God's bill for national sins; snuffeth the battle afar off when Old Ben Wade rings out his fun words, and curls his lip with scorn when Joe Lane blows his penny whistle; never gives an insult nor takes one; has John Hickman's pluck and Potter's bowie-knife; and don't know anything that will keep him from being as big as any of 'em. That's KANSAS.

The first news of the decease of "K. T." was received on Tuesday morning from Hon. ROBERT GRAHAM, of this city, who is now in Washington. But a short time afterwards we received the following dispatch from Col. A. C. WILDER:

LEAVENWORTH, Jan. 29

JOHN A. MARTIN, Esq:—Kansas was admitted yesterday with Fitch's amendment. We fire 50 guns here to day.

A. C. WILDER.

The news spread quickly, and every face brightened with joy. Except here and there an old pro slavery Lecompton English Bill Secessionist, we did not see a man who was not rejoiced at this welcome intelligence.

One enthusiastic youth wanted us to lend him an X to get on a big drunk and treat all his friends. We had no distinct or vivid recollection of having been blessed with that amount of U. S. Currency since the Drouth set in, and so were compelled to entreat him not to treat. Another gentle but somewhat impetuous boy wanted to know whether he hadn't better cut a hole in the ice and duck a Missourian in the Missouri, and it took all our powers of persuasion to convince him that it wouldn't be right to hole a friend, but better to leave him whole. A third youth who stated that he felt as if he had been appointed Minister to Breat Grittain or the Isewich Sandlands, he didn't know which, wanted us to buy a barrel of Bager leer, so that he could get tightly slight, and hollow loud for the Conandot Wystitution, Kree Fansas, Sill Beward and Labe Linkum. We gently hinted to our enthusiastic friend that he was a barrel of Lager Beer himself, when he immediately wanted us to take a drink of him. We were forced to decline acceding to his polite request, whereupon he was suddenly seized with an exceeding decline, and informed us that he cidn't dare schether whool nept or kot, and talked in various other dead and Hottentot languages. A fourth individual wanted us to tell him whether Kansas couldn't whip Russia and throw in two or three or a dozen second rate powers to boot. We looked incredulous, whereupon he informed us that he'd take the contract at five days notice, when we came down. And so they went round. Everybody was seized with a bad attack of shake hands, and the pump handle motion was decidedly handled for two or three hours.

Truly the people of Kansas have cause for rejoicing. With them it is the realization of a six year's anxious hope; the termination of a struggle for the Freedom of Kansas commencing with the passage of the Nebraska Bill in 1854, and ending by the triumph of Free Labor in our admission as a SOVEREIGN STATE on the 28th day of January, 1861. Who, of the friends of Free Kansas; who, of the men who have helped to make her Free; who, of the people who have stood by her cause through gloom and darkness until it emerged into light and victory, could help rejoicing? Who could help huz-zahing for the FREE STATE OF KANSAS?

In Emporia, then a small frontier town which had played little part in the Free-State-Proslavery struggle, the news was received in this manner:

THE ADMISSION OF KANSAS.

The latest intelligence from Washington leaves no room for doubt that nothing but the signature of the President is wanting, to give Kansas her long-deferred rights as an independent member of the Confederacy of States, even if she has not already taken her place in the constellation, like

"Another morn,

Risen on mid-noon."

Amid the distractions of treason and rebellion, the doubts of the good, the omens of the fearful, and the mistaken concessions of the timid and wavering, this last act in our great political drama is full of consolation and hope, and has a peculiar and inspiring significance. By it the founders of the Republic have received a new vindication; their principles have been reasserted in a degenerate age, and the great constitutional fabric which they constructed has been consecrated anew to universal freedom and the progress of the race. Particularly at this period, when traitors' hands are raised against the sacred altars of the fathers; when dangerous doctrines are born in a day, and even the endeavors of the faithful are overborne in the demoralizing rush of unusual and unexpected dangers, is the spectacle presented by the people of Kansas worthy of the highest commendation. Exposed to all the seductions of tyranny—to the blandishments of power—to the threats and the arms of the despotism of Slavery, through a period the most depressing to the hopes of Freedom, the people of Kansas exhibit the heroic qualities of an adherence to the common rights of man, and the support of those rights by a resort to the peaceful defenses secured by the Constitution. If the imaginary wrongs of the South justify a resort to robbery and treason, and all the horrors of civil and fratricidal war, how much more the repeated and protracted outrages perpetrated upon the long-suffering people of this unhappy land. For this endurance of wrong, and this resistance of wrong, the world is our debtor, and history will vindicate our claims to a successful inculcation of the lesson that no force that Tyranny can employ can ever subjugate the faithful lovers of Liberty, protected by law.

Speculations for the future are premature, but not in vain. With an extent of territory larger than that of some of the most powerful governments of the ancient world; a soil whose fertility and kindness has no superior from sea to sea; a climate that gives vigor to the healthy, strength to the diseased, and affords scope for all the products of the temperate zone; a surface that gives ready access for railroads, and a frontier upon one of the great natural highways of the earth, it is not unreasonable to expect that Kansas will soon assume a prominence which every augury of the hearts of her sons fortells. She hands the torch of Freedom to the Pacific slope, and hails the day

"When not an altar can be found

Whereon her glories shall not burn!" ⁴

In White Cloud, Sol. Miller, whose acid pen almost continually cauterized the Democratic party (and anything else that invoked his ire), saw admission as an opportunity to stomp the Democrats with the Republican heel of justice. In his *Kansas Chief*, January 31, 1861, he said:

OVERREACHING.—It would be a good joke, if the Democrats in the United States Senate, in displaying their spite toward Kansas, had overreached them-

4. *Emporia News*, February 2, 1861.

selves. They kept postponing the bill week after week, from the commencement of the session; and when they did pass it, they stuck on an amendment, the object of which was to impose Judge Pettit on her citizens for life. But a number of Southern States seceded, reducing the Democratic majority in the Senate; and about the time the House accepted the Senate amendment, Louisiana went out. Her Senators have probably withdrawn ere this, leaving the Senate Republican. Now, if Buchanan signs the Kansas bill, the next move will probably be to send in the appointment of Pettit. But the Republicans will have it in their power—(and should exercise the power, just by way of retaliation for the meanness of Democracy toward Kansas)—to reject the appointment. When Lincoln goes into the White House, he can appoint a Judge who is acceptable to the people of Kansas, and the Senate, in special session, can confirm the appointment. What a good joke it would be, besides being a justifiable procedure!

Editor Miller explained the Fitch amendment:

THE KANSAS AMENDMENT.—Senator Fitch's amendment to the Kansas bill, about which we have heard so much, simply makes Kansas a Judicial District. It is supposed by many that this will insure its rejection by the House. If Republicans delay the admission of Kansas on that account, it will be in violation of the wishes of a large majority of her citizens. The amendment is by no means sufficient cause for Republicans to oppose our admission, although it would be far more agreeable without the amendment. The objection arises from the probability that John Pettit will be appointed Judge, which office he will hold for life, or during good behavior. As a politician, the people of Kansas despise Pettit; but as a jurist, members of the bar say he has but few superiors. Kansas has been kept waiting so long, that she will rejoice to get into the Union, even if the pleasure must be seasoned with Judge Pettit.

Downstream on the Missouri river from White Cloud but still in Doniphan county the editor of the *Elwood Free Press* shared the anti-Democrat sentiments of Sol. Miller. On February 2, 1861, he wrote:

THE STATE OF KANSAS.

We are pleased at being able to announce to our readers that the *FREE PRESS* is published in the State of Kansas—we have moved to America.

The House of Representatives concurred in the amendment of the Senate, and Kansas has ceased to be a Territory. We pity, from the bottom of our heart, the poor devils living in Territories! We lived in one once for four years—don't do it again.

The history of Kansas Territory, and the complications arising therefrom, will fill a large space in the history of the United States, for the years from 1854 to 1861.

Citizens of Kansas! the Democratic party opposed your admission to the last—Douglas being the only one voting for it. The South just now prating of the fulfillment of constitutional guarantees and new guarantees, voted solid, save Crittenden, against our admission. Suppose Kansas was slave instead of free, and the Republicans had so voted, or one-fourth of them, wouldn't there have been a howl from the traitors and their sympathisers North and South—

how holy would have been the horror of every "patriot" south of Mason and Dixon's line, and all Democrats and conservatives north of said line.

But we are in, and we can afford to forget and forgive. . . .

In Jefferson county the news barely made the January 30, 1861, edition of the *Oskaloosa Independent*:

HAIL! YE SOVEREIGNS!

KANSAS PROBABLY ADMITTED!

ALMOST IN THE UNION.—The Kansas admission Bill passed the Senate on the 21st inst. The vote was such as to secure our early admission, even in the event of a Presidential veto. . . .

LATEST—We learn from a private source, that a telegram was received in Leavenworth at three o'clock yesterday, (Tuesday) announcing that Kansas is admitted into the Union as a sovereign State. We have no particulars, and neither time nor space for a more extended notice this week.

The Fort Scott *Democrat*, February 2, 1861, felt that the new all-Republican state government would at least erase the excuse for more violence in Kansas:

KANSAS ADMITTED.

The Senate amendment to the Kansas admission bill passed the House on the 28th ult., and Kansas is now a State. As soon as the President's proclamation announcing the same officially, is received by Gov. Robinson, the State Government will be inaugurated; but we understand that the Legislature will not be called together before the 1st of May.

Now that we have a State Government entirely in the hands of the Republican party; our county organization under their control; and our Federal office-holders about to be appointed from their ranks, there can be no possible excuse for future outbreaks, on the ground that their enemies control the courts of justice. We have faith in the firmness and intelligence of Gov. Robinson to believe that acts of lawlessness will receive a sterner rebuke at his hands than has ever been administered by the Federal authorities.

The expenses of the State Government during the first two or three years, will be very burdensome on our people; but in the present disordered condition of our national affairs, we believe it will be for the best.

In the East the New York *Tribune* had this to say about Kansas:

The House yesterday passed the Senate bill for the admission of Kansas, which thus becomes the thirty fourth State of the Union, and the nineteenth Free State. This act not only opportunely adds to the Confederation a sound and loyal member, untainted by the pestiferous blight of Slavery, but does rightful though tardy justice to a State which has suffered for five years greater wrongs and outrages from Federal authority than all the slave States together have endured since the beginning of the Government, even if their own clamor about imaginary oppression be admitted as well founded. The present generation is too near to these events to see them in their true proportions, but in the future, in impartial history, the attempt to force slavery upon Kansas, and the violations of law, of order, and of personal and political rights,

that were perpetrated in that attempt, will rank among the most outrageous and flagrant acts of tyranny in the annals of mankind.⁵

A third series of celebrations and editorials followed President Buchanan's signing of the bill. The *Leavenworth Conservative*, however, apparently had spent its force on the second celebration for now, January 31, it merely stated:

KANSAS BILL SIGNED!

The following special dispatch came to THE CONSERVATIVE at a late hour last night:

WASHINGTON, Jan. 30.

The Kansas Bill has received the President's signature. Mr. Conway appeared on the floor of the House and was sworn in.

The *Leavenworth Herald* was somewhat more elated than it had been during the previous round. On February 1, 1861, it said:

KANSAS ALL THE WAY THROUGH.

The President signed his name to the Admission Bill, and we are now the State of Kansas. We are proud, not to say jubilant! The only question now remaining to be considered is—*when shall we secede?* Looking out upon the landscape this morning, we found the view very much the same as when Kansas was a Territory. The same old ice-blocked river—the same rolling prairies—the Fort in the distance—Pilot Knob, and South Leavenworth, all were there just as though we had not been admitted. But it was upon the people that the change was most susceptible. Some had been suddenly converted from pigmy citizens into the ponderous proportions of State Dignitaries. Judges were thick as fleas, Secretaries were visible to the naked eye. Probate Judges prevailed to some extent, and Legislators were a drug in the market. Every body is "clothed in the panoply" of freshly formed resolve—no more tobacco is to be used—no more whisky will be consumed—vice and immorality are at a heavy discount. Hurrah for the State of Kansas!

In Lawrence the territorial legislature was in a quandary. Was it still a legally constituted body? Would the laws it was passing be binding upon the state of Kansas? And perhaps more important, would the legislators be paid? A correspondent of the *Emporia News*, February 2, 1861, wrote this dispatch:

KANSAS ADMITTED!

LAWRENCE, Jan. 31, 1861.

The *Leavenworth Daily Conservative* of to-day has a special dispatch from Washington, informing us that the President has signed the bill admitting Kansas. This news creates great excitement here. Everybody's in high glee, and hurrahing for the State of Kansas.

Since the receipt of the news two days ago that the Kansas Bill, with the Senate amendment, had passed the House of Representatives, the two branches of the Territorial Legislature have been holding three sessions per day, and have rushed through a great many bills. Nearly every one of these bills, however, is of a private nature. . . .

The great question now, is whether any of the acts passed by the Territorial

5. *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, February 14, 1861.

Legislature after the President signed the Kansas bill are of any force. Beebe has said that they would receive no pay from the time we were admitted. The members generally maintain that their body is a legal one until the Governor receives official information of the fact of our admission. Both branches of the Legislature will probably adjourn to-morrow or next day.

Beebe, as an institution, is no more. May the day soon arrive when as much can be said of all Democratic appointees.

Hurrah for the State of Kansas! Long may she wave! She has come up through much tribulation, and may kind Providence grant her and her noble and freedom-loving people a prosperous future. . . .

A correspondent of the *Leavenworth Conservative*, February 2, wrote:

LAWRENCE, Jan. 31, 1861.

The Legislature dies hard. Its action to-day has been spasmodic and convulsive; it writhes under the last telegraphic announcement in *THE CONSERVATIVE*, that the President had signed the Kansas Bill. An agony of uncertain desperation has pervaded both departments, and bills have been put through under suspension of rules with very remarkable celerity. The legislation has been mostly of a private character, and by some mysterious process, the lower House has become demoralized to such an extent that about a dozen divorce bills were granted without debate. . . .

The *Lawrence Republican*, February 7, 1861, in reporting the proceedings of the legislature said: "A message was received from the Governor, with various bills which he returned without his signature, on the ground that he was unwilling to recognize them longer as a legal body." This occurred on February 1.

Kansas' last territorial legislature gasped its final breath on February 2, leaving behind a physical record of 35 pages of general laws and 68 pages of private laws. Included in the latter were 20 divorces granted. Sol. Miller wrote that the representatives of his district had reached home "looking remarkably respectable considering the crowd they associated with, and the business they were engaged in,"⁶ while the Fort Scott *Democrat* declared that the "principal object of the session seems to have [been] that of securing their per diem and mileage. . . ."⁷

Regarding admission, the *Lecompton Kansas National Democrat*, February 7, changed from its previous air of resignation to one of condescension:

KANSAS A STATE.—No one can fail to notice that the admission of Kansas as a State is producing much interest among the people of the country. Our brethren of the Republican school—including editors of Kansas journals—are all at the height of glorification. "We did it!" "we conquered!" "glory to

6. *Ibid.*, February 7, 1861.

7. February 9, 1861.

us! to us!" is sent through the host in an excellent manner. We like to see our friends happy, if the snow is deep. Our Free State Democratic friends, too, claim a share in the universal rejoicing, and are glad with a right good will. We say cheer up! right good cheer! Kansas is a state!! But we, of the leading Pro-slavery party journals—as the enthusiastic *little Atchison Champion* calls us in a late issue,—are left in the background entirely. Lecompton has failed! The Territorial Government has failed—and we, too, join in the chorus! We are glad Kansas is a State, and we want to see this young progeny of the Union wash her face, comb her hair and put on clean clothes, so that we won't be ashamed of our little State when she goes to meeting with her large, intelligent and well-dressed sisters.

And what did John Martin of the "little" *Atchison Freedom's Champion* have to say?

THE STATE OF KANSAS!

How does that look? Doesn't every one like it? Won't every one feel better when he writes it, instead of that small, petty, mean, dispicable sneaking, crawling "K. T.?" Hurrah for us, we, ourselves! Hurrah for the new Star! And three times three again for the NEW STATE OF KANSAS!!⁸

In Oskaloosa the *Independent*, which had previously mentioned admission only in a fleeting manner, developed its thought to such length that it required two issues to say all it believed necessary. The first of the articles appeared on February 6, 1861:

KANSAS A STATE.

The admission bill has received the signature of the President, and Kansas is a sovereign State, and stands on an equal footing with her sisters in the Confederacy. . . .

Kansas, though the youngest, is by no means the least important of the sisterhood of States. Her central geographical position will give her at once an influence in the councils of the nation that no other new State has ever had; and the rapid development of her natural resources, a steady and increasing growth in population, the inauguration of an efficient system of free schools, the establishment of manufactories, and the proper and judicious encouragement of internal improvements, will in a few years give her a place among the first States in the Union.

Very soon the guardians of the vital interests of the young State will be called upon to enter upon the duties assigned to their several positions. Not many weeks hence the legislature will convene to whom is entrusted weighty responsibilities. Among the first and most important business that will come before them, will be the election of two Senators to represent the people of this commonwealth in the United States Senate. It is needless to say that the wisest, most sagacious, and yet the most prudent of the prominent men of Kansas should be selected to fill these high stations of honor and trust; the good of the nation and the State alike demand that our Senators should be the best statesmen we have. We will not now suggest our preference for any individuals for the position of Senators, for we believe the combined wisdom of the State Senate and House of Representatives will elect those men who are the best qualified to fill those stations.

8. February 2, 1861.

After the election of the Senators, it devolves upon the Legislature to enact and inaugurate a thorough, liberal, yet economical system of statutory laws. While high taxation and a heavy State debt should be studiously avoided, free schools, agricultural, mechanical and manufacturing interests, and a judicious system of railroads and other internal improvements, should receive liberal encouragement from the State government. A proper disposition of the public lands should be made, for the benefit of the State, and not be disposed of in a way that will line the coffers of individuals with the gold that ought to fill the public treasury.

Possessing the advantage of the history and experience of other States that have preceded Kansas, our legislators ought to devise a system of State government, and enact a code of laws, far in advance of any of her predecessors; thus giving her an impetus to future greatness and influence unparalleled in the history of the nation.

The second *Independent* article appeared on February 13, 1861:

KANSAS A STATE.

Long before this reaches our readers they will have heard the glad intelligence that Kansas is a State in the Union. Long and unjustly kept out by the machinations of political demagogues, she has at last triumphed, and today makes the thirty-fourth State in the Confederacy, and will add the thirty-fourth star to our national banner, on and after the Fourth of July next.

Hereafter our people will have no federal governors, judges or other officers to interfere with their local affairs or throw impediments in the way of the prosperity of our State.

It is not our intention to rehearse the past grievances of Kansas; they are now matters of history, and we hope will prove a salutary lesson to generations coming after us and that their parallel will never be known in the future development of our progress as a nation. Let the past be past, and remembered only as a warning and a guide for the time to come.

We hope our Legislature will elect two good men to represent us in the United States Senate—not *mere partisans*, but men of understanding and statesman like capacities and views. They must be MEN if they can stand up with the giant intellects of that body; and we would not have our young State lowered in character by the men who stand for her good name and rights in the highest deliberative body known under the constitution. Give us two *good* men. Doubtless we have them—yes, a score of them.

Kansas now has her own future to make. Her destiny is in her own hands. If she is governed by wise counsels, she will soon rank among the first in the sisterhood of States, for her natural advantages are manifold, her resources unbounded, her climate one that will attract settlers and her soil inexhaustible.

Let her people be wise in the selection of rulers and discreet in the management of internal policy.

Emporia fired a salute to Kansas and the Union when the news came around the third time. The *News*, February 2, 1861, stated:

We have received the welcome intelligence, that Kansas is admitted. The House concurred in the Senate amendment on the 28th. The President has signed the bill, and we are now citizens of the United States. The joyful news was received here on Thursday afternoon, and soon was communicated

to all within hearing, by the booming of the "big gun." A national salute of thirty-four guns was fired—one for each State, and a "tiger" for Kansas. We have not room for extended remarks at this time, and will leave our readers to glorify over the result "in their own way."

At Manhattan the *Western Kansas Express*, February 2, 1861, said:

KANSAS A SOVEREIGN STATE!!!

OUR ADMISSION BILL SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT.

**HON M. F. CONWAY SWORN IN AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF KANSAS
IN CONGRESS!!!**

The following dispatch was sent to THE DAILY CONSERVATIVE of Leavenworth, dated Washington Jan. 30.

"The Kansas Bill has received the President's signature. Mr. Conway appeared on the floor of the House and was sworn in."

At last the great victory, for which the people of Kansas have fought so many hard battles against the slave power, suffered so many acts of injustice, at the hands of a corrupt and vindictive Administration, and submitted to so many sacrifices and privations, is won! We are a FREE and Sovereign State!! A member of the great American Union!!! A new Star in the glorious Banner of the noblest, most free and best Government in the world, the treason of Southern fire eaters, and their State Secession Ordinances to the contrary not withstanding!

Citizens of Kansas! Let us rejoice at the auspicious event! If the Union and the Constitution of our Country are now menaced with destruction by a powerful conspiracy, let us be thankful unto God, that we have been admitted into the UNION in time to co-operate in the vindication of the sanctity of its laws, by enforcing them, of the honor of its flag, by punishing those traitors, who trampled upon it, and of the inviolability of its Federal Constitution, by proclaiming it over again, if necessary, in all parts of the United States, and defending it at all hazards as the Supreme Law of the Land!! To deserve prosperity and success as a State, let us solemnly vow on the altar of our virgin Commonwealth, that we shall always be faithful to the CONSTITUTION and the UNION of our beloved Country!

The citizens of Manhattan celebrated the admission of Kansas in a quiet and orderly manner. The *Express*, February 2, 1861, described their meeting:

PUBLIC REJOICEING.

At an early hour on Friday evening Feb. 1st, the Citizens of Manhattan assembled at the City Hall, which was brilliantly illuminated, to greet the intelligence of our admission into the Federal Union as a Sovereign State, with feelings of rejoicing. The meeting was called to order by Mr. C. F. de Vivaldi [editor of the *Express*], and on motion Judge Pipher was called to the Chair, and James Humphrey appointed Secretary.

After announcing the object of the meeting, the Chair introduced the Hon. S. D. Houston, senator elect from the 4th District. Mr. Houston, enumerated a few of the advantages which we should derive from our admission, and pointed through the present gloom to a prosperous future. On retiring, Rev. Mr. Paulson was loudly called for, and on coming forward, remarked, that the long conflict between freedom and Slavery in Kansas was now forever settled.

The foul conspiracy inaugurated by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the enactment of the Kansas Nebraska dodge, to fasten on this beautiful State the dark repulsive features of Slavery had signally failed. Mr. Paulson entered into a becoming and manly vindication of the right and duty of ministers to lift up their voice against political iniquity, and severely rebuked that snivelling class of politicians, who conceive that the ministerial function and patriotism are incompatible.

The meeting was subsequently addressed by Mr. C. F. de Vivaldi, Mr. Fox, Rev. C. E. Blood and others. Three rousing cheers were then given for the new State of Kansas, after which the meeting was dismissed.

The *Topeka State Record*, one of the papers which inaugurated the first round of statehood celebrations by announcing admission after passage of the bill by the senate, seemed to be remembering that fact when on February 2, 1861, it reported:

KANSAS ADMITTED.

We are at last enabled to announce to our readers, the gratifying intelligence that Kansas is *really admitted*. . . .

THE CONSTITUTION.

As the Wyandotte Constitution is now a living instrument—the fundamental law of the State of Kansas, which all will feel a new interest in reading, we surrender much of our space this week to its re-publication. In it are embodied the hopes and aspirations of the people of Kansas. It has become their representative—the embodiment of their wisdom, and their capacity for self-government upon the National Record. Born of strife and oppression, it stands forth to vindicate its people from the aspersions of venality, of which Statesmen have accused them through a rival but hated instrument, and to demonstrate their unswerving devotion, under temptations which seldom fall to the lot of man, to the enduring principles of Free Soil, Free Labor, and Free Speech. It will stand for future time as a proud monument of the first substantial victory of the Nineteenth Century, of Freedom over Slavery, in an equal race, and will be revered by the millions who are destined, at no distant day, to people this great valley of the North American continent, as the inauguration of a new and brilliant era in American politics, when Freedom instead of Slavery will be the presiding genius of our institutions—Democracy enthroned, and man in the abstract be clothed with equality, and his higher nature acknowledged and vindicated.

The *Topeka Tribune*, February 2, 1861, followed the general line of Free-State thought but added paragraphs extolling the virtues and glorious history of the new, though supposedly temporary, capital of Kansas:

THE STATE OF KANSAS!

"ALL HAIL THOU GLORIOUS ORB!!"

LET THE OLD CANNON SPEAK.

DO RE ME FA SOL LA SI DOLL

THE KANSAS BILL.

PASSED THE SENATE—DITTO HOUSE!

SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT!

LET US ALL REJOICE!!

There is no longer any doubts to be entertained with regard to our admission. The nail is clinched. Kansas is to-day a Sovereign State of the American Union. . . .

At last, our prayer has been answered. Kansas is no longer a foot-ball for partizan demagogues and unscrupulous politicians—a bait to the whale—and no longer will her people be made to dance and fiddle to advance the cause of a corrupt, ambitious and designing class of political aspirants. We are in the Union, of the Union, for the Union; and what is more, have no thanks to return to any source for political influence or favor, without our own borders. The boon has been nobly fought for, and obtained by the merest exercise of justice—dearly paid for. Let us give praise unto-ourselves, take hope, courage, and renew our vows of devotion to our glorious country, to our adopted State and our cherished homes and hearthstones. May our dreams of coming prosperity and greatness be realized, and our future prove as glorious and peaceful as our past has been gloomy and beclouded with sorrow.

We, of TOPEKA, hail the news with a peculiar feeling of interest and pride. TOPEKA IS CAPITAL OF KANSAS. Her history is coeval with that of the Territory—with the cause of political freedom under the unhappy culminations of long continued and bitterly waged intestine partisan conflict; her name in time past has been associated with the history and struggle of the Free State cause of Kansas, and through which it has gained a celebrity second only to the name of Kansas herself. Here it was that was held, commencing upon the 19th day of September, 1855, the first Convention of the freemen of Kansas, having under consideration the question of adopting effective measures in behalf of our sovereign liberty and freedom as a people, and from whose deliberations arose majestically that fair yet formidable structure—that monument to right and justice around which so determinedly rallied the sovereigns of the soil of these beautiful prairies—the first State organization of Kansas. Here it was that was held, convening upon the 2d day of October, 1855, the Convention for the purpose of drafting a Constitution for the embryo State, and here it was that assembled, in the March following, the Legislature under its provisions, and enacted a code of laws for the government of its people. Here it was that upon the 4th day of July, '56, the same Legislature assembled pursuant to adjournment, and where, at the exact time of noon-day, in the presence of three thousand people, at the roll-calling of the members, it was dispersed at the point of the bayonet by Col. Sumner, at the head of government troops, acting under authority of President Pierce.

Topeka is to Kansas what Philadelphia, with her Continental Congress, was to the Colonies. Her name was the watchword in "times that tried men's souls," and to-day her influence, aside from considerations of policy or profit, is felt in every quiet nook and corner of the Territory. Yet she can exert an influence based upon more substantial reasons. The superiority of her natural and acquired advantages, the great and most important consideration being her nearly exact central location, secured to her the seat of government under the Wyandotte Constitution, an act of justice and wisdom not to be called in question by her veriest enemies. The town was founded in December, '54, and to-day, in point of beauty of location, of population, building, public and private, postal, express and stage arrangements, printing facilities, mercantile and manufacturing prosperity, artistic and mechanical development, general industrial pursuits, religious and educational privileges, wealth, refinement and intelligence, will compare with any city in the West. So much for Topeka.

Her civil honors can only be lost when by vote of the people of the State, a majority of all the votes cast are for another locality.

The news of admission was received by our citizens in a becoming manner. The old cannon echoed the joyful tidings to the people of the country, the whole town rejoiced and general conviviality prevailed.

Marcus Parrott arrived in Lawrence on February 8 bearing official notification to Gov.-elect Charles Robinson that Kansas had been admitted. On February 9 Caleb S. Pratt, county clerk of Douglas county, administered the oath of office to the state's first governor. Robinson's first official act was to call the legislature to meet March 26 at Topeka.

Rumors soon filtered into Kansas' new capital that the new governor would visit there on February 12 to obtain a residence for himself and to arrange for the inauguration of a state government. In a flurry of activity the residents of Topeka prepared to meet their leader—with disheartening results. The *Topeka Tribune*, February 16, 1861, told the humorous story:

TOPEKA'S LOYALTY TO THE CROWN.

The news having reached our city of his Excellency, Governor ROBINSON's intention to visit the Capital on Tuesday last, preparations were hastily made to welcome him in a manner becoming the occasion. The band was called into requisition and mounted in a carriage, and, attended by an escort of cavalry, some twenty-five or thirty strong, took their line of march out eastward, upon the Lawrence road, with the intention of proceeding until they met the Governor, when they would formally escort him into the city. They passed out of town in fine order, the band playing a national air, (the Southern Confederacy to the contrary notwithstanding,) and our citizens commenced gathering, for the purpose of being on hand and taking part in the public demonstration when the Governor should arrive. Long and patiently they waited to welcome the gallant and brave old soldier—he who stood foremost in the free State ranks of '56, and who preferred a long incarceration in the "great political prison," at Leecompton, rather than deviate from his cause or compromise his honor—long they waited we say; twilight came, the cavalcade was seen or heard approaching, expectation was upon tip-toe, there was a fluttering of hearts—a few moments more and all would have the pleasure of saluting—of welcoming the *first Governor of the State of Kansas!*—the cannon belched forth in "thunder tones"—three rounds had been fired, when the party came in, BUT NO GOVERNOR! Though great the disappointment, with philosophical cheerfulness it was borne by those upon the ground, and three rousing cheers were sent up for GOVERNOR ROBINSON, when the people dispersed. We were gratified to see persons who, but a few months since, were foremost in maligning Mr. ROBINSON's character and motives, make themselves particularly active in rendering homage to the official of to-day.

The Governor, however, did visit us on the next day [February 13]. . . .

On March 26 the first state legislature convened at Topeka. Thus, after a long and sometimes bloody struggle, the state of Kansas was born and launched on its voyage into history.

Kansas: A Centennial Portrait

EMORY LINDQUIST

INTRODUCTION

A VARIETY of answers can be given to the question, "What is Kansas?" Kansas is the 34th of 50 commonwealths that form the United States, having gained its cherished place in a time of national tension in January, 1861, and having contributed from its birth to the future of the national destiny, geographically and politically. Kansas is an almost perfect parallelogram, except for the jagged corner in the northeast, fashioned by the Missouri river. It has an area of slightly more than 82,000 square miles, rising from an elevation of less than 700 feet above sea level near the southeastern corner, to more than 4,100 feet in the northwest. Its border is 400 miles long, running east and west along Nebraska and Oklahoma, and 200 miles, north and south adjoining Missouri and Colorado, lying within 37 to 40 north latitude and 95 to 102 west longitude. Kansas has known the proprietorship of Indians, some native, others having migrated there at various times; and at least two foreign flags, Spanish and French, actually waved in the Kansas breeze, symbols of authority over the sparsely settled peoples prior to the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, when the Stars and Stripes replaced the banner of Napoleon's consulate. When Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821, the southwestern one-sixteenth of Kansas, south of the Arkansas river and west of the 100th meridian, was Mexican territory, a claim that Texas sought to enforce when independence was gained from Mexico in 1836. All of Kansas came under United States jurisdiction when Texas was annexed in 1845. Originally, and for many decades, overwhelmingly agrarian, but now increasingly industrial and urban, Kansas has at times helped to shape the course of national developments, but more often has responded to such developments with varying degrees of acceptance, rejection, or indifference.

Kansas in the dimension of time, like every populated geographic area, has a history which casts long shadows into the future—some good, some evil—a history not always fully understood nor interpreted in accordance with the facts, but creating, nevertheless, that indefinable quality called a "tradition," to inspire or to console,

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as circumstances called for inspiration or consolation. That tradition, from its earliest foundation, includes "Bleeding Kansas," Puritanism, individualism, extremism, dogmatism, idealism, agrarianism, and other less dramatic but nonetheless real elements in fashioning the mind of a state. That is, if a state can be described as having a mind.

Kansas has shared in the diversified company of other states that have joined to form the great symphony of American life. Some states are older, others younger, and all are different in origin, culture, and spirit. Dorothy Canfield Fisher sought to describe a few of them by dramatic word portraiture in an article, a part of a series described as "the new literature of self-appraisal," which appeared in *The Nation* in 1922. "Everybody knows," wrote Mrs. Fisher, "that New York State is a glowing, queenly creature, with a gold crown on her head and a flowing purple velvet cloak. The face of Louisiana is as familiar—dark eyed, fascinating, temperamental. Virginia is a white-haired, dignified *grande dame* with ancient, well-mended fine lace and thin old silver spoons. Massachusetts is a man, a serious, middle-aged man, with a hard conscientious intelligent face, and hair thinned by intellectual application." Then Mrs. Fisher concluded: "These State countenances are familiar to all of us." . . .¹

The countenance of Kansas is not readily portrayed. The artist, using brush and paint, often finds the creation of a personal portrait difficult because of the changing moods of his subject day by day. How much more difficult it is to create the portrait of a state across a century of change, from the pioneer world of an isolated rural community to the jet-driven international era of today! There must be several partial portraits before there can be a composite one, if that should ever be attempted. Before we speak of the countenance of Kansas there is still the prior question—"What is Kansas?"

I

Kansas is a place of irregular wooded hills in northeastern counties, where streams of varying sizes wend their way hesitatingly toward the inevitable destiny of a far-away ocean, but it is also the High Plains of the western reaches, where prairie land stretches undisturbed farther than unaided eye can see. It is the silence of early November twilight in Brookville amidst the vestiges of the Old West, but it is also the hustle and bustle of Broadway and

1. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, "These United States. IV. Vermont: Our Rich Little Poor State," *The Nation*, New York, v. 114 (May 31, 1922), p. 643.

Douglas in urban Wichita, once known as the "Peerless Princess of the Plains," at five P. M. on weekdays. It is the solitude of the unheard song of a meadowlark in the shadows of a great cathedral-like wheat elevator near Grinnell, singing because it is the nature of a meadowlark to sing, but it is also the piercing shriek of a man-made Navy jet fighter stationed at Olathe, symbol of a time of troubles, off on a mission of rehearsal in a world that knows not if it can survive. It is the blistering heat of August on the good earth, now parched, the roaring blizzard of January, reminiscent of that fateful January, 1886, when storm gods unleashed their mighty power, and the sodden soil of mid-April, with promise of new life in nature. But it is more than that.

Kansas is the village of Victoria, with its English name and remembrances of the adventurous people from behind the white cliffs of Dover, who in the early 1870's wished to honor Her Majesty, Victoria, Queen of all Britain, Defender of the Faith, soon to be designated Empress of India, by giving her name to a yet to be inhabited Kansas village, and it is Victoria's great twin-spired "Cathedral of the Plains," St. Fidelis, built by a later generation of German-Russian immigrants from the steppes of Czarist Russia, affirming faith in the City of God, which traced its origin to events almost two thousand years before there was a Kansas. It is Lindsborg, lying serenely in the shadows of Coronado Heights, named after the famous Spaniard and his conquistadores, who came to the future Kansas in search of fame and fortune eight decades before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, a town which is a tribute to the Swedish pioneers who later fashioned the "Messiah" tradition during Holy Week and gave hospitality to Birger Sandzen, son of the Northland, who caught so magnificently the Kansas spirit with bold strokes and elegant colors on hundreds of canvases.

Kansas is Lecompton, now primarily an historic reference on the map of memory, but in 1857 a place bustling with a constitutional convention pointing up the national debate over slavery between North and South, but it is also Kansas City, across the Missouri river from a dominant big brother, recalling that its predecessor, Wyandotte, housed the convention which gave Kansas its constitution 100 years ago. It also is Topeka, the middle section of the trio of towns designating the name of a railroad, later set to rhythmic song, "The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe," which was identified so intimately with the lurch toward the Pacific; Topeka, proud of its green-domed capitol building, an imitation of the larger one at Washington, D. C.,

where a great struggle had been launched to decide the fate of Kansas, or Kanzas, or Kanza, or any of the 80 variations associated in the early days with the name of the state. It is a place where hardy sunflowers grow in abundance and its people acknowledge somewhat reluctantly, at times, that they are Jayhawkers. Kansas is Abilene, famous in early days as a shipping point for Texas cattle, but now known world-wide as the boyhood home of Dwight D. Eisenhower, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Powers in Europe during World War II and the 34th President of the United States, with its Eisenhower home and Eisenhower center, the latter portraying the distinguished career of the most famous Kansan and a great American in a splendid museum and library.

Kansas is the rolling area of the southeast, with Shaw and the first Christian mission in Kansas founded in 1824 by Protestants, and Pittsburg, named after that older industrial metropolis in the East, with coal mine shafts and shale piles in the surrounding area, symbols of the search for the hidden bounty of nature, whether it be the burrowing miles of salt veins stretching from Hutchinson to Lyons and Kanopolis, or the rhythmic beat of thousands of Kansas oil-well pumps, bringing black gold to the surface to drive the swept-winged vehicles of jaunty men in the name of the 20th century goddess, Speed. Kansas is the Flint Hills, a scenic belt of intriguing beauty, stretching two counties wide north and south across the entire state, dotted with villages bearing quaint names like Matfield Green and Bazaar, Beaumont and Grenola, its western edge forming the boundary of the eastern third of Kansas, characterized by outcropping rocks of the Permian age, formed 200 million years ago, with its cattle grazing peacefully in the luscious bluestem grass. In the High Plains, it is Dodge City, "Cowboy Capital of the World," with its streets named after Wyatt Earp, Bat Masterson, and other famed police officers of the West, some real, some legendary, with its Boot Hill and its replica of Front street, with shadowy remembrances of Doc Holliday and Dora Hand, and now a modern city of modest size with fine schools, homes, and churches, and a new college, St. Mary of the Plains, founded to honor the Virgin through the ministry of teaching and learning as the 20th century rushed jet-driven into its turbulent and fleeting second half. But Kansas is more than that.

Kansas is John Brown, Charles Robinson, James H. Lane, John J. Ingalls, Isaac T. Goodnow, W. A. Phillips, Edmund G. Ross, Jerry Simpson, Mary Elizabeth Lease, Victor Murdock, Carry A. Nation, Joseph Bristow, Charles Curtis, Arthur Capper, Dr. John R. Brink-

ley, Gen. Frederick Funston, Walter Chrysler, Earl Browder, Alf M. Landon—all names, the mere mention of which reveals no lack of variety in the annals of the state's history. But Kansas is also D. W. Wilder, William Allen White, Ed Howe, Eugene F. Ware, E. Halde-
man-Julius, Margaret Hill McCarter, Charles M. Sheldon, William A. Quayle, Snowden D. Flora, J. C. Mohler, Birger Sandzen, Dr. Samuel J. Crumbine, Dr. Arthur Hertzler, F. H. Snow, the Doctors Menninger, father and sons, each one of which is representative of the varied talent that Kansas has shared with the world. Kansas is Amelia Earhart, Walter Johnson, and Jess Willard, all heroes in their time, and A. K. Longren, E. M. Laird, Clyde Cessna, Lloyd Stearman, Glenn Martin, and Walter H. Beech, pioneers in the air lanes above the prairie trails, and also Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower of Abilene.

II

Kansas is more than those who would be included in a Hall of Fame, if Kansas chose to honor thus her great. Kansas is the composite of the dreams and hopes of all the people, some by choice, others by birth or circumstance, who have shared the vibrancy of life, or answered the claims of death, in that piece of God's creation, once described as the "Great American Desert," but later to become a cherished place called home, with friends and work and a share in the great promise of American life. They came, these future Kansans, for a variety of reasons from older states with familiar names, from Massachusetts and New York, from Ohio and Illinois, from Missouri and Kentucky, and from distant European places with unfamiliar names, from Sunnemo and Volhynia, Molotschna and Neuchatel. The number of foreign born increased at an irregular tempo, reflecting factors in the old country and in the new, and reaching a maximum of 147,630, for a total of 10.3 per cent of the state's population in 1890, with the Germans forming almost one-third of this total.² In 1895, when the population was one and a third million, there were 188,000 Kansans using a language other than English. Moreover, as Prof. J. Neal Carman has pointed out, at the mid-point of the 20th century, probably one-half of the people of Kansas had grandparents or great grandparents born in Europe.³

The sound of native Indian tongues yielded to the new linguistic cosmopolitanism of the Kansas plains as English, Welsh, French, Bohemian, Russian, German, Italian, Spanish, Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish were spoken, sung, and written. The language of the

2. Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts, *People of Kansas* (Topeka, 1936), pp. 50, 51.

3. J. Neal Carman, "Babel in Kansas," *Your Government. Bulletin of the Bureau of Government Research*, Lawrence, v. 6 (March 15, 1951), No. 7. n.p.

Old World became immersed in the language of the New World, but as late as 1911, the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* described Aurora, Cloud county, as a French-speaking village, with the names of business houses "as French as frog legs," and "farmers who loafed on drygoods boxes in front of the stores reminisced of the Franco-Prussian War in the language of Moliere."⁴ The spoken language of the homeland, somewhat corrupted in the new milieu, continued to be used quite widely among immigrant groups until the first World War, in the second decade of the 20th century, served a warning that non-English speaking peoples should embrace the language of the land in full fervor. The language of the immigrants is now spoken only rarely and then only by the older generation. Although the pattern of language and culture has yielded to the new forces, a generation twice removed from the pioneer immigrants shares the sincere feelings of the Swede in central Kansas, who wrote in 1869 to friends in far away Varmland that America was "*framtidlandet*," "the land of the future." And so it was for him and his generation, and so it is for their children, and for their children's children.

Although people from distant places, speaking strange languages, came to Kansas in goodly numbers, future growth depended upon the westward movement from older states toward the ever-expanding frontier. When federal census takers completed their rolls in 1860, Kansas, on the threshold of statehood, numbered 107,206. The six New England states furnished only 4,208 of these people. New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Kentucky each provided more names in the census year of 1860 than all of the New England states together. The largest number from New England was 19,338 in 1880, but in that year, Illinois had sent 106,922, and Ohio 93,396, in a total population of 996,096. At the turn of the century there were 1,470,495 people in Kansas, and three decades later, the number had increased moderately to 1,880,999. At the mid-point of the 20th century, the census enumerators accounted for 1,905,299, and in 1960 as Kansas prepared to enter the second century of statehood, there were 2,178,611 people in the Jayhawker region, an increase of 14.3 per cent during the decade.⁵

After 1890 restless Kansans reversed the trend of interstate migration as increasingly large numbers left Kansas at an accelerated pace, and in the decade from 1920 to 1930, the state experienced

4. Kirke Mechem, ed., *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1956), v. 2, p. 19, refers to the Kansas City *Star*, December 10, 1911.

5. Clark and Roberts, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 208; United States bureau of the census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1955), p. 16; Wichita *Evening Eagle and Beacon*, November 25, 1960.

for the first time a net loss from interstate migration.⁶ By 1930, 39.2 per cent of native Kansans lived elsewhere in the United States, while the Kansas population included 36.3 per cent born in states other than Kansas. Not until the census of 1920 did the population include more native born Kansas sons and daughters than persons from other states and nations. The census for that year showed 54.7 per cent born in Kansas, 38.5 per cent in other states, and 6.8 per cent in foreign countries and places not identified.⁷

A decisive factor in Kansas is the trend towards urbanization. In 1900, 22.5 per cent of the population lived in incorporated places of 2,500, or more, in 1950, the figure was 49 per cent, and in 1959, it had risen to 55 per cent. Cities with 10,000 or more people had 12.8 per cent of the population in 1900, 28.8 per cent of the population in 1930, and 42.5 per cent of the total population in 1959. Incorporated cities of all classes provided the residence for 69.4 per cent of all Kansans in 1959. The population of Wichita increased from 114,966 in 1940, to 168,279 in 1950. In 1960 the population of Wichita was 254,059, an increase of 121 per cent in the last two decades.⁸

Although the population of Kansas exceeded the 2,000,000 mark in its centennial year, Horace Greeley's prophetic declaration in the New York *Tribune* in October, 1870, following a visit to Kansas, was far too optimistic when he affirmed that the child was born who would see Kansas fifth, if not fourth, in population and production among the states of the Union.⁹ The rate of population growth has not kept pace with that of the United States. For instance, since the turn of the century to 1960, the increase in Kansas was 47 per cent, compared with almost three times that growth, 135.7 per cent for the entire nation.¹⁰

III

Many factors enter into shaping the character of a state as the decades pass to form a century. The physical facts of an area—climate, geography, topography, location, natural resources—play significant roles, especially in the formative period. Certainly these

6. Clark and Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 68.

8. *Comprehensive Educational Survey of Kansas* (Topeka, March, 1960), v. 1, p. 20. The Survey consists of five volumes prepared by Otto E. Domian and Robert J. Keller on the basis of action taken by the Kansas legislature in 1957 and 1958 authorizing the legislative council to provide for the study of education in Kansas. Clark and Roberts, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 79; *Wichita Evening Eagle*, June 20, 1960; *U. S. Department of Commerce*, "census," August 31, 1960, CB 60-60, p. 17.

9. D. W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 529.

10. *Census Reports. Vol. I. Twelfth Census of the United States. 1900. Population. Part I* (Washington, D. C., 1901), p. 2; *Wichita Eagle*, August 2, 1960.

factors are important, and occasionally decisive, but the pattern of Kansas history does not depend upon "environmental determinism." New crop varieties and improved methods of tilling the soil created some measure of control, although uncertain and sporadic, over the forces of nature. The windmill, barbed wire, sulky and gang plows, tractors, and other inventions were important elements in changing the manner of work and life. Improvements in transportation and communication steadily eliminated the feeling of isolation. The coming of increasingly large numbers of people provided the possibility of co-operative community life. These factors, and others, combined to challenge the impact of environmental influences.

More important than environmental factors are elements of a spiritual character, broadly speaking, that create the *ethos*, the distinguishing character, or tone, of a group, or region, or state, or nation. History, and remembrances and interpretations of that history, some true, some false, provide a large and productive reservoir of meaning for the *ethos*, the spirit, the tone of Kansas.

Looming large in the creation of the image of Kansas were the violent and complex developments that preceded the Civil War, reaching a climax in the course of that conflict. Kansas was the center of the national crisis: freedom and righteousness were the issues. Various factors, political and economic, were obviously important, but the idealism and emotion generated by the magic word "freedom," in contrast to the dreadful word "slavery," must not be underestimated. The forces were clearly joined: the declared idealism of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, the Beecher Bible and Rifle colony, the Andover band, representing the forces of law, order, and decency, confronted the depravity of the border ruffians, Quantrill and his raiders, and the cruel slaveholders portrayed symbolically in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. This was the understanding of the background for the birth and early history of Kansas, a mounting conviction that entered into the life of the state. John Greenleaf Whittier expressed it in "The Kansas Emigrant's Song":

"We cross the prairies as of old
The pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free."

Kansas was considered as belonging to the great tradition of the Pilgrims and Plymouth Rock. This provided symbolical and substantive meaning for the future.

Moreover, it seemed appropriate that Kansans should not only enshrine these facts in the temple of memory, but blessings would accrue across the years because of them. In 1879, when William Lloyd Garrison reviewed in glowing terms the progress of Kansas since 1861, he declared that this was "her fitting recompense for having gone through a baptism of blood, and an ordeal of fire, with such firmness and devotion to the sacred cause of human freedom."¹¹ In September, 1879, J. W. Forney affirmed confidently, as reported in the *Commonwealth* that "Kansas was the field on which the first modern battle was fought in favor of the Declaration of Independence."¹²

The Kansas spirit was fashioned by the zeal of the crusader, the crusader against slavery and oppression, and he was equipped with the effective weapons of righteousness, moral indignation, and a deep-seated belief that the wrong could be made right and the rough places plain by organized social action. William Allen White wrote in *The American Magazine*, January, 1916, that "All our traditions [in Kansas] are fighting traditions—fighting established orders, fighting for better orders." Kansas had responded wholeheartedly in the national crisis of freedom during the Civil War; no state had as high a percentage of eligible men in the Union army as did Kansas. This was a battle for more than home and fireside; this was a greater conflict of principles and ideals.

The momentum of this early start influenced greatly the later history of Kansas. It was a prologue to the future, written with sacrifice and faith. Belief in righteousness is a mighty force, and a twin, Puritanism, was present in the founding period. William Allen White, writing in the *World's Work*, June, 1904, declared that "as a State, Kansas has inherited a Puritan conscience, but time and again she has allied herself with Black George because he preached more noble things and promised much." The heritage of Puritanism, a persistent element in the image of Kansas, was emphasized in the *London Spectator* as late as June, 1936, when it was observed that "Kansas is the inheritor of the old Puritan morality which once dominated New England. It is indeed, in a very literal sense, the last refuge of the Puritan, for Kansas was settled from the old stock of Massachusetts Bay." Moreover, the correspondent in the *Spectator* continued: "Its physical descent from Bradford and Winthrop

11. Letter from William Lloyd Garrison to the Kansas State Historical Society, March 25, 1879, quoted in Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 847.

12. Quoted from the *Commonwealth*, Topeka, September 14, 1879, in Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 857.

and Williams is only one degree less certain than its spiritual heritage from the same men. Kansas, even among farming States, is the most zealous upholder of Prohibition and the Sabbath."¹³

The statement relative to physical descent from Bradford, Winthrop, Williams, and New England generally is obviously inaccurate as already indicated.¹⁴ The spiritual heritage from New England is a factor, however, of far greater importance. The leaders in early Kansas—clergymen, writers, teachers, lawyers, editors, physicians—were often New England in origin and spirit. From 1854 to 1861, 51 Congregational ministers came to serve in Kansas, 36 arriving before the end of 1860. In April, 1857, the General Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches in Kansas declared in an address to other Congregational bodies that "it shall be our aim . . . to transplant the principles and institutions of the Puritans to these fertile plains, and to lay foundations which shall be an honour to us, when in the grave, and blessing to all coming generations."¹⁵ This high resolve was symbolic of the expectations of New England Congregationalism. The church sought to challenge the frontier world by example and through the ministry of preaching. Special attempts were made to leaven the satanic elements. One response was the organization of the Band of Hope by the Rev. Peter McVicar in Topeka, in 1861, in which members took a pledge to totally abstain from the use of intoxicating drink, tobacco, and profane language.¹⁶

The religious future of Kansas belonged, however, not to the New England Congregationalists, but to Methodists, Baptists, Disciples of Christ, Presbyterians, and to immigrant Churches, such as the Lutheran, Mennonite, and Evangelical. The principal emphasis of these groups was, in regard to morals and conduct, definitely Puritan. In 1861, for instance, the Methodist conference passed a strong resolution on alcoholism, and declared that "Whereas, Intemperance with all its accumulation of moral and social evils is still destroying the souls and bodies of many in our state, Be it Resolved, that Methodist Preachers should not cease to 'cry aloud and spare not' before all people."¹⁷ The dominant forces of Protestantism in Kansas were essentially pietistic, building upon the earlier foundations

13. *The Spectator*, London, v. 156 (June 26, 1936), p. 1170.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

15. Emory Lindquist, "Religion in Kansas During the Era of the Civil War," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 25 (Winter, 1959), pp. 433, 434.

16. *Ibid.*, v. 25 (Autumn, 1959), p. 323.

17. Emory Lindquist, "The Protestant and Jewish Religions in Kansas," in *Kansas: The First Century*, J. D. Bright, ed. (New York, 1956), v. 2, p. 374.

of New England Puritanism. This pattern furnished important sources for further developments.

Manifestations of the Puritan conscience are a part of the annals of Kansas. The most dramatic aspect is related to the prohibition amendment. The temperance movement gained in momentum after 1870 through the work of the Independent Order of Good Templars, the "Woman's Crusade," which used the contrasting weapons of prayers for the saloonkeepers at their places of business and "spilling parties," great camp meetings of the "cold water" faithful at Bismarck Grove and elsewhere, the "blue ribbon" workers, the W. C. T. U., and the churches. J. R. Detwiler, who advised the introduction of a bold constitutional amendment outlawing the liquor traffic, established the *Temperance Banner* in October, 1878. Detwiler also arranged with Judge N. C. McFarland to draft a resolution, known later as Senate Resolution 3, on the subject. The proposed prohibition amendment carried the senate without effort. One vote was lacking for the required two-thirds majority in the house of representatives, but in a dramatic gesture of loyalty to his new wife, George W. Greever, a Democrat from Wyandotte county, on March 5, 1879, changed his vote, and the issue was now in the hands of the people of Kansas.¹⁸

The campaign for the amendment was carried on intensively. Frances Willard, Frank Murphy, Drusilla Wilson, and other famous enemies of "daemun rum" spoke to large audiences. Mrs. Wilson affirmed that "this crusade was an inspiration from the Holy Ghost, sent from heaven to arouse action in this great work." The opposition, although not equally active because of overconfidence, charged, however, that the amendment was unconstitutional and an attack upon public liberty, a "sumptuary and gustatory" proceeding which would curtail immigration and delay economic advance. The people spoke, although not too convincingly, when the final tabulation showed 92,302 for and 84,304 against the amendment, producing a majority of 7,998 in favor of prohibition. Although Kansas was the first state to pass a prohibition amendment, Tennessee had a prohibition law in 1838 and Maine in 1846. The Kansas amendment was not repealed until 1948, and then by a majority of more than 60,000 votes, following a failure to obtain repeal in 1934, when 89 of 105 counties supported prohibition.¹⁹

18. Clara Francis, "The Coming of Prohibition to Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 15 (1919-1922), pp. 204-227; Grant W. Harrington, "The Genesis of Prohibition," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 15 (1919-1922), pp. 228-231; Agnes D. Hays, *The White Ribbon in the Sunflower State* (Topeka, 1953), pp. 20-23.

19. Francis, *loc. cit.*, pp. 221-227; *Proceedings and Debates of the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, July, 1859* (Topeka, 1920), p. 593; The legislative act is found in *Laws of Kansas, 1881* (Topeka, 1881), ch. 128, sec. 1-24, pp. 233-244; Hays, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 67.

Carry Nation's home town of Medicine Lodge voted to repeal the amendment in 1948. A later generation may not fully understand the fact that idealism joined with Puritanism in 1880 to pass the prohibition amendment. A study of contemporary sources indicates convincingly the real social and economic evils of liquor on the Kansas frontier. The groggery shops and saloons were scarcely compatible with the ideals of Kansas.

The conditions in Kansas after the effective date of prohibition, May, 1881, dramatized clearly the problems relating to the attempt to legislate reform. The drugstores became prosperous with brisk sales of liquor for which a physician's prescription was not required. The New York *Tribune* pointed out in November, 1886, that in Osage county, 215 different reasons had been cited by patrons for purchasing alcohol including "a bilious headache," "dry stomach," "congestion of the lungs," and "for making a mixture to wash apples against rabbits."²⁰ The saloons soon reappeared in large numbers as did also the patrons.

The prohibition issue produced the unusual career of Carry A. Nation of Medicine Lodge. She started her campaign at Kiowa in June, 1899, after a voice had told her: "Take something in your hand, and throw at those places in Kiowa and smash them." She cast her carefully collected stones with great skill in three Kiowa saloons. At Wichita, early on the morning of December 27, 1900, she went to the Carey Hotel saloon, where she threw two stones with unflinching accuracy at the nude picture, "Cleopatra at the Bath," and smashed with a billiard ball (alas! not a hatchet) the mirror that covered almost one entire side of the large room. By 8:30 A. M. that day she was arrested, telling her jailor as the gate closed on her cell: "Never mind, you put me in here a cub, but I will go out a roaring lion and I will make all hell howl."²¹ When released from the Wichita jail, she went to Enterprise to continue her solo performance of good works.

The activities of Carry A. Nation dramatized an important contradiction in Kansas: a prohibition state with wide open saloons. William Allen White, in an editorial in the *Emporia Gazette* on February 11, 1901, "Hurrah for Carrie," described this contradiction effectively: "At first the *Gazette* was against Carrie Nation. She seemed to be going at it wrong end to. But events justify her.

20. New York *Tribune*, November 3, 1886.

21. Carry A. Nation, *The Use and Need of the Life of Carry A. Nation* (Topeka, 1908), pp. 133, 134, 143-145, 148, 159.

She is all right. . . . She has aroused the law-abiding people of Kansas to the disgrace of lawbreaking—partly by the example of her own lawlessness. . . . Hurrah for Carrie Nation! She's all right.”²²

The Kansas mind had developed a type of pharisaical legalism blended with genuine idealism. It was, perhaps, a manifestation of what Ernest Hamlin Abbott called “moral dogmatism” in Kansas.²³ Puritanism and the prairie joined with pietism and persistence to initiate a noble experiment. Kansas had resolved upon a course of action in an overwhelmingly agrarian culture: he who sets his hand to the plow must move straight ahead. There were, and are, real evils associated with liquor and the liquor traffic. The Kansas approach was to legislate reform. In addition to the Kansas amendment of 1880, the so-called “Bone-Dry” law of February, 1917, was an attempt in the 20th century to achieve certain avowed goals.²⁴ However, after the repeal of the 18th amendment to the constitution of the United States in 1933, an uneasy conscience harried observant persons who saw the dire results of bootlegging and wide spread violation of Kansas liquor laws. The idealism of the Puritan and pietistic tradition was forced to yield in the face of new forces. This is Kansas, intent upon the conviction that the shortest distance between two points is a straight line, unmindful of the pitfalls along the way, or refusing to recognize them. Compromise has not always been a decisive characteristic of Kansas; compromise may be the quality of a less courageous, or a more mature civilization. Compromise may sometimes be the part of wisdom or practical policy; it is often less interesting. Kansas has sometimes been interesting.

A significant comparison between Kansas and other states was made by Ernest Hamlin Abbott in an article in *Outlook* magazine, April, 1902, when he declared that the difference could be identified as doctrinal dogmatism elsewhere and moral dogmatism in Kansas. He observed: “In the Southwest religious dogmatism is a choppy sea; for doctrines of one sect conflict with the doctrines of another. In Kansas religious dogmatism is a strong current, for church people of all names are practically agreed as to what moral courses are unquestionably Christian.” He observed, moreover, that “in the main the ‘Higher Criticism’ is the representative heresy of the

22. Quoted in Helen Ogden Mahin, *The Editor and His People* (New York, 1924), pp. 178, 179.

23. Ernest Hamlin Abbott, “Religious Life in America, VIII. Kansas,” *The Outlook*, New York, v. 70 (April, 1902), p. 970.

24. *Laws of Kansas, 1917* (Topeka, 1917), ch. 215, sec. 1-9, pp. 283-286.

Southwest, while that of Kansas is Beer." Abbott described the Kansas mentality by recourse to the traditional explanation since he "was more than ever impressed with the truth that the present [1902] religious and moral character was only the persistence of the temper that was wrought into the people during the days of Eli Thayer's Emigrant Aid Company." He found that the most articulate Kansas idealist "can always be found to have his idealism firmly fastened to a peg driven deep in the earth. The Beecher Bible and Rifle Company still in the spirit hovers over Kansas like the horses and chariots of fire around about Elisha."²⁵

Although prohibition is the most dramatic manifestation of moral dogmatism in Kansas, official policy relative to cigarettes is also a part of that pattern. As early as 1862 the Methodist conference declared "that it is the duty of Christians to put off all 'filthiness of the flesh' especially that which is involved in the use of tobacco."²⁶ Ordinances were passed by various cities governing the sale of cigarettes and cigarette paper. The agitation mounted in the second decade of the 20th century. The Kansas Civil Service Commission, which had declared that habitual users of liquor could not receive state jobs, announced on August 16, 1915, that the habitual use of cigarettes might also be the reason for refusing to certify an applicant for a position.²⁷ The W. C. T. U., the Kansas Federation of Women's Clubs, and other groups joined in the crusade to ban the "coffin nails." In the legislative session of 1917, a law was passed "prohibiting the sale, giving away, or advertisement of cigarettes or cigarette paper."²⁸ The cigarette law was not repealed until 1927.²⁹ Another attempt, for a decade, to legislate reform in Kansas had resulted in an unrealistic situation as far as enforcement and public acceptance was concerned.

Many Kansans in the centennial year view the past as having been quaint and wrong. There is pride in the new emancipation. However, the present generation should understand that many citizens who had opposed liquor and cigarettes did so earnestly and with genuine idealism. It was the manifestation of Puritanism and moral dogmatism; it did at least have some distinct principles for guidance and belief in matters of conduct.

25. Abbott, *loc. cit.*, pp. 970-972.

26. *Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1862*, p. 21.

27. *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 17, 1915.

28. *Laws of Kansas, 1917* (Topeka, 1917), ch. 116, sec. 1-5, pp. 212-214.

29. *Laws of Kansas, 1927* (Topeka, 1927), ch. 171, sec. 1-24, pp. 219-223.

IV

On August 9, 1922, the *New York Times*, in editorializing on a bulletin of the census bureau stating that Kansans lived longer than other Americans, declared that this was understandable because in addition to the salubrity of the climate, "Kansans are powerful sleepers, thanks not only to their climate and quiet nights, but to self-complacency." William Allen White countered this observation effectively by an appraisal of Kansas history in the *Emporia Gazette* on August 25: "The reason is plain. We are never bored. Always something is going on and we like the show. . . . Kansans have the box seats of the world's theaters and can always see the figures, issues, events, causes and cataclysms waiting in the wings for the cue from fate. For things start in Kansas that finish in history. . . . Kansas is hardly a state. It is a kind of prophecy!"³⁰

Box seats for the great drama of Populism were fashioned early in Kansas. Before the curtain raised with the organization of the Kansas People's Party at Topeka in June, 1890, there had been preliminary scenes of preparation in the economic and social life of the state. Prof. Raymond Curtis Miller has made excellent studies of the background and the development of Populism in Kansas.³¹ His studies chronicle effectively the frenzied speculation, over expansion, inflation of land values, railroad and town booms, spiraling private and public indebtedness, and the many other factors that furnished the theme for the unfolding drama.

The response to the promise of great opportunities in Kansas produced a 37 per cent rise in population between 1880 and 1885, increasing from 900,000 to 1,200,000. Property doubled in value during those years. In central Kansas, the number of residents increased about 100 per cent between 1881 and 1887, and the 32 western counties grew from 41,000 to 148,000 in the two years 1885 to 1887. In Wichita, the population increased threefold between 1884 and 1887. Eastern financiers, like Charles M. Hawkes, Jabez B. Watkins, and others poured money into Kansas as prices soared and values boomed. By 1887 the mortgage debt per capita was three times as high as that of 1880. The public debt climbed from \$15,000,000 in 1880 to \$41,000,000 in 1890, the largest increase in the nation. Mortgages were held on 60 per cent of the taxable land in 1890, the highest percentage of all the states, with one

30. Quoted in Mahin, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

31. Raymond Curtis Miller, "The Background of Populism in Kansas," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 11 (March, 1925), pp. 467-489.

mortgage for every two adults. The private per capita debt was \$347, a figure four times as high as that of the entire nation.³²

Charles M. Harger, the distinguished editor and publisher of the *Abilene Reflector* wrote in June, 1898, that the business history of the Western Mississippi valley could be divided into three periods—"settlement, extravagance, and depression."³³ The last two, extravagance and depression, were twins, whose combined results set the stage for the great drama of Populism. The peak of Kansas prosperity was reached in 1887, to be followed by several years of depression. Inadequate rainfall, poor crops, low prices for items sold and high prices for goods purchased, foreclosures, high interest rates, bank failures, bankruptcy, restrictions on credit, loss of confidence, unemployment, and the flight of large numbers of people completely disillusioned with Kansas, created times of stress and strain. For instance, between 1887 and 1892, the population of western Kansas decreased by one-half and that of central Kansas by one-fourth.³⁴

The response of Kansans to the desperate conditions was collective action. Representatives of Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, Patrons of Husbandry, Knights of Labor, Mutual Benefit Association, and Single Tax clubs merged to form the Kansas People's party at Topeka in June, 1890. When a national convention met in Cincinnati in May, 1891, adopting resolutions to form a new party, nearly one-third of the 1,418 delegates were from Kansas.³⁵ The People's party of the U. S. A. was organized at St. Louis in February, 1892.

In the Kansas election of 1890, the Populists, supported by the Democrats, elected five congressmen, including Jerry Simpson. Although the Republicans retained control of the Kansas senate, the Populists had a margin of 92 to 26 in the Kansas lower house. Judge W. A. Peffer, a Populist, described as having "a gruffy, hoarse, but low-toned voice issuing from a sea of long, dark beard flowing nearly to his waist," succeeded J. J. Ingalls, the "silver-tongued orator," in the United States senate.³⁶ In 1892 Lorenzo D. Lewelling was elected the first Populist governor and the entire Populist state ticket was victorious. Four Populists were elected to the congress

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 470, 478, 481, 485; Richard Sheridan, *Economic Development in South Central Kansas. An Economic History 1500-1900* (Lawrence, March, 1956), p. 183.

33. Charles M. Harger, "New Era in the Middle West," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, New York, v. 97 (July, 1898), p. 276.

34. Miller, *loc. cit.*, pp. 484, 487.

35. William E. Connelley, *History of Kansas* (Chicago, 1928), v. 2, p. 1164; *The Nation*, v. 52 (May 28, 1891), p. 431.

36. *The Nation*, v. 52 (February 5, 1891), p. 104.

of the United States. The Kansas senate had a substantial Populist majority, but in the house, disputed elections resulted in the "legislative war" with eventual control by the Republicans. In 1894, because of the defection of the Democrats and internal dissension, Populism suffered a severe setback. The year 1896 witnessed the final triumph for the Kansas Populists. John W. Leedy was elected governor, and the majority of both houses of the Kansas legislature, state officers, and members of the supreme court were Populists.

One of the most eloquent of the critics of the old order was Mary Elizabeth Lease, who had come to Kansas from Pennsylvania to teach school, but married Charles Lease, later a Wichita druggist, studied law, and was admitted to the Kansas bar in 1885. Like John Wesley whose chance entrance into a religious meeting in Aldersgate one night changed the course of his life, it has been reported that Mary Elizabeth Lease rushed by chance one night into a labor union meeting in Wichita to get out of the rain, and soon she inspired the group with her fiery speech, and was launched on her great career. Editing the *Wichita Independent*, a reform paper, and giving hundreds of speeches, this remarkable woman, whom Victor Murdock described as having "the dignity of an abbess" and who "knew her lines in Shakespeare like Ellen Terry," was irresistible before great crowds of Kansas farmers, urging them convincingly "to raise less corn and more hell."³⁷

Another important actor in the drama of Populism was Jerry Simpson. Canadian born, and for more than 20 years a sailor on the Great Lakes with the final rank of captain, he came to Kansas in 1878. Simpson had been a Greenbacker, a Union Labor party supporter, and a follower of Henry George's single tax program before he became a Populist. After bad luck in cattle raising and farming in Barber county, where he lost a small fortune, he became city marshal in Medicine Lodge at \$40 a month. His next position was in the congress of the United States, where he represented the big seventh district for six years during the 1890's.

Simpson was an entertaining and powerful figure on the platform. He urged his hearers to "put on your goggles and watch the buccaneers of Wall Street; the brigands of tariff; and the whole shootin' match of grain gamblers, land grabbers, and Government sneak thieves, before they steal you blind." The usually staid and safely Republican Kansans applauded and sent him to congress. "Sockless Jerry," a name given to him by Victor Murdock of the *Wichita Eagle*

37. Victor Murdock, "Folks" (New York, 1921), pp. 97-100.

in reporting Simpson's attack upon a debonair opponent, James R. Hallowell, because the latter supposedly wore silk stockings, while the former had none because of the high tariff, was a dramatic and effective evangelist for the cause of Populism.³⁸

What had happened that such a debacle should occur in Kansas? Eastern critics lamented these developments, and one spokesman, Godkin of *The Nation*, wrote in 1890: "We do not want any more States until we can civilize Kansas."³⁹ On August 15, 1896, William Allen White published his famous editorial, "What's the Matter With Kansas?" in the *Emporia Gazette*, a scathing attack upon the Populists. White argued that "If there had been a high brick wall around the state eight years ago and not a soul had been admitted or permitted to leave, Kansas would be a half million souls better off than she is today. And yet the Nation has increased in population." He continued his great lament: "Go East and you hear them laugh at Kansas, go West and they sneer at her, go South and they 'cuss' her, go North and they have forgotten her. . . . She has traded places with Arkansas and Timbuctoo."⁴⁰

Populism was an explosion, an uprising, and it had about it the quality of a religious crusade. Elizabeth N. Barr has described it dramatically: "The upheaval that took place in Kansas in the summer and fall of 1890, can hardly be diagnosed as a political campaign. It was a religious revival, a crusade, a pentecost of politics in which a tongue of flame sat upon every man, and each spake as the spirit gave him utterance."⁴¹ The "New Jacobins" as they were called by some, created a great stirring in the normally quiet political prairie. Victor Murdock wrote that as David Leahy and he watched a great Alliance parade, passing before them mile after mile, the latter turned to him and said: "This is no parade; it is a revolution."⁴² Over at El Dorado, Thomas Benton Murdock, publisher of the *Republican*, and a keen observer of events associated with the new stirring among the farmers, told young William Allen White one Saturday afternoon: "By Godfrey's diamonds, something's happening, young feller. These damn farmers are preparing to tear down the Courthouse."⁴³

Although agrarian discontent produced angry men and women, it did not result in revolutions. Populism aroused the nation to

38. Annie L. Diggs, *The Story of Jerry Simpson* (Wichita, 1908), pp. 108, 109; Murdock, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

39. Quoted in Matthew Josephson, *The Politicos, 1865-1896* (New York, 1938), p. 480.

40. Mahin, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-246.

41. Connelley, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 1164, 1165.

42. Murdock, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

43. William Allen White, *Autobiography* (New York, 1946), p. 184.

the need of change. Prof. Allan Nevins has pointed out that "What Kansas Populism did do was to help throw a bridge from Jeffersonian liberalism to the Progressivism of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson."⁴⁴ On the large canvas of national development, Prof. John D. Hicks observed correctly that "a backward glance at the history of Populism shows that many of the reforms that the Populists demanded, while despised and rejected for a season, won triumphantly in the end."⁴⁵ Such planks in the Populist platform as woman's suffrage, direct elections of United States senators, direct primary elections, income tax, initiative, referendum, and recall, have become a part of the American tradition. Populist agitation for banking and fiscal reform, improved farm credit and loan facilities, regulation of railroads and trusts, conservation of natural resources, have been translated into legislation and policy, evidences of a prophetic insight into America's needs. Max Lerner has observed that "the sweep of Populism set new sights for Americans."⁴⁶

Kansas has not deviated appreciably from the party of Lincoln which owed its origin to issues related intimately to the birth of the state. The Kansas Republican party was organized at Osawatomie in 1859, with Horace Greeley as the distinguished guest speaker. In 25 Presidential elections in Kansas, all went Republican except in 1892 and 1896, when the Populists, joining with the Democrats, were victorious; in 1912 and 1916, when the Democratic standard bearer, Woodrow Wilson, and the New Freedom triumphed; and in 1932 and 1936, the year of victory for Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal. Ellis county is the only Kansas county which has voted more times for the Democratic candidate for the Presidency than his Republican opponent; Doniphan county has an unsullied record of loyalty to the Grand Old Party.⁴⁷

The pattern of loyalty to the Republican party is demonstrated by the fact that of the 33 elected Kansas governors all have been Republicans except for six Democrats and two Populists. The Democrats and Populists were granted only one term except for George Docking, conservative Democrat, who was re-elected for a second term in 1958. In 1924 William Allen White polled approximately 150,000 votes as an independent, basing his candidacy on the desire "to offer Kansans afraid of the Klan and ashamed of that disgrace,

44. Allan Nevins, *Kansas and the Stream of American Destiny* (Lawrence, 1954), p. 13.

45. John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931), p. 404.

46. Max Lerner, *America As a Civilization* (New York, 1957), p. 49.

47. Walter Butcher, *Presidential Election Returns for Kansas, 1864-1952*, The Emporia State Research Studies, Emporia, v. 5 (September, 1956), p. 3.

a candidate who shares their fear and disgrace. . . . And the thought that Kansas should have a government beholden to this hooded gang of masked fanatics, ignorant and tyrannical in their ruthless oppression, is what calls me out of the pleasant ways of my life into this disgraceful but necessary task.”⁴⁸ White’s frontal attack upon the Ku Klux Klan in the *Gazette* and in public speeches was a decisive factor in eliminating a disgraceful chapter in Kansas history when bands of sheet-covered men burned crosses in cow pastures. In 1930 John R. Brinkley, described as the “goat gland doctor” of Milford, won 183,278 votes that could be counted as a late write-in candidate for governor. The winner, Harry H. Woodring, Democrat, won over his Republican opponent, Frank Haucke, by a plurality of only 251 votes. W. G. Clugston, the most articulate commentator on Kansas politics and an outspoken critic of the power structure in the state, has observed, and many have agreed with him, that “There wasn’t an experienced political observer in the state who didn’t admit that if the ballots of all who had tried to vote for Brinkley had been counted . . . the goat gland rejuvenator would have been elected by a smashing plurality.”⁴⁹

Third party movements, exclusive of Populism, have not gained victories in Kansas. Theodore Roosevelt, running as the Progressive candidate for President in 1912, and Robert La Follette, a candidate for the same office on the Progressive ticket in 1924, gained a substantial number of votes. The largest number of votes cast for a Socialist candidate for President was 26,807 for Eugene V. Debs in 1912. Jules A. Wayland moved the place of publication of the Socialist paper, *Appeal To Reason*, to Girard in 1897. By 1912 this paper had a circulation approaching 500,000, with editions running as high as 4,000,000 copies for special issues. From February, 1907, through 1912, Eugene V. Debs served actively as a contributing editor, commuting between Terre Haute, Ind., and Girard. The impact of the *Appeal To Reason* was not significant in Kansas except for a brief time in Crawford county.⁵⁰

The decisive trend toward urbanization is beginning to produce changes in the political life of Kansas, but the pattern has some confusing aspects as Kansas celebrates the centennial of her birth. For instance, in 1958, Gov. George Docking, a Democrat, was elected to an unprecedented second term for a member of his party, on a platform which condemned “right to work” legislation, al-

48. White, *Autobiography*, pp. 630, 631.

49. W. G. Clugston, *Rascals in a Democracy* (New York, 1940), p. 158.

50. Charles L. Scott, “*Appeal To Reason*, A Study of the ‘Largest Political Newspaper in the World,’” M. A. thesis, University of Kansas, 1957, pp. 25, 37, 38, 41, 49.

though, at the same time, the voters of Kansas endorsed an amendment making "right to work" a new addition to the century old Wyandotte constitution.

Kansas gave recognition to the rights of women as voters prior to action on a nation-wide basis.⁵¹ The struggle for the right to vote began in 1859 when Mrs. Clarina I. H. Nichols, Mary Tenney Gray, and Mother Armstrong attended the Wyandotte constitutional convention as uninvited guests to plead the cause of woman's suffrage. An amendment providing full suffrage for women lost in 1867 by a vote of 19,856 to 9,070. The second attempt to gain enfranchisement by amendment lost in 1894 by a vote of 130,139 to 95,302. In September, 1894, the New York *Tribune* reported that the suffragist women of Topeka appeared on the streets in shifts with reform dress to identify their cause, their garb consisting of "Turkish trousers covered by a skirt reaching to the fold, a close or loose waist, as the wearer may prefer, and cloth leggings to match the trousers."⁵² The goal of woman's suffrage was achieved in 1912 by a vote of 175,246 to 159,197, eight years prior to the 19th amendment to the United States constitution.

The triumph was achieved after a long struggle which had small beginnings when the Equal Suffrage Association was formed by three women at Lincoln in 1879; it became a state organization in June, 1884. The state was thoroughly organized county by county for the election of 1912. The movement was supported by women's clubs with 60,000 members, and a variety of organizations including the Kansas State Teachers Association, the Kansas Federation of Labor, the Kansas Grange, the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, the Kansas G. A. R., the Kansas Editorial Association, the Kansas W. C. T. U., Kansas church groups, and others. Kansas suffragists put their objectives in words designed for familiar tunes. The following verse to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne," appeared in the Burlingame *Enterprise* on October 3, 1912:

"If a body pays the taxes,
Surely you'll agree
That a body earns the franchise,
Whether he or she."

Jane Addams of Hull House, Chicago, conducted a successful speaking campaign in May, 1912, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president

51. Full descriptions of the woman's suffrage movement are found in Martha B. Caldwell, "The Woman's Suffrage Campaign of 1912," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 12 (August, 1943), pp. 300-318, and in Wilda Maxine Smith, "The Struggle for Woman's Suffrage in Kansas," M. S. thesis, Fort Hays Kansas State College, 1957, 161 pages.

52. New York *Tribune*, September 25, 1894.

of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, rendered effective service in the ten-day period preceding the election.

The victory of 1912 had been preceded by legislation as early as 1861 when qualified women could vote in school elections. This action was prior to that of every other state except Kentucky, which passed a limited school suffrage law in 1838, and Wyoming which gave women equal suffrage in 1869. In 1887 women received the right to vote in cities of the first, second, and third class for any city or school official, and in school bond elections. This legislation made Kansas a leader of all the states in woman's rights. In 1903 women became eligible to vote in elections for public bond improvements in addition to those for schools.

The history of the attainment of woman's suffrage is full of heroic struggle by individuals and groups, and, in contrast, there was frustrating indecisiveness and delay by the political parties, except the Populists who supported the movement, and several members of the press. Kansas responded to the natural rights theory of woman's suffrage with some reluctance, but with enough enthusiasm to lead the nation in certain aspects, and to be among the leaders in the full embrace of complete voting rights for women.

The record of voting in Kansas shows a higher percentage in years in which a President is elected. For instance, in 1952, almost 70 per cent of potential voters in Kansas went to the polls in contrast to 54 per cent in 1954. In 1952 Kansas held the rank of 22d among the 48 states in the percentage of eligible voters using the franchise. In both Presidential elections of 1948 and 1952, Kansans voted in greater numbers on a percentage basis than the rest of the United States. Prof. Rhoten A. Smith concludes, on the basis of a study of voting in the United States, that "Kansas' voting record in recent years is better than most of the other states in the Union and better than the United States as a whole."⁵³

V

A century ago the dominant factor in Kansas was the potentialities for agricultural production. Kansas has lived up to those expectations beyond all reasonable hopes; the achievement has reached magnificent proportions. The year 1958 witnessed an all time record in volume, though not in income, of farm production; the total exceeded the previous record year of 1952 by 29 per cent. Record receipts for farm products in 1947 are expected to be exceeded by

53. Rhoten A. Smith, "Voter Participation in Kansas and the United States," *Your Government*, bulletin of the Governmental Research Center, University of Kansas, v. 10 (February 15, 1955), p. 3.

the 1960 total.⁵⁴ Kansas continues as the number one wheat state. The biggest wheat crop was harvested in 1952, the "Bin-Buster" year, when 14,649,000 acres produced 307,629,000 bushels for an average of 21.0 bushels per acre. It was harvested by 85,000 combines, and would have filled 180,958 box cars, reaching 1,508 miles. The 1960 wheat crop of 281,848,000 bushels was 60 per cent above average, and the state's fourth largest crop, exceeded only in the years 1947, 1952, and 1958. The average of 28 bushels per acre tied with that of 1958 for the record high yield. A great transformation has taken place since the Mennonites brought small amounts of hard winter wheat in trunks and sea chests to Kansas from Russia in 1874 to be planted in small allotments.⁵⁵

Kansas has shared in the trend toward larger farms and fewer farmers. In 1930 there were 166,000 Kansas farms, but the number had dropped to 115,000 in 1959. The average size of a farm had increased in the three decades from 238.6 acres to approximately 440 acres.⁵⁶ In the period from 1920 to 1950, the population on Kansas farms decreased from 735,884 to 443,739, or from 41.6 per cent of the total population to 23.3 per cent. It is now about 365,000 or 20 per cent of the state population. In the half century from 1909-1959, the labor force on Kansas farms has decreased by more than 40 per cent from 282,000 to 165,000. The amount of land in farms has remained fairly constant at about 50,000,000 acres. Farmers have \$6,000,000,000 invested in land, machinery, and other facilities.⁵⁷ Kansas is more than "the wheat state." In 1960 Kansas reached an all-time high with 4,700,000 head of cattle within its boundaries, ranking fourth among all the states. The value of livestock and poultry on Kansas farms on January 1, 1959, was more than \$735,000,000. The high national rating of Kansas agriculture is recounted in part by the following, in addition to its first rank in wheat production: first in silage production, second in brome grass seed and dehydrated alfalfa, third in rye, fourth in wild hay, fifth in alfalfa seed and broomcorn.⁵⁸

54. *Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 42nd Report, July 1958-June 1959* (Topeka), p. 24.

55. *Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Thirty-Eighth Biennial Report, 1951-1952* (Topeka, 1952), pp. 11-22; "Summary of the 1960 Wheat Quality Survey," Kansas Crop and Livestock Reporting Service, Kansas State Board of Agriculture, August 11, 1960; "Kansas Crop Report, August 1, 1960," Kansas Crop and Livestock Reporting Service, Kansas State Board of Agriculture, August 10, 1960. An interesting study on the development of wheat in Kansas is found in James C. Malin, *Winter Wheat in the Golden Belt in Kansas* (Lawrence, 1944).

56. *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1959*, p. 616; *Comprehensive Educational Survey*, v. 1, p. 15; *Farm Facts, 1959-60*, Kansas State Board of Agriculture (Topeka), p. 12.

57. *Comprehensive Educational Survey*, v. 1, p. 17; *Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 42nd Report 1958-59*, pp. 27, 24; *Farm Facts, 1959-60*, p. 90.

58. *Farm Facts, 1959-60*, pp. 13-15. Excellent information about Kansas agriculture is available in the publications of the *Kansas State Board of Agriculture*.

The cycles of change have been a part of the pattern of agricultural developments. Times of prosperity have yielded to times of depression. The dominant emphasis upon agriculture until recent years has made Kansas subject to the vagaries of nature and of the price structure. Periods of drought produced great hardships. The variations in prices were equally disastrous. For instance, using the index of 100, based on the years 1910-1914, the price of all farm commodities has varied in less than two decades from a low of 55 in 1932 to a high of 313 in 1951. The season average price of wheat has ranged from 33 cents per bushel in 1931 and 1932 to \$2.25 per bushel in 1947.⁵⁹

Agriculture was not replaced as the largest source of income in Kansas until 1953, when the production from manufacturing exceeded that of agriculture. Kansas has a larger percentage of her people engaged in manufacturing than any of the surrounding states with the exception of Missouri. Nonfarm employment has been steadily increasing, reaching 553,000 in 1959, a 24.1 per cent gain in the last decade. The largest nonfarm employment was 557,900 in 1956. The industrial growth of Kansas is shown in a striking manner by the following index comparison with national growth: value added by manufacture, 1947-1957, Kansas, 167, U. S., 95; payrolls, 1948-1958, Kansas, 142, U. S., 65; capital expenditures, 1948-1958, Kansas, 115, U. S., 90; employment, 1949-1959, Kansas, 37, U. S., 11. The \$623,000,000 Kansas payroll in 1957 was a record high for all manufacturing. Employment in manufacturing reached a high of 137,900 in 1953. The most outstanding manufacturing development in the last two decades has been in the aircraft industry in Wichita. Since 1939 the Kansas Industrial Development Commission estimates that 1,500 new industries have been developed or have moved to Kansas. The 1960-1961 edition of the *Directory of Kansas Manufacturers* lists 3,677 manufacturing and processing plants in Kansas.⁶⁰ Kansas has the greatest capacity for grain storage in the nation with space in 1960 for more than 746,000,000 bushels. The 40 flour mills in Kansas produced 35,000,000 sacks of wheat flour in 1958, most of any state in the nation.⁶¹

Mineral production in Kansas has exceeded \$500,000,000 annually since 1956. Twenty-two minerals are produced commercially. The

59. *Price Patterns. Prices Received by Kansas Farmers 1910-1955*, Kansas State Board of Agriculture (Topeka, June, 1957), pp. 20, 31.

60. *Kansas!* Kansas Industrial Development Commission, v. 15 (January-February, 1960), pp. 13, 14; *Kansas Department of Labor, Biennial Report, July 1, 1956-June 30, 1958* (Topeka, 1958), p. 43; *Comprehensive Educational Survey*, v. 1, p. 14; *Kansas Department of Labor, Monthly Bulletin*, v. 30 (July, 1960), p. 8.

61. *Farm Facts, 1959-60*, p. 8.

largest percentage of income is from crude oil, which in 1959 had a value of \$345,000,000. The 120,000,000 barrels produced in 1958 placed Kansas fifth in the nation in crude oil production. Oil is produced in 76 counties. Facilities in Kansas process 87.6 per cent of the total crude oil production in the form of motor oil, gasoline, grease, and other petroleum products.⁶²

The Santa Fe, Oregon, Chisholm, and other important trails crossed Kansas in early days as thousands of people moved west to share in the promise of a new life. Railroads came later to carry the heavy traffic of passengers and goods. Kansas today ranks sixth among the 50 states in total railway mileage, carrying 15,000,000,000 ton miles of freight. Only Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, and Texas have more miles of railways. A network of highways, totaling nearly 125,000 miles, including federal, state, and county, create second place for Kansas among all the states in total rural mileage. One hundred and seventy-one airports serve military, commercial, and private planes.⁶³

The greater diversification in economic activity in recent years may bring greater stability. The United States Department of Commerce reported that the total personal income of Kansans for 1958 had reached \$4,234,000,000. A new record of \$2,001 per capita was achieved that year, ranking Kansas 19th among the states on the American continent.⁶⁴ Kansas has not equaled the average nationally in per capita income since 1921, although it has regularly been close to the average.⁶⁵

The development of organized labor in Kansas depended upon the growth of industry. The Lecompton and Leavenworth Typographical unions were organized in 1859, the earliest in the state. In the 1880's the Knights of Labor, who included skilled, unskilled, and agricultural workers, gained a substantial following, but a decline set in after 1886. The United Mine Workers came to the coal fields of southeastern Kansas in 1890. This organization later produced considerable gains for the miners under the leadership of Alex Howat from 1906-1921. The Kansas State Federation of Labor, organized in 1890, survived only to 1896. It was reorganized in 1907 and served as an effective agency for organized workers. The C. I. O. came to Kansas in 1937, and established its own state organization in 1940. The impact of industrialization, and especially the tremendous expansion during World War II increased deci-

62. *Kansas!* (January-February, 1960), p. 5.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

65. *Comprehensive Educational Survey*, v. 1, p. 36.

sively the role of the unions. The report of the state department of labor for the biennium ending June 30, 1956, showed the following pattern of labor unions in Kansas: international unions, 90; state organizations, 29; district organizations, 17; city organizations, 30; local unions, 952. At the time of the merger of the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. in 1957, the membership in Kansas was 125,000. The membership in 1960 was approximately 115,000. The statistics for 1959 show that only five hundredths of one per cent of "the estimated working time" of all employed persons was lost by strikes or lockouts in contrast to sixty-one hundredths of one per cent nationally. There were only 15 work stoppages in manufacturing and 11 in nonmanufacturing in 1959 lasting a day or a shift or a longer period in situations involving six or more workers. The 26 work stoppages actually involved only 6,440 persons.⁶⁶

The most controversial labor issue in Kansas history is associated with the Kansas industrial relations act of 1920, which resulted in the court of industrial relations from 1921-1925. Gov. Henry J. Allen was the principal figure in this contest. The court received extraordinary power to deal with labor and industry. William Allen White took issue with Allen and was arrested for placing a placard favorable to the railroad workers in the *Gazette* office at Emporia. On July 27, 1922, White's editorial in the *Emporia Gazette*, "To An Anxious Friend," written in acknowledgment of a letter from a friend who was critical of White's position, described in convincing language the nature of freedom: "You tell me that law is above freedom of utterance. And I reply that you can have no wise laws nor free enforcement of wise laws unless there is free expression of the wisdom of the people—and, alas, their folly with it. But if there is freedom, folly will die of its own poison, and the wisdom will survive. That is the history of the race." This editorial won the Pulitzer prize in 1922. The court was bitterly opposed by the unions, and by some employers. The experiment was abolished by the legislature in 1925. The Kansas attempt to legislate reform had met with failure.⁶⁷

The "Right to Work" legislation provoked much discussion and action in the 1950's. Designed to eliminate the closed shop, unions opposed it strenuously, while many employers marshalled their

66. The basic facts for this paragraph up to 1940 are taken from Marc Karson, "Trade Unions in Kansas," Bright, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 286-299; *Kansas Department of Labor Biennial Report, July 1, 1954-June 30, 1956* (Topeka, 1956), p. 17; *Kansas Department of Labor, Monthly Bulletin*, v. 30 (July, 1960), pp. 6, 7.

67. Quoted in Mahin, *op. cit.*, pp. 348, 349. The legal provisions for the court of industrial relations and its abolition are found in *Laws of Kansas, 1920* (Topeka, 1920), ch. 29, sec. 1-30, pp. 35-47, and *Laws of Kansas, 1925* (Topeka, 1925), ch. 258, sec. 1-11, pp. 337-339.

resources for its achievement. Vetoed by Gov. Fred Hall, a liberal Republican in 1955, it was added to the constitution by a vote in 1958.

VI

One of man's ceaseless quests across the centuries has been to preserve, create, and transmit knowledge. The annals of Kansas contain many interesting chapters in the history of education from the first Protestant Indian Mission school founded west of Shaw in Neosho County in 1824, under the auspices of the United Foreign Missionary Society, and the first free school for Indian and white children established in present Wyandotte county in July, 1844, to today's system of elementary, secondary, and higher education. In the earliest era of Kansas, education was a private affair as families organized schools on a voluntary subscription basis. The Wyandotte constitution of 1859 authorized the legislature to "encourage the promotion of intellectual, moral, scientific, and agricultural improvement, by establishing a uniform system of common schools, and schools of higher grade, embracing normal, preparatory, collegiate, and university departments."⁶⁸

Education was viewed essentially as a matter of local concern in the early years. Territorial Kansas included more than 200 districts. This number grew to 6,134 by 1880, reaching a peak of 9,284 in 1896. Voluntary reorganization, and developments related to the reorganization law of 1945, reduced that number to 2,800 by 1958-1959.⁶⁹ The state board of education was created in 1873, to issue teaching certificates. In 1905 it was given power to prescribe the curriculum and accredit schools, and in 1915, additional authority was given to the board. The state department of education was organized more effectively in that year. A lay board of education was provided in 1945.⁷⁰

The story of education in Kansas reflects the struggle of local authority and sentiment with the need for providing adequate educational opportunity for all children. State Supt. Isaac T. Goodnow observed in 1863, that it was "far better for a scholar to walk three or four miles to a first-rate school than 40 rods to a poor one."⁷¹ The developments in transportation and the decrease of rural population has established convincingly the need for further consolida-

68. *Proceedings and Debates of the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, July, 1859*, art. 6, sec. 2, p. 583.

69. *Comprehensive Educational Survey*, v. 1, p. 49.

70. "The Schools of Tomorrow for Kansas," educational planning commission, Kansas State Teachers Association (Topeka, May, 1960), pp. 8, 9.

71. Quoted in George Frey, "A Century of Education in Kansas," Bright, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 216.

tion as recommended in the comprehensive survey of education in 1960. The red or white one-room schoolhouse, which served Kansas so magnificently for most of her history, a symbol of a local, grass-roots culture with many sources of strength, will soon be enshrined only in the temple of memory as Kansas parents send their children with pride to modern schools with rich curricula taught by well-educated teachers.

Kansas has depended heavily upon supporting education by property taxes. In 1957-1958, only five states had greater support from this source than the 77.7 per cent received in Kansas. Kansas ranked 44th in revenue derived for school purposes from state sources. Moreover, expenditures for education have not kept up with gains in personal income. In 1929, for instance, when the Kansas per capita income was \$535, the expenditure for elementary and secondary schools was 4.03 per cent. In 1958, with a Kansas per capita income of \$2,001, the expenditure was 3.12 per cent, lower than the national average of 3.6 per cent.⁷² Kansas ranked 33d among the 48 states in 1958-1959, in expenditures for teachers' salaries. On the basis of personal income per child of school age, Kansas ranked 24th. An increase of 15.3 per cent would be required to place teachers' salaries at the average for the entire nation. Moreover, although substantial gains have been made in the qualifications for teaching in Kansas, in 1958-1959, 39 per cent of the state's elementary teachers, 5,129 out of 13,370, did not have a baccalaureate degree.⁷³

Kansas ranked 11th in 1950 in median years of schooling completed by persons 25 years of age and older. Utah was highest with 12.0 years; Kansas had 10.2 years; the national average was 9.3 years. Kansas ranked tenth in 1950 in the percentage of population of 25 years and older with at least four years of high school, 39.5 per cent of the population having that achievement. Kansas ranked 22d, however, in the percentage of the adult population with four or more years of college, with the neighboring states of Colorado and Oklahoma rating higher. The statistics on education show a great disparity in media years of schooling for urban residents at 11.2 years, rural nonfarm residents at 9.4 years; and rural farm residents at 8.9 years. The range in counties in 1950 was from 12.4 years in Johnson county to 8.8 years in 13 Kansas counties.⁷⁴

72. "The Schools of Tomorrow for Kansas," p. 57, 63.

73. *Comprehensive Educational Survey*, v. 2, pp. 69, 75, 76.

74. *Ibid.*, v. 1, pp. 25-27.

A critical factor in education for the future is the rapid increase in the population. The greatest increase since 1900 was between 1950-1958, when it amounted to 11 per cent, 80 per cent of which were persons under 18.⁷⁵ In 1920 the birth rate for Kansas was 22.7 per thousand; in 1940 it was only 16.1. In 1956 it was 26.9, the highest level in the history of the state. The 55,862 births in 1956 set a new record for the number of births in a year. In September, 1958, there were 486,596 pupils in the elementary and secondary schools of Kansas, 441,883 (90.7 per cent) in public schools and 45,763 (9.3 per cent) in parochial and private schools. The projected enrollment in elementary and secondary schools for 1969-1970 is 523,286. This will represent an increase of 15.5 per cent in the first eight grades and 34.6 per cent in grades nine to twelve.⁷⁶

Kansans early demonstrated an interest in higher education. Highland College and Baker University, founded in 1858, and St. Benedict's College in 1859, are the three oldest colleges in Kansas. Kansas State University of Agriculture and Applied Science traces its origin to Bluemont College, founded by the Methodists in 1859. It became Kansas State Agricultural College in 1863, the first land grant college in the United States under the Morrill act. Provision was made for a state university in the Wyandotte constitution of 1859. The University of Kansas was authorized in 1864 by legislative action. Classes began in 1866. The pattern of development has included not only state supported and privately controlled colleges, but also public junior colleges and municipal universities. Junior colleges were established at Fort Scott, Garden City, Holton, and Marysville in 1919. Only the first two maintain colleges presently. The University of Wichita, a municipal institution, was the first of the universities of this type in Kansas, established by referendum vote in 1926, on the foundation built by Fairmount College, a Congregational institution established in 1895. In the centennial year, Kansas makes available a variety of undergraduate, graduate, and professional programs through five state, two municipal, 21 private church-related, and 14 public junior colleges and universities accredited by the Kansas State Board of Education. The ratio of enrollments to college-age population was 45.1 per cent in Kansas as compared to 34.6 per cent for the entire United States in 1957. In 1960-1961 the actual enrollment in colleges and universities was 51,329. The projected enrollment of 1975 is in excess of 70,000.⁷⁷

75. *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 46.

76. "The Schools of Tomorrow for Kansas," p. 23; *Comprehensive Educational Survey*, v. 2, pp. 14, 60.

77. *Comprehensive Educational Survey*, v. 1, pp. 66-71; *ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 67, 72, 73.

Excellent leadership for education in Kansas is provided by several organizations. The oldest is the Kansas State Teachers Association, founded at Leavenworth in 1863. The permanent staff and committees provide fine sources of information and support for members and the citizens generally. The Kansas Congress of Parents and Teachers and the Kansas Association of School Boards also have fine records of achievement. Other lay groups and committees of various organizations share effectively in interpreting the possibilities and problems of education in Kansas. There is much unfinished business for education in Kansas. The greatest problems are related to the equalization and elevation of educational opportunity and better financial support for education on all levels.

The life of man includes the abiding resources which come from religious faith. Heroic men and women of Kansas bore witness to their faith long before statehood was achieved. In September, 1824, the Rev. Benton Pixley established a mission among the Osage Indians under the auspices of the United Foreign Missionary Society in present Neosho county west of Shaw. Thus was initiated a widespread missionary endeavor which was developed among the Indians throughout the future Kansas area by Roman Catholic and Protestant groups. Father Padilla, a Franciscan accompanied Coronado to Kansas in 1541, and returned later to become a Christian martyr. The first Jesuit Indian mission was established at Kickapoo in June, 1836.⁷⁸

The available evidence indicates that W. H. Goode preached the first Methodist sermon to white settlers in Kansas at Palmyra (Baldwin) in July, 1854. On October 15, 1854, the Rev. Samuel Young Lum organized the Plymouth Congregational Church at Lawrence.⁷⁹ Soon the American Home Missionary Society established permanent work on the Kansas frontier with real energy and planning. The pluralistic pattern of American religious life was soon manifested in the diversity of the Christian witness in Kansas in liturgy, polity, doctrine, and faith.

The Christian witness manifested itself beyond worship services, Sunday School classes, and specific church activities. The religious forces sought to strengthen the moral fiber of the people. There were great problems on the frontier as indicated by the Rev. S. Y. Lum when he wrote to the American Home Missionary Society in April, 1855: "The circumstances under which mind is thrown

78. Peter Beckman, *The Catholic Church on the Kansas Frontier, 1850-1877* (Washington, D. C., 1943), pp. 1, 4.

79. Lindquist, "Religion in Kansas During the Era of the Civil War," *loc. cit.*, p. 409; Lindquist, "The Letters of the Rev. Samuel Young Lum, Pioneer Kansas Missionary, 1854-1858," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 25 (Spring, 1959), p. 39.

in this wild frontier life . . . engenders a recklessness, & freedom from restraint, that too often, prove fatal to the principles, as well as the practices of a home society & it is not too much to say, that we have the material, for either the worst, or the best, state of society in our country."⁸⁰ The gains in membership were modest, but the foundations were laid as the frontier church called men to abandon their reliance on secularism and materialism. The churches, except the Methodist church South, identified themselves with the Union cause in the slavery conflict. As indicated earlier, churches shared in the crusade against King Alcohol.

Kansas churches, Protestant and Catholic alike, have rendered distinguished service to the state through a wide variety of institutions. Academies, colleges, hospitals, homes for the aged, children's homes, and other agencies devoted to the ministry of mercy have brought great blessings across the years. The churches have a continuous record of constructive service to humanitarian causes in various relief and aid programs. In recent years, the churches have distinguished themselves by service to stricken peoples abroad through the Catholic Relief Services, Church World Service, C. R. O. P. (Christian Rural Overseas Program), settlement of refugees from political tyranny, and other works for the family of man.

Protestantism in Kansas has largely been related to the conservative position. The state is usually identified with the "Bible Belt," so called because of its literal acceptance of the Holy Scriptures. Only rarely has Kansas been affected by any violent controversies related to the issues of modernism and fundamentalism. There has been generally a clearly identifiable strain of moral and theological dogmatism. The rural character, historically, of Kansas may be an important factor in the generally conservative position of Kansas church people.

Although the Congregationalists had the advantage of the momentum of an early start, the position of leadership soon passed to the Methodists. The Methodist church has the first rank in numbers among all denominations in Kansas. According to a study made by the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., based on 1952 yearbooks, the Methodist church not only outranked all other denominations in Kansas but was also the largest Protestant denomination in 97 out of the state's 105 counties. The same study showed a surprising result for many Kansans, namely that 23 states

80. Lindquist, "Religion in Kansas During the Era of the Civil War," *loc. cit.* (Autumn, 1959), p. 315.

had a higher ratio of church members to the entire population than Kansas.⁸¹ In 1958 Prof. Donald O. Cowgill and LaVerna F. Wadsworth published a study of the religious preferences of Wichita families based upon a survey by 5,500 volunteers of 65,000 households under the auspices of the Wichita Council of Churches. The findings indicated the following: Methodist, 21.0 per cent; Baptist, 18.6 per cent; Roman Catholic, 11.8 per cent; Disciples of Christ, 11.0 per cent; Presbyterian, 7.9 per cent; Lutheran, 3.8 per cent; and a variety of other groups with smaller percentages. The total Protestant was 81.5 in 1958 in contrast to 66.2 per cent in the United States, based on statistics for 1957, one year earlier than the Wichita study.⁸² According to the *National Catholic Almanac*, there were 267,850 Catholics in Kansas in 1959, or 12.77 per cent of the population. There were 353 parishes and 42 missions. The first Jewish congregation was organized in Leavenworth in 1859. The estimated Jewish population in Kansas in 1959, according to the *American Jewish Year Book*, was 3,400 or 0.13 per cent of the total population.⁸³

Co-operative efforts among Protestants were given official recognition when the Kansas Sunday School organization was formed in 1865 at Bismarck Grove near Lawrence. In 1921 the Kansas Council of Christian Education was formed. Six years later denominational executives formed the Kansas Council of Churches for the purpose of fellowship and the exchange of ideas. This organization and the Kansas Council of Religious Education merged into the Kansas Council of Churches in 1942. The council consists of hundreds of churches in ecumenical fellowship. When the Rev. F. S. McCabe addressed the quarter-centennial celebration of Kansas in Topeka on January 29, 1886, he declared: "If we should ever inscribe a supplementary motto on our coat-of-arms and if the clergy should be allowed to select the legend, I believe that it would be the golden phrase that has come down to us from the seventeenth century: '*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus, caritas.*'—In things essential, unity; in things doubtful, liberty; in all things, charity."⁸⁴ Although there are many exceptions to this

81. *Churches and Church Memberships in the United States*, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. (New York, 1957), Series C, No. 29, n. p., and Series C, No. 30, n. p.

82. Donald O. Cowgill and LaVerna F. Wadsworth, *Religious Preferences of the Families of Wichita* (Wichita, 1958), p. 2.

83. Felician A. Foy, ed., *The 1960 National Catholic Almanac* (Paterson, N. J.), pp. 432, 436. *American Jewish Year Book*, 1960 (Philadelphia), pp. 5, 9.

84. Lindquist, "The Protestant and Jewish Religions in Kansas," *loc. cit.*, pp. 376, 377; F. S. McCabe, "The Churches of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 3 (1883-1885), pp. 422-426.

admirable declaration, the relationship of the churches of Kansas is quite well described, at least theoretically, by these words.

The resources of music came with the earliest settlers. The beginnings were humble but important as the pioneer mother hushed the fear of the infant on her knee by the tune of a favorite lullaby. Old and familiar hymns were sung, some in English, others in the language of the homeland, in cabin, dugout, and sod house. Church choirs were organized to enrich the service of worship. As early as the autumn of 1854, Forest Savage, a member of the second party of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, organized a small band at Lawrence. In September, 1869, the Kansas State Musical Convention met at Leavenworth. There was a growing interest in music as clubs were organized in various communities including the Topeka Musical Association which was formed in January, 1869.⁸⁵

Colleges and universities have furnished fine leadership in this phase of the humanities. Lessons on the melodeon and piano were given at Baker University from the date of its founding in 1858. The most distinctive musical development in Kansas is related to the founding of the Bethany College Oratorio Society at Lindsborg by Dr. Carl A. Swensson, president of Bethany College, and Mrs. Swensson, in 1881. In March, 1882, the strains of Handel's "Messiah" were first heard in the Smoky valley of central Kansas. A tradition of excellence has characterized this organization which has rendered the "Messiah" more than 200 times in the great Holy Week tradition on Palm Sunday and Easter, and Bach's "The Passion of Our Lord According to St. Matthew" on Good Friday. Thousands of people make an annual pilgrimage to Lindsborg to share in what the *New York Times* has described as "an expression in song from voices schooled to near perfection through years of training. But it is more than that. In Lindsborg, the 'Messiah' is religion—as much a part of the people's worship as the church services which they attend every Sunday."⁸⁶ The Lindsborg "Messiah" has also furnished leadership for the organization of other groups and festivals in the state.

Many forces have been joined in promoting an interest in music. The Welsh influence in the Emporia area resulted in the traditional music festival, the *eisteddfod*, brought from native Wales, and maintained enthusiastically almost until the end of the last century. The Kansas Federation of Music Clubs has conducted auditions

85. Edna Reinbach, *Music and Musicians in Kansas* (Topeka, 1930), pp. 2, 3.

86. Emory Lindquist, *Smoky Valley People* (Lindsborg, 1953), p. 123.

leading to scholarships for Kansas youth since 1927. The early leadership given to high school music festivals by the Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, has resulted in a statewide program which brings thousands of students together for solo and ensemble participation under the sponsorship of the Kansas State High School Activities Association. The colleges and universities present effective curricula, artists, and ensemble groups. Many private teachers join with the public and parochial school programs to provide a fine opportunity for musical development. The Wichita Symphony Society has gained considerable praise for its civic orchestra. Topeka and other cities also support commendable orchestral and choral groups.

The achievement in the field of composition has been modest among Kansans across the years. The Indian theme was developed effectively by Thurlow Lieurance while he was teaching at the University of Wichita. Included in his works are a symphonic sketch "Minisa." His best known work is entitled "By the Waters of Minnetonka." Arthur Finley Nevin wrote an Indian opera called *Paia* and another opera *The Daughter of the Forest*. Charles Sanford Shelton, associated with the University of Kansas, also used Indian themes in his compositions.⁸⁷

The most famous Kansas musical composition is "Home on the Range," originally known as "Western Home," adopted by the Kansas legislature as the official state song in 1947. The background factors related to the writing of the words and music are described in a fascinating account by Kirke Mechem.⁸⁸ The words were composed by Dr. Brewster Higley in his one-room cabin on Beaver creek about 20 miles from Smith Center. Higley, born at Rutland, Ohio, had a good education, being a graduate of a medical college at La Porte, Ind., and had practiced medicine for many years when he moved to Smith county in 1871, at the age of 48. The melody was composed by Daniel E. Kelley, who was born at North Kingston, R. I., in February, 1843. He came to Kansas in 1872 at the age of 29, settling at Gaylord, in Smith county. He was a member of an orchestra in which his wife and his two brothers-in-law participated. Kirke Mechem points out that there is no reason to believe that the notes which form the melody were ever transcribed by Kelley. Both Higley and Kelley lived in Kansas many years after "Home on the Range" was created. They never knew how famous their composition was destined to become.

87. Reinbach, *Music and Musicians in Kansas*, pp. 39-41.

88. Kirke Mechem, "Home on the Range," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 17 (November, 1949), pp. 313-339.

The frontier world did not generally prove hospitable to the arts, but it did offer much subject matter. Prof. Robert A. Taft of the University of Kansas, a distinguished Kansas writer and educator, has portrayed effectively the frontier sources for artists in his splendid volume, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West* (1953). The author points out that the first setting for a Kansas drawing was "War Dance in the Interior of a Konza Lodge," sketched by Samuel Seymour near present Manhattan in August, 1819. This was the beginning of the Kansas locale in art which included the work of the famous early Western artist, Frederic Remington, who spent the period from March, 1883, to May, 1884, on a sheep ranch in Butler county. Henry Worrall, who created many illustrations for *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, has been described by Professor Taft as "the only Kansas artist and illustrator in the period under consideration [1850-1900] to achieve recognition on anything approaching a national scale for his portrayal of Kansas life."⁸⁹ In more recent times the theme of Kansas history resulted in the distinctive and controversial murals in the Kansas capitol, painted by John Steuart Curry who was born in Jefferson county, but lived out of the state during his distinguished professional career.

The most famous Kansas artist was Swedish-born Birger Sandzen who joined the faculty of Bethany College, Lindsborg, in 1893, and for more than half a century served the college and Kansas with distinction. Sandzen was an enthusiastic Kansan who loved the West and transmitted his response in hundreds of paintings and prints. William Allen White has written: "Birger Sandzen knows that mood of nature. He goes to it unafraid, and comes back triumphant, capturing it, subduing it, translating it into human terms. He grapples with its joy. He translates its terror and dread without compromise, without understatement. He has come from the plains where things grew rank and strong, from Kansas where he has interpreted ugliness, disharmony, monotony in terms of beauty and yet faithfully with affectionate wisdom." Sandzen enriched the life of Kansas immensely by his promotion of interest in art. He was an apostle of beauty, who insisted upon no artistic creed except integrity. He organized the Smoky Hill Art Club and the Prairie Water Color Painters, and shared in founding the Prairie Print Makers. It is true as Leila Macklin has said of him: "Birger Sandzen has lit little candles of art knowledge and appreciation all

⁸⁹ Robert Taft, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850-1900* (New York, 1953), pp. 118, 201, 211, 324.

through the Middle West.”⁹⁰ *The Graphic Work of Birger Sandzen* (1952), prepared and edited by Charles Pelham Greenough, III, presents valuable information on the career of the great Kansas artist. Kansas has produced many other artists who have gained considerable recognition in various artistic media.⁹¹

Colleges and universities have played leading roles in art ever since the first instruction in that subject at Baker University in 1858. The Kansas State Art Association was organized in 1883. The University of Kansas with its Thayer collection and other sources has been a center for the study and appreciation of art. The Mulvane museum at Washburn University and the Birger Sandzen Memorial Gallery at Lindsborg provide fine opportunities for developing art appreciation. The Murdock collection at the Wichita Museum, made possible by a grant from Mrs. Louise Caldwell Murdock, has a distinguished collection of masterpieces inadequately housed. The Kansas Federation of Art, founded in 1932, and the *Kansas Magazine*, edited and published at Kansas State University, have fine records of achievements in promoting interest in art.

Kansas has produced a variety of writers who have dealt with a wide range of subjects in many literary forms.⁹² The Civil War era furnished the source for several books by leading participants such as Gov. Charles Robinson, Sara T. D. Robinson, W. A. Phillips, and others. The Kansas locale has furnished the theme for novels ranging from Margaret Hill McCarter's portrayal of life in Kansas during the Civil War era in *The Price of the Prairies* (1910) to Kenneth S. Davis' realistic portrayal of life in a rural Kansas town in the Flint Hills in *The Years of the Pilgrimage* (1948). Ed Howe, editor of the *Atchison Globe*, became nationally famous for his first novel, *The Story of a Country Town* (1883), describing the sombre aspects of life in Kansas. In contrast is Charles M. Sheldon's religious theme, *In His Steps* (1896), a portrayal of the response of Jesus to everyday living which was published in millions of copies and in several languages. Frank Harris, an interesting and controversial literary figure, attended the University of Kansas in the 1880's. He later worked on a Flint Hills ranch, an experience which he described in his book, *My Reminiscences as a Cowboy* (1930).

90. Lindquist, *Smoky Valley People*, pp. 211, 212.

91. Sources for material on Kansas artists include the following: Edna Reinbach, "Kansas Art and Artists," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17 (1926-1928), pp. 571-585; Faye Davison, "What I Know About Kansas Artists," *Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, 1933, pp. 43-48; Margaret Whittlemore, "Notes on Some Kansas Artists," *Kansas Magazine*, 1935, pp. 41-45; *Kansas, A Guide to the Sunflower State* (New York, 1939), pp. 137-145.

92. Maynard Fox, *Book-Length Fiction by Kansas Writers, 1915-1938*, Fort Hays Kansas State College Studies (Topeka, 1943); Elizabeth D. Van Schaack, "The Arts in Kansas," Bright, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 248-263; *Kansas, A Guide to the Sunflower State*, pp. 129-136.

Many Kansas poets have turned to the great Muse from earliest times to the present. Several anthologies of Kansas poetry have appeared including the volumes edited by the following: Hattie Horner, *Kansas Poetry* (1891); Thomas W. Herringshaw, *Poets and Poetry of Kansas* (1894); Willard Wattles, *Sunflowers, A Book of Kansas Poems* (1914), which included the well-known poems, "Opportunity," by J. J. Ingalls, and "Each in His Own Tongue," by W. H. Carruth; Helen Rhoda Hoopes, *Contemporary Kansas Poetry* (1927); and May Williams Ward, *Kansas Poets* (1953). William Herbert Carruth edited a two-volume anthology entitled *Kansas in Literature* (1900). William Inge, who was born at Independence and graduated from the University of Kansas, has gained national recognition for his plays, *Come Back Little Sheba* (1949), *Picnic* (1953), and *Bus Stop* (1955). Inge often uses the Kansas locale for his writing. *Picnic* won the Pulitzer prize for drama in 1953.

The greatest name in Kansas literary circles is William Allen White. As editor of the *Emporia Gazette*, he became an effective ambassador-at-large for Kansas. Friendly critic, devoted enthusiast, and Pulitzer prize winner he interpreted Kansas and America by novels, essays, poems, special articles, and editorials in a magnificent manner. One bibliography of his works includes almost 500 items.⁹³ His *Autobiography* (1946) contains an intimate and interesting portrayal of the life of a great and famous Kansan from his birth in 1868 to 1923. William L. White, the son of the great Emporia editor, has written a number of well-known books including *What People Said* (1938), *Journey for Margaret* (1941), and *They Were Expendable* (1942).

The career of Dr. Arthur Hertzler, M. D., famous Halstead surgeon, received a dramatic portrayal in the interesting autobiographical work *Horse and Buggy Doctor* (1938), a striking success nationally. Dr. Hertzler was the author of many books on surgery. Dr. Karl Menninger, M. D., Topeka, is the author of such well-known books as *The Human Mind* (1930), *Man Against Himself* (1938), and *Love Against Hate* (1942), in collaboration with Jeanetta Lyle Menninger. Frank W. Blackmar, Frank H. Hodder, William E. Connelley, and James C. Malin have made extensive contributions to the knowledge of Kansas history.

The *Kansas Magazine*, a periodical devoted to literature and art, was published intermittently until 1933. The first series, 1872-1873, was in four volumes, and was referred to as "The *Kansas*

93. Walter Johnson and Alberta Pantle, "A Bibliography of the Published Works of William Allen White," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 15 (February, 1947), pp. 22-41.

Magazine of blessed memory. . . . Its flight was brief but glorious, and the light of it still lingers in the western sky." The new series appeared in two volumes, 1886-1888, and the third series in six volumes, 1909-1912. The *Kansas Magazine* was re-established in 1933, this time under the leadership of faculty members at Kansas State University. The magazine has maintained since that time a splendid pattern of achievement for literature and art in Kansas. The *Agora* was published in five volumes, 1891-1896; it contains interesting material for that period.⁹⁴

Kansas has been singularly fortunate in its editors and newspapers across the century. It is true as D. W. Wilder, a pioneer Kansas editor, pointed out at the quarter-centennial celebration of statehood that Kansas, in a sense, is the child of newspapers. Editors Horace Greeley, Joseph Medill, Chas. A. Dana, and many others served the cause of future Kansas in pre-statehood days. William A. Phillips of the New York *Tribune* and James Redpath of the St. Louis *Democrat* and the Boston press were also closely identified with territorial Kansas. The press came early to Kansas. The *Kansas Weekly Herald*, the first regular newspaper, appeared at Leavenworth, under the date line of September 15, 1854.⁹⁵

In 1860 there were 27 newspapers in Kansas.⁹⁶ A century later there were 346, including 53 dailies, 13 semiweeklies and 272 weeklies. The editors have generally been Kansas enthusiasts. Closely identified with the political life, they have constituted a fraternity of ability and dedication. There have been real individualists among them. The encroachment of business demands have made the newspaper editor less colorful in recent decades than were his predecessors in early Kansas years. There have been conflicts within the ranks as should be expected when men of independence clash. The Kansas Editorial Association code of ethics, dating from 1910, was a pioneer statement in that field. Many great names are found in the Editor's Hall of Fame established in 1931 at the University of Kansas, and a large number could be added. Kansas has been served well across the century by editors and the press.

An unusual literary and publishing venture was established in Kansas in 1919 when E. Haldeman-Julius pioneered in inexpensive

94. *A List of Books Indispensable to a Knowledge of Kansas History and Literature*, Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka, 1916), p. 16.

95. D. W. Wilder, "The Newspapers of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 3 (1883-1885), pp. 405, 406; A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 278.

96. Wilder, "The Newspapers of Kansas," *loc. cit.*, p. 405.

paper-back books, known as the "Little Blue Books," which sold for five cents each. Millions of copies of hundreds of titles, including well-known classics, came from the presses at Girard. National advertising and promotion boosted sales. The publication of the "Blue Books" continues in the family tradition at Girard.

The Kansas State Historical Society owes its origin to a meeting of newspaper editors and publishers in Manhattan in 1875. As early as 1855 the first charter for a historical society was granted, and attempts were made again in 1859 and 1867 to establish such an organization. The editors pledged at the meeting in 1875 to provide the historical society with copies of papers published in the state. This pledge has been maintained. The Society has been the official archives for the state since 1905.⁹⁷ The excellent library, newspaper collection, publications, museum, and services of the staff provide rich resources for the study of Kansas history.

VII

A quaint contradiction prevails in the view of Kansas first dramatized by William Allen White in his famous editorial, "What's the Matter With Kansas?" in the *Emporia Gazette* in 1896, circulated in a million copies by Mark Hanna in the campaign to elect William McKinley, and its contemporary expression in a feature article by the same title in the *New York Times Magazine* in 1954 by Kenneth S. Davis, distinguished Kansas novelist and biographer.⁹⁸ The latter lamented the conformity and drabness of Kansas in our time in contrast with the colorful individualism and dynamic radicalism of the Populists which White attacked so scathingly in his editorial. Regardless of the background factors, our generation seems enthralled to repeat the old question, "What's the Matter With Kansas?"

The question, with its chafing tone of despair, repeated in our time, demonstrates inadequate understanding of history and of the forces over which Clio's Muse presides. Kansas has had times of distinctiveness, periods characterized by a kind of "momentous now," and it may have such times again, when men and events join to provide a forward thrust that a later generation applauds. Other states have also had those all too fleeting times of distinctiveness. Virginia once had a great dynasty of talent—George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and others. Gov. J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., and Sen. Harry Byrd are scarcely leaders of equal stature.

97. *Your Kansas State Historical Society* (Topeka, n. d.), a brochure.

98. Kenneth S. Davis, "What's the Matter With Kansas?" the *New York Times Magazine*, June 27, 1954, sec. 6, pp. 12, 39, 41.

Do Virginians join in a lugubrious lament, "What's the Matter With Virginia?" There was once a time in the northeastern states, when greatness flourished, and the "flowering of New England" was identified with the genius of Emerson, Lowell, the Adams family, and other celebrities. The memory of that era looms large in contrast with contemporary achievement. Should a national chorus swell with a great crescendo, "What's the Matter With New England?"

When Carl Becker wrote his famous essay on Kansas 50 years ago, emphasizing the idealism and individualism of the people, he concluded with this observation: "The Kansas spirit is the American spirit double distilled."⁹⁹ Perhaps this interpretation, placed in the context of our time, is still valid. The faults of Kansas are the faults of America. Alexis De Tocqueville observed about America in the third decade of the last century that the American passion for equality would result in conformity.¹⁰⁰ Kansas, like America, is characterized by conformity, and, at times, there seems to be no plurality of paths. The citadel of conservative Republicanism in Kansas had some breaches recently, but strenuous efforts were made to repair them. Protestantism, the dominant religion of Kansas, which is not now characterized by any distinctiveness, both reflects and promotes a traditional pattern of value. Moreover, an aggressive right-wing fundamentalist emphasis seems to be gaining strength in some quarters. The schools faithfully transmit the prevailing image of America. The colleges and universities struggle long and learnedly with internal business, and generally respond on controversial issues with the considerate restraint the people expect. In 1958, when a group of professors, largely in the fields of economics and political science, from a few of the institutions, publicly proclaimed their opposition to "Right to Work" legislation, there were protests from influential people and groups that the professors were out of bounds. However, the knowledge and skill of the professors are gladly sought in the promotion of scientific, engineering, and business enterprises.

Kansas has abandoned largely the extreme isolationist position that characterized its citizens prior to World War I, although the vestiges remain. Two World Wars, in which Kansas made distinguished contributions through her sons and daughters on far flung battlefields and in agricultural and industrial production at home, have created new world horizons. Towards the middle of

99. Carl Becker, "Kansas," in *Essays in American History Dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner* (New York, 1910), p. 110.

100. Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (London) was published in two volumes, the first in 1835 and the second in 1840. Many editions have been published.

the century, under the leadership of Milton Eisenhower, president of Kansas State University, and chairman of the National Commission of U. N. E. S. C. O., there was heartening interest and support for this important international approach to life and learning. Kansas State University recently sent a large team of experts under the auspices of the Department of State to aid in strengthening the agricultural production of India. Alf M. Landon, two-term governor of Kansas and the Republican candidate for President of the United States in 1936, has provided enlightened leadership for Kansans in international affairs during the last decade.

Kansas was the center of the national controversy over slavery, but the commitment to freedom for the Negro was not inclusive. The Wyandotte constitution of 1859 restricted the franchise to "white male persons," by a vote of 37 to 3, after W. Hutchinson had pled with the convention that unless the franchise was granted, "We must go back to the work of this morning, and revise and change our declaration of rights."¹⁰¹ The Negro received the right to vote in Kansas as a result of the Fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States. School segregation was the policy in several cities in Kansas. It was somewhat ironical that Kansas should furnish the occasion for *Brown et. al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et. al.*, which resulted in the famous United States supreme court desegregation case in May, 1954. Approximately a century after Kansas had been the focal point in the struggle for freedom, the elementary schools in the capital city were desegregated by court order; the other levels of instruction were not segregated. In 1953 legislation became effective designed to prohibit discriminatory practices in employment based upon race, color, religion, or country of ancestral origin. Kansas joined 11 other states in establishing a commission to carry out the intent of the legislation, although Kansas was one of four states which provided no regulatory or enforcing power. In 1959 a law became effective making it a misdemeanor to discriminate because of race, color, religion, or country of ancestral origin in hotels and restaurants, in places of public amusement or entertainment, and on transportation facilities. The legislature in 1959, however, failed to pass an act based upon legislation in 17 other states, which, if passed, would have given Kansas excellent fair employment legislation.¹⁰²

101. *Proceedings and Debates of the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, July, 1859*, p. 30.

102. *Laws of Kansas, 1953* (Topeka, 1953), ch. 249, sec. 1-9, pp. 469-472; *Topeka State Journal*, August 14, 1954; *Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission, 1959 Report of Progress* (Topeka, 1959), p. 8.

The Kansas mind is generally conservative. This an understandable response by a generation that has listened to graphic descriptions, or witnessed directly the hard won conquest over nature and circumstances. There have been times of great adversity when man or nature seemed to conspire against the present and endanger the future. The annals of Kansas include the great drouth of 1860, the great grasshopper invasion of 1874, the great economic collapse after 1887, and the great depression of the 1930's. But the Kansas spirit has shown unusual capacity to triumph over what seemed to be insuperable odds. Times of hardship yielded to times of rejoicing, and the good years far outnumbered the bad years. The state's motto, *Ad Astra Per Aspera*, suggests the true facts of struggle, and, if the stars have not been reached, in certain areas of life, more than flickering glimpses have been seen. Kansas has arrived at a point of stability and progress. Less friendly observers might contend that it is on dead center. If so, it need not stay there.

Kansans have not really expected very much from their state, and some of them are almost unbelieving about her achievements. The net result has been a kind of quaint conservatism. A symbol of it is found in a well-established bank in a Flint Hills town. The new building is beautifully designed and effectively equipped with central air conditioning, central heating, a strong vault, and electric machines for efficient maintenance of records. However, on an attractive turquoise wall is a circular tin plate, covering a hole that leads into the chimney. The board of directors insisted upon this item, based on the consideration that possibly some time in the years ahead it would be necessary to install an old-fashioned stove with pipes. This alternative was taken into account in the midst of all the other modernity. Possibly this kind of conservatism has made the bank a sound financial institution, and symbolically, it may be written large in Kansas life and thought. This conservatism, however, is brought to the straining point in contemplating the century old constitution of Kansas which needs drastic revision demanded by the onward rush of change.

The rugged spirit of independence, which characterized the pioneer era, has yielded generally to the inroads made by changes chronicled across the years. Although often professing personal opposition to the role of centralized government, Kansans have been recently as eager as residents of neighboring states in the quest for federal funds for highways, flood control, government contracts, and support for social agencies. Kansas has shared

annually, and rightly so, in the multibillion dollar federal agricultural program which, although piling up huge surpluses, has also built up the physical resources of Kansas soil and enabled the vital role of agriculture to be maintained. The good earth of Kansas will also be needed to feed the far flung members of the family of man. The need will be greater in the decades that belong to the future.

Kansas is generally slow to respond, but when aroused, the results are sometimes gratifying. A leading example is found in the substantial progress which has been made in recent times in the field of mental health.¹⁰³ The great Menninger clinic in Topeka has furnished inspiring leadership in this great area of concern. In Wichita the Institute of Logopedics, founded in 1934 by Dr. Martin F. Palmer, and directed by him, with its splendid program in rebuilding people through speech and language habilitation, is another example of the response of Kansans to the needs of man. Recent gains in several phases of education are encouraging portents for the future.

Kansas has a full quota of organizations. Optimists, Rotarians, Kiwanians, and Lions meet with unfailing regularity, and the "tail twisters," or their counterparts, must be about equal, on a per capita basis in Kansas, with those of neighboring states. Youth find opportunities for sharing in Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire groups, 4-H Clubs, Boys' State, Girls' State, Y-Teen, Hi-Y, and many other fine organizations with impressive records of achievement. Kansas has an unusually large number of excellent community, county, and district fairs, climaxed by two great state-wide fairs, which appropriately emphasize the outstanding role of agriculture in the state. Patriotic, fraternal, and women's organizations are numerous, and make an appropriate contribution to the life of the state. In the cities, country clubs multiply, and new and smaller replicas are organized to give the middle class mentality a glimpse in part of what that kind of life is supposed to be like.

The tastes of Kansas are fashioned in part by the forest of television antennas and, to a lesser degree, by radio receiving sets. The TV listener can relive, if he chooses, and many so choose, the exploits in Kansas of Wyatt Earp and his contemporaries, some real, some fictitious. The culture of old Dodge City and Wichita town

103. A report on the Kansas situation by the National Institute for Mental Health is found in *Kansas State Board of Health News Letter*, Topeka, v. 26 (August, 1958), p. 6.

are transmitted weekly to millions of eager viewers in the nation. In a few places in Kansas, Great Books discussion groups rival the heroes of the Old West for attention. The Puritan emphasis on thrift and hard work has yielded somewhat to the new leisure of the 40-hour week. Although libraries report a flourishing business and book and record clubs have their patrons, golf courses, bowling alleys, and boating docks also have their faithful disciples.

Things do change in Kansas. Cocktail parties and drinking in homes and clubs are fairly common practices in the state of Carry Nation. It is somewhat ironical that the monument which was raised with great ceremony in Wichita in September, 1918, to honor Carry Nation was knocked over accidentally and unceremoniously years later by a beer truck. It now rests undisturbed and unappreciated in a warehouse.

The physical countenance of Kansas has changed, too. Winding trails and, later, inadequately drained dirt roads with narrow bridges have yielded to the magic of macadam and cement, and a system of county, state, and federal roads has been climaxed by a four-lane turnpike running southwest 236 miles from Kansas City through Wichita to the Oklahoma state line. Even the hurried traveler sees many vacant farm houses, or the area of the former farmstead outlined by old cedar trees, the only memorial of earlier years to mark the place where children played and their parents dreamed dreams about the future. There are towns, almost deserted, and bulging cities, with great problems, symbols of the end and the beginning of an era whose secrets have not yet been revealed to mortal man.

Thousands of miles of transmission lines crisscross the Kansas landscape, thanks to an effective Rural Electrification Administration program, and private and public sources of power, so that over 95 per cent of Kansas farms are electrified.¹⁰⁴ The country side shows a heartening response to sensible conservation practices, as the erosion of soil is stopped by terracing and contour farming. Ponds and lakes dot the landscape in all parts of Kansas, and west of Marquette is the Kanopolis reservoir, one of six federal reservoirs in the state designed effectively for flood control and recreation, with additional resources for irrigation to improve upon the bounty of nature. Kansas, like many other states, joins in the quest for more adequate water resources. In some areas of the state, giant power plants loom on the horizon, generating the energy to move

104. Kenneth E. Merrill, *Kansas Rural Electric Cooperatives—Twenty Years With the R. E. A.* (Lawrence, 1960), p. 53.

the wheels of industry, symbols of the changing nature of the Kansas economy.

Kansas can scarcely be described as Dorothy Canfield Fisher described New York, "a glowing queenly creature," or like Virginia, "a dignified *grande dame* with ancient, well-mended fine lace and thin old silver spoons," or like Massachusetts, a man with "hair thinned by intellectual applications."¹⁰⁵ Kansas is like a man returned from a long journey that has covered vast stretches of time. He has witnessed the conflict of the real and the ideal, the extremes of poverty and affluence, the ebbing tide of despair and the rising tide of hope. He is glad he made the journey, but he isn't sure what it really meant, nor does he know how to profit fully from it. He wasn't the most brilliant in the company of travelers, but he was respectable, and generally, quite a decent fellow. He had always worked hard, and he could be justly proud of the labor of his hands. He would do things differently if he could go again, but really not too differently. He was glad to be back home, and reflect on what he had seen. And what he saw looked good to him.

105. *Vide*, p. 23.

Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals

Compiled by LOUISE BARRY

I. INTRODUCTION

SEVENTY-FIVE years have elapsed since the 1886 (and final) edition of Daniel Webster Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*. For the territorial and statehood years the compiler had ample source materials at hand for the preparation of a work of lasting historical value. It is still, for the 1854-1886 period, a storehouse of information and basic reference data.

But for the pre-Kansas era (before 1854), this was not true. Of necessity, Wilder had to quote the historians of his day and rely on their works. Of the now-available records (documents, manuscripts, maps, archaeological findings) pertaining to pre-Kansas history, only a fraction were known to the writers of the 1880's. In the perspective of present-day knowledge, the *Annals* entries for the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries are a curious mixture of fact, error, fiction (Penalosa's 1662 expedition), misinterpretation (Hale's account of Du Tisne's 1719 expedition), and obsolescent material. For the pre-Kansas era the *Annals* is now of little value.

To take Coronado's expedition as an illustration: Wilder quoted, among others, the historian H. H. Bancroft who (in an 1884 work) stated that the explorer of 1541 ". . . found only wigwam towns in the province of Quivira, possibly in the Kansas of to-day . . ."; and Bradford Prince who (in an 1883 history) wrote that Coronado ". . . traversed parts of the Indian Territory and Kansas, and finally stopped on the borders of Missouri. . . ." Today it is known that the "wigwam towns" were grass house villages; and the Quiviras have been identified as the Wichita Indians of modern times, who in 1541 had their settlements in present central Kansas (the province of Quivira).

Among the controversial issues which have been less successfully resolved to the entire satisfaction of historians, archaeologists, and others concerned, are these: the site of the Pawnee Republic village visited by Pike in 1806 (Kansas, or Nebraska?); the location of El Cuartelejo (Kansas, or Colorado, or both?); the identity of the populous Indian people known to the French in the 18th century as the Padoucas (were they Plains Apaches, or Comanches?); the location of the Paniouassa villages Du Tisne visited in 1719 (Kansas, or Oklahoma?); the extent of Bourgmont's travels in

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1724 to the great village of the Padoucas (Saline, or Ellsworth, or Rice counties or elsewhere?).

The centennial year of Kansas statehood has seemed an appropriate time to collect and summarize the currently-known facts of pre-Kansas history into a new annals. Perhaps the bringing together of this widely-scattered information into a chronology will provide both a review, and a new view, of the now-distant past.

II. PART ONE, 1540-1762

1540

Francisco Vazquez de Coronado (governor of a Mexican province) headed a large Spanish expedition (200 horsemen and 70 foot soldiers, well-armed; nearly 1,000 Indians and servants; perhaps 1,200 horses; pack mules; some light artillery; droves of cattle, sheep, goats, and swine) which set out from Compostela [in north-western Mexico] late in February to search for the reportedly large and wealthy Seven Cities of Cibola. In July this great company came to the first of the Cities—a Zuñi village [on the western border of present New Mexico]. Greatly disappointed, but still hopeful of finding riches, Coronado made his headquarters among the Zuñi and sent out exploring parties. One, led by Cardenas, discovered the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. Another, under Alvarado, traveled eastward to the Rio Grande and found Indian pueblos [north of present Albuquerque] where there were food supplies. Coronado then moved to the Rio Grande valley for the winter. His next objective was the kingdom of Quivira—a land of enormous wealth, according to an Indian slave known as “Turk.”

Ref: See next entry.

1541

In search of fabled rich Quivira, Coronado and a small, selected party (30 mounted men; six foot soldiers; the Franciscan father, Juan de Padilla; some attendants; extra horses and pack animals) apparently entered present Kansas in June [possibly near present Liberal], having come from the southwest across the Texas and Oklahoma Panhandles of today. On June 29 these explorers reached and crossed the Arkansas [in present Ford county?]. A week later, east and north of the river's great bend, they came to a Quivira settlement. The friendly Indians were tall (some over six and a half feet), dark-skinned, tattooed, nearly-naked people [identified as the Wichitas], who lived in round, grass-covered houses and raised crops of corn, beans, and melons.

For 25 days Coronado and his men ranged the land of the

Quiviras [particularly, it is thought, in present Rice and McPherson counties], visiting the scattered Indian villages (some of which had as many as 200 houses). Nowhere did they find the sought-for wealth and civilization, and they were bitterly disappointed. But the surroundings pleased them. Quivira's "rich and black" soil was "well watered by arroyos, springs and rivers." Wrote Coronado's lieutenant Juan Jaramillo: "It is not a hilly country, but has table-lands, plains, and charming rivers with fine waters. . . . I am of the belief that it will be very productive of all sorts of commodities." They found plums, grapes, mulberries, nuts; and there were the bison (the principal source of food) in numbers "as large as any one could imagine."

In mid-August, accompanied by six young Quivira guides, the expedition returned to the Arkansas crossing. By a route more direct than on the outward journey they marched to the Rio Grande where Coronado's main army awaited him.

Ref: H. E. Bolton's *Coronado on the Turquoise Trail* (Albuquerque, c1949); Geo. P. Hammond and Agapito Rey's *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition* (Albuquerque, 1940); Geo. P. Winship's *The Coronado Expedition* (in *14th Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology*); Paul A. Jones' *Coronado and Quivira* (Lyons, 1937); W. R. Wedel's *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology* (Washington, 1959). A Kansas historical marker, "Coronado and Quivira," is west of Lyons, Rice county.

Though the Spanish supposed it a part of the Mississippi (which Hernando De Soto discovered in May, 1541), Coronado had learned of the existence of the Missouri river during his 1541 visit among the Quiviras. Pedro de Castañeda's account of Coronado's expedition (written some time after the event) stated:

The great Spiritu Santo river [the Mississippi] that had been discovered by Don Fernando de Soto in the land of Florida flows from this region [Quivira]. It runs through a province called Arache [Harahey—north of Quivira], according to information which was considered reliable, though its sources were not seen, because it was said that they come from very far, from the land of the southern cordillera, where it empties into the plains and, crossing the flat lands, cuts through the northern cordillera and comes out at the place where it was sailed by Don Fernando de Soto's men. . . .

Thus the Spanish knew about the Missouri some 130 years before the first known white explorers—the French—saw its waters. (See 1673.)

Ref: Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, p. 263.

1542(?)

Father Juan de Padilla (outfitted by Coronado whose expedition he had accompanied), returned to the Quivira Indians in the spring of 1542 as a missionary. With him were Andres do Campo (a Portuguese), two Indian lay assistants (Lucas and Sebastian), some

servants, and six Quiviras who had guided Coronado. Their equipment included mules, one horse, a flock of sheep, and they took church ornaments and "other trifles." After some time among the friendly Quiviras [Wichitas], at the village where Coronado had planted a cross in 1541 [said to have been near present Lyons, on Cow creek], Father Padilla determined to visit a country (the Guas) toward the east. He set out with his companions, but had not gone far when hostile Indians approached. Campo (on the horse), Lucas, and Sebastian escaped, but Father Padilla was slain by many arrows. The Indian lay assistants returned, "buried him with the consent of the murderers," and then fled with Campo. The place where Kansas' first Christian martyr met his death is not known; nor is the year certain. The event probably occurred in 1542 but may have been as late as 1544.

Ref: Castañeda, in *ibid.*; Bolton's *Coronado* . . . pp. 335-341. In Herington's city park is a monument to Father Padilla which was dedicated in 1904; ceremonies were held for a monument at Council Grove in 1931; near Lyons is a 26-foot granite cross erected to his memory in 1950; and a Kansas historical marker, "Father Juan de Padilla and Quivira," is south of Herington.

1593 or 1594

Captained by Francisco de Leyva y Bonilla and Antonio Gutierrez de Humaña, an unauthorized expedition of Spaniards left San Ildefonso [in New Mexico] in 1593 or 1594 and entered present southern Kansas after a journey which took them east and then on a northward course in search of the "gold mines of Tindan." Along a river [the Arkansas?] they found the friendly Quiviras in a "very large settlement in a great plain 10 leagues long" and some two leagues wide where there were grass houses and fine crops of corn, beans, and melons. Continuing northward across a plain, three days later the explorers came to a buffalo herd of amazing size. Then there occurred a quarrel between the leaders and Leyva was murdered by Humaña who took command. When the Spaniards had gone some ten days' travel beyond the Quivira settlements they reached a large river [possibly the Smoky Hill, or the Kansas; or the Platte?] which was about a quarter of a league wide, deep, and sluggish. At this place Jusepe and five other Indians deserted. (Jusepe, the only one to make his way back—and to give an account of the expedition—was held prisoner by Apaches for a year.)

As was later learned (by Oñate, in 1601) the Spaniards were all murdered (except one?) when Indians of the region fired the grass on all sides of them as they slept one night. (The Quiviras, in 1601,

said that the massacre had occurred 18 days' travel beyond their settlements.)

{The "wide, deep and sluggish" river (which Jusepe in his account said the party had been afraid to cross) may well have been the Smoky Hill or Kansas, in flood stage.]

Ref: Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, pp. 416-419, 755, 838, 940; Wedel, *op. cit.*, p. 21 (who suggests the river was the Smoky Hill or Kansas); H. E. Bolton in his *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest* . . . (New York, 1916), pp. 200, 201, decided the river was the Platte.

1601

Don Juan de Oñate, governor (and colonizer, in 1598) of New Mexico, with a large force (upwards of 70 well-equipped men; two Franciscan friars, attendants; over 700 horses and mules; carts, arms, and artillery) set out late in June (from San Gabriel) for the country to the northeast where the Leyva-Humaña expedition of the 1590's had gone. Their guide was the Indian Jusepe. After more than 200 leagues of travel they came upon a large camp of Escanjaques (a roving, buffalo-hunting people). Accompanied by these Indians (who numbered 5,000 or more), Oñate's party traveled three(?) days more towards the settlement where (according to the Escanjaques) the Spaniards they sought had been slain. They crossed an east-flowing river [the Arkansas?] with "marvelous level banks . . . so wooded that the trees formed very dense and extensive forests," which had good fords but was very deep in places. A little farther on they came to a large Indian settlement of more than 1,200 grass houses, located on the banks of another fairly large river [the little Arkansas at present Wichita?] which flowed into the larger one.

These grass-house people (unnamed by Oñate) also grew crops, and in other ways fitted the description of the Quiviras [Wichitas]. Their chief was called Catarax [the Wichitas' word for chief is Tatarrax]. The arrival of the large force of Escanjaques, their enemies, ended any possibility for friendly relations between the Quiviras and the Spaniards. Prudently deciding to turn back, Oñate and his men first had to fight and defeat the Escanjaques who had turned hostile when restrained from firing the Quiviras' abandoned houses.

Except for learning that the Leyva-Humaña expedition had been massacred by people who lived beyond the Quiviras; and that there were, in the region northward, very large settlements, Oñate's expedition accomplished nothing. He penetrated no farther than the other Spaniards before him and discovered nothing new. He and

his men returned safely to New Mexico, reaching San Gabriel on November 24.

Ref: George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey's *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico* . . . (Albuquerque, 1953); Bolton's *Spanish Exploration*, pp. 250-265; Wedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22, who discusses Oñate's route in Kansas in relation to streams.

1606(?)

A Quivira chief, with 600 warriors, journeyed to Santa Fe following the defeat of the Escanjaques by Oñate. He offered friendship and lands to the Spanish in return for aid against the Quiviras' enemies, the Ayjaos [who may have been the Indians Oñate had called Escanjaques].

Ref: Alfred B. Thomas' *After Coronado, Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico* (Norman, Okla., 1935), p. 8; G. E. Hyde's *Indians of the High Plains* . . . (Norman, Okla., c1959), p. 13.

1670

Father Jacques Marquette, writing from his mission among the Ottawas, told of the Missouri river, as reported to the French by the Indians: "Six or seven days below the Ilois [Illinois] is another great river [Missouri], on which are prodigious nations, who use wooden canoes. . . ."

Ref: J. G. Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1853), p. lvi.

1673-1674

In mid-June, 1673, Louis Jolliet, Father Jacques Marquette, and five other Frenchmen, started down the Mississippi river in two canoes. At the end of June they passed by the mouth of the Pekitanoui (Missouri), and became the first known white men to see the river.

Three of the earliest existing maps based on discoveries by this expedition are noted below. They were, also, the first known which showed the Kansa Indians.

(1) A map drawn by Jolliet in 1673-1674(?)—which accompanied the *Narrative* of the expedition published in M. Thevenot's *Recueil de Voyages* (Paris, 1681). Shown as dwelling some distance up the Missouri (unnamed on the map) were the Missouris (Oumissouri); above them were the Osages (Autrechaha) and the Kansa (Kamissi) living in the same general area; and well beyond were the Paniassa. On the Arkansas river (unnamed on the map) were also the Paniassa—well upstream, with other tribes living above and below them.

(2) The so-called "Marquette" manuscript map of 1673-1674(?). The "R. Pekittanoui" was drawn as a large, but short river, ending abruptly. The same Indian tribes were noted, but under variant spellings for three: Ouchage, Oucmessourit, Kansa, and the Paniassa.

(3) The "Joliet map of 1674" (not drawn by Jolliet). The Messouris, Kansa, Ouchage, Pani, and Minengio(?) tribes (in that order ascending)

were shown on the south bank of a large, east-flowing stream (unnamed) emptying into the Mississippi. Far to the south, on the "Riviere Basire" (the Arkansas), the Paniassa were shown as the farthest west of eight tribes dwelling on its south bank.

Ref: F. B. Steck's *Marquette Legends* (New York, c1960) discusses the authorship and date of the "Marquette" map, and presents the author's theory that Marquette did not accompany Jolliet on the 1673 expedition; Tucker, *op. cit.*; Wedel, *op. cit.*

Before 1680

Between 1664 and 1680 Juan de Archuleta and some soldiers were sent by the New Mexican governor to bring back several Taos Indian families which had fled Spanish rule in the middle 17th century. They found them to the northeast in the "plains of Cibola" in a fortified place to which the Spanish gave the name El Cuartelejo. The Taos Indians had copper and tin articles which they said were "from the Quivira pueblos" to which they had made a journey. The Spaniards also learned that the route to the Pawnees lay by way of Quivira; and were told (or perhaps concluded) that the French already were trading with the Pawnees.

[The Pawnees referred to were probably the Southern Pawnees—the Paniouassa (or, Black Pawnees) of the area that is now northern Oklahoma and southern Kansas. No direct trade was likely between the Pawnees and the French at this early date.]

Ref: Thomas, *After Coronado*, p. 53.

1682

Rene Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, and party, descending the Mississippi in 1682, arrived at the mouth of the Missouri on February 14, camped there, and proceeded next day. Father Zenobe Membre (chaplain of the small French expedition) wrote:

The Indians assure us that this river is formed by many others, and that they ascend it for ten or twelve days to a mountain where it rises; that beyond this mountain is the sea where they see great ships; that on the river are a great number of large villages, of many different nations; that there are arable and prairie-lands, and abundance of cattle and beaver. . . .

La Salle, from information received, estimated the "grand riviere des Emisourites" to be navigable for 400 leagues or more.

Ref: G. J. Garraghan's *Chapters in Frontier History* (Milwaukee, 1933), pp. 54, 55; A. P. Nasatir's *Before Lewis and Clark* (St. Louis, 1952), v. 1, p. 4; Shea's *Mississippi Valley*, p. 167 (for quotation).

1684-1688

Jean-Baptiste Louis Franquelin's *Carte de la Louisiane*, based on La Salle's map and data, was first published in 1684. La Salle's misconception of the present Platte river's eastward course as that of the Missouri—a mistake perpetuated in Franquelin's and some later maps of the French period—thus showed "La Grande Riviere

des Emissourittes" flowing almost due east, and influenced a long-held French belief that the route to the mines of New Mexico lay up the Missouri river. Franquelin's 1688 map showed the same confused network of rivers sketched in his earlier work, but gave more detailed information on the Indian tribes of the West. On the Missouri he showed the Missourits and Zages (Osages); then the Cansa well above them; and on westward, two villages of Pana, and the Panososo. On northwest branches were located the Panimaha (19 villages) and the Panetoca (four villages). Southwest of the Osages were 20 villages of Paneassa.

Ref: *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Cleveland, v. 63, *frontispiece*; Sara J. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country* (Springfield, Ill., 1942); Wedel, *op. cit.*; *American Historical Review*, New York, v. 39, pp. 647, 650.

1693

In mid-May, 1693, two French traders and some Kaskaskia Indians visited the Missouris and Osages, to make an alliance with them. Two chiefs from each village and "some elders and women" accompanied them back to Kaskaskia for a visit, and annual trade relations were established. From this contact, and others in the later 1690's, the French began to learn about other Missouri river Indians. They heard that the Pawnees traded with the Spanish "from whom they get horses of which they make use sometimes to pursue the buffalo in the hunt. . . ."

[The Pawnees acquired the Spanish horses in raids on the Padoucas (Plains Apaches), who got them from the Indians of the New Mexican frontiers. There is no record of direct trade between New Mexico and the Pawnees at this period.]

Ref: Garraghan, *op. cit.*, p. 57; *The Jesuit Relations*, v. 64, pp. 161, 169, 171; Nasa-tir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 5.

1698

Dr. Daniel Coxe outfitted two ships commanded by Captain Barr, which he sent some distance up the Mississippi river in 1698. From notes and journals of expedition members, Daniel Coxe, Jr., compiled *A Description of the English Province of Carolana, by the Spaniards Called Florida, and by the French La Louisiane*, in which the following appeared:

It will be one great conveniency of this country, if ever it comes to be settled, that there is an easy communication therewith and the South Sea, which lies between America and China . . . by the north branch of the great Yellow River, by the natives called the River of the Massorites [Missouri], which hath a course of 500 miles, navigable to its heads or springs, and which proceeds from a ridge of hills somewhat north of New Mexico, passable by horse, foot, or wagon in less than half a day. On the other side

are rivers which run into a great lake, that empties itself by another great navigable river into the South Sea. . . .

Ref: B. F. French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1850), pt. 2, p. 253.

1699

Pierre Lemoyne, Sieur d'Iberville, with some 200 soldiers and colonists in four vessels, arrived from France in February, at a point a little east of the Mississippi's mouth, and founded Biloxi [Miss.].

About 1700

In present Scott county (12 miles north of Scott City, and about 50 miles east of the Colorado line) on a small knoll in Ladder creek valley, are ruins of ancient stone buildings, the principal one having been a seven-room, 53 x 35-foot structure with walls 18 to 24 inches thick. Archaeologists at the turn of the 20th century identified the ruins as of Pueblo origin and suggested they represented the place named El Cuartelejo (by the Spanish some 200 years earlier). More recently (1959) Dr. Waldo R. Wedel (of the Smithsonian Institution) has stated that the Scott county ruins represent ". . . a Plains Apache community of circa A. D. 1700 that included a multi-roomed stone structure, irrigation works, and other features clearly inspired by, if not the actual handiwork of, Pueblo Indians. . . ."

On at least two occasions in the latter half of the 17th century, Pueblo Indians fled from Spanish rule into the plains northeast of New Mexico. Sometime before 1680 when the Spaniards went after the earliest of these refugees (a group of Taos Indians) they found them among the Plains Apaches, living in structures which led the white men to call the place El Cuartelejo. (The term was also applied to the Indians in the vicinity.) In 1706 Ulibarri and a Spanish-Indian force went to El Cuartelejo to get some Picurie Indians and return them to New Mexico. (*See, also, Before 1680, and 1706 in this chronology.*)

Ulibarri's diary and accounts of an expedition by Valverde in 1719 (published in 1935 in A. B. Thomas' *After Coronado* and elsewhere noted in this chronology), seem to indicate that El Cuartelejo was in present eastern Colorado. (Thomas expressed the opinion that El Cuartelejo was either in Otero or Kiowa county, Colorado.)

Discussing El Cuartelejo's location in his *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology* (1959), Dr. Wedel commented on the fact that no archaeological remains have been found in eastern Colorado to substantiate the Thomas claim, and summed up his own conclusions (p. 468) as follows:

As I see it, then, the case for El Cuartelejo in eastern Colorado rests solely on the testimony of certain historical documents. That for Cuartelejo in Scott County rests on archeological evidence, including particularly the unique association of a pueblo ruin with Plains Apache cultural remains. If Scott County pueblo and its associated archeological materials is not the very Cuartelejo rancheria from which Ulibarri rescued Don Lorenzo and his Picuris compatriots . . ., then we must conclude that it was a simultaneously occupied community (Sanasesli?) [for explanation of "Sanasesli" see this chronology under 1706] in which pueblo Indians from the upper Rio Grande and Plains Apaches were residing together in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

Ref: *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 6, pp. 124-130; Thomas' *After Coronado*, see index under El Cuartelejo; Wedel, *op. cit.*, see index under El Cuartelejo, and Scott county pueblo site.

1700

Father Gabriel Marest, of the Kaskaskia mission (on the Illinois) dispatched a report (dated July 10) to Iberville (at Biloxi), summing up the information he had gathered about the Missouri river and its people. For the first time, though indirectly, the Kansas river was mentioned. Marest wrote, in part:

As to the Missouri, it is a very beautiful and large-sized river extending as far as the Mississippi. It is entirely covered with different nations of Indians. . . . Its real name is the Pekitanoui and the French call it the Missouri because this people is the first you meet there. Then come the Arkansas [Kansa], who are on a little river of their own name. Then the Pana, Panissa or rather Panis. These nations are very numerous and by way of their river, which discharges into the Pekitanoui, they carry on commerce with the Spaniards. Our warriors have brought us horses and bridles, which these nations took from the Spaniards. . . .

Ref: Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *La Decouverte du Missouri* . . . (Paris, 1925), p. 33; Garraghan, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 59; Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 6.

Pierre Le Sueur (who had lived on the Upper Mississippi since the 1680's) made the voyage from France to Louisiana in 1699 with Iberville's colony. In 1700 he traveled up the Mississippi (to the mining country of present Minnesota) and passed by the mouth of the Missouri on July 13. He described the river's mouth; stated (mistakenly) that Emissourita meant "peoples of the canoe"; wrote of a tin mine 30 leagues up the river of the Osages [tributary of the Missouri]; and noted that the Aiaouez [Iowas] were enemies of the Panis [Pawnees] who lived along the Missouri. (His information on the mine came from Indians, and on the Pawnees from a Frenchman who had gone to the Iowas by way of the Des Moines river and married a woman of that nation.)

Ref: Villiers du Terrage, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 32.

1702

Seventeen Frenchmen set out in March from Tamaroa [opposite present St. Louis] to ascend the Missouri, build a trading fort in the Pawnee-Iowa country, and explore from there towards New Mexico. This earliest(?) organized trading expedition up the Missouri failed when hostile Indians, at some place not recorded, forced the French to take refuge on an island. They apparently returned safely to Tamaroa.

Ref: Garraghan, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

In a *memoire* of June 20, the Louisiana colony's Iberville listed some Indian nations who lived on the Missouri and estimated their population in families. The Kansa were given as 1,500, the Panimahas as 1,200, and the Panas near Arkansas as 2,000. The Missouris were numbered at 1,500 families, but the Osages were not mentioned. Other upper river Indians in the tabulation were the Otoes, Iowas, and the Sioux.

On August 6 another Frenchman (Remonville) wrote that 14 large Indian tribes lived along the Missouri, which was a larger river than the [upper?] Mississippi.

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 8; Pierre Margry, *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Français*, v. 6 (1888), p. 179.

1703

Guillaume Delisle's *Carte du Mexique et de la Floride*, published in 1703, contained data on the Missouri river country incorporated from his manuscript maps (1701 and 1702) of the Mississippi valley—data gained from Iberville and Le Sueur. Notably, the Missouri's course was sketched as from the northwest. (See 1684-1688.) The Osages were shown as living on the Osage river ("R. des Osages"), a tributary of the Missouri; and the Kansa ("Cansa") were placed on another branch of the Missouri some distance above, which Delisle designated as the "Metchigamiki" [the Kansas]. Farther up the Missouri, and on east-flowing tributaries, were the Pawnees ("Apana," "Panis," "Panimaha"). On the headwaters of a river north of, and paralleling the Kansas, he showed the Paniassa. Far to the south, on a tributary of the Arkansas river ("R. des Acansa") were also "2 grands Villages" of Panis; and on another branch downstream, the Paniassa.

See reproduction of a portion of Delisle's 1703 map between pp. 80, 81.

Ref: Tucker, *op. cit.*; *American Historical Review*, v. 39, pp. 652-654; Wedel, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

1706

Juan de Ulibarri with a force of Spaniards and Indian allies set out from Santa Fe in mid-July to ransom some Picuries who, fleeing Spanish rule in 1696, had become slaves of the Apaches of El Cuartelejo. On July 29 they reached the river "which all the tribes call the Napestle" [the Arkansas]. (Ulibarri named it the Rio Grande de San Francisco.) Crossing, and turning eastward they arrived in the El Cuartelejo settlements on August 4. Ulibarri claimed the new country traversed for Spain. Among these friendly Apaches, he found the Picuries chief and some of his people. Next day, he dispatched men to three other Apache *rancherias*. In the one named Sanasesli (described as "forty leagues distant from the other two") were the son of a former chief, and 18 other Picuries. They were turned over to Ulibarri's scout, Jose de Naranjo, after he and his men had been entertained and given "excellent quarters" by the Sanasesli (a numerous and friendly people).

Meantime Ulibarri established relations with his Apache hosts, and gathered information. The El Cuartelejo Indians said that their enemies were the Pawnees and Jumanos. These Pawnees [*i. e.*, the Paniouassa (Black Pawnees) of present southern Kansas or northern Oklahoma] lived in two large villages on the "Sitascahe" river "seven days' journey across level land with sufficient water." The Apaches had a gun of French make and told of killing a white man and woman (but later said the gun had been taken from a Pawnee). Ulibarri got it in exchange for a Spanish gun. The Apaches said that all the tribes on the five large rivers they knew about were hostile to each other, but had trade with white people to the east. Asked about the "seas" to the north and east, they said they had heard that the one on the north was three long days' journey beyond a tribe called the Pelones [Palomas? *See* 1719 under Valverde] over a road which was all sand dunes of very fine sand without grass.

On August 11, having gathered together all the Picuries, Ulibarri's expedition left El Cuartelejo for New Mexico. The Arkansas river was reached on the 18th; and the company arrived in Santa Fe on September 2.

Ref: Thomas, *After Coronado*, pp. 16-22, 59-80, 262-265.

1706 or 1707

A party of Frenchmen under Derbanne went up the Missouri "nearly 400 leagues" from its mouth in 1706 or 1707. They were (according to Derbanne's 1724 report) "the first of the French to

have been so far into the interior," and they met Indians who directly, or indirectly, had been in contact with the Spaniards.

Ref: Garraghan, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 9.

1712

Antoine Crozat, a wealthy French merchant, was given a 15-year monopoly of trade in the country south of the Illinois river and between the colonies of Spain and England, in exchange for his agreement to bring two shiploads of immigrants into the Louisiana colony each year. (In 1717, the venture having been unsuccessful financially, Crozat gave up his patent.)

1712-1717

Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont (a young French officer, ex-commandant at Detroit) accompanied some Missouris (who had gone north to aid the French against the Fox Indians) to their village in 1712, and lived among them for several years. He made at least two trips far up the Missouri. In 1714 he ascended to the mouth of the Pawnee [Platte] river and kept an accurate log of the "Route to Follow to Mount the Missouri." On another journey he went beyond the mouth of the Niobrara, to the Aricara villages—farther, perhaps, than any white man had ascended before him.

In an account (1717?) of the Missouri and its people, Bourgmont wrote:

There are the Missouris, a nation of savages, bearing the name of the river, who are allies of the French. There are also the Auzages [Osages], another savage nation, allies and friends of the French. Their entire commerce is in furs; they are not numerous; they are a splendid race, and more alert than any other nation. All Missouri furnishes fine skins of all kinds, the climate there being very cold. Upstream is a smaller river which flows into the Missouri, called the "Rivière d'Ecanzé [Kansas] and a nation of the same name, ally and friend of the French; their trade is in furs. This is the finest country and the most beautiful land in the world; the prairies are like the seas, and filled with wild animals; especially oxen, cattle, hind and stag, in such quantities as to surpass the imagination. They hunt almost entirely with the arrow; they have splendid horses and are fine riders. Farther up is the Rivière Large, called by the French and the Indians Nibraskier [*i. e.*, the Platte?]. . . .

Ref: *Ibid*, pp. 60, 61; *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, v. 35, p. 374; v. 36, pp. 282-284; Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 12, 13. (Some sources spell the name "Bourmond.")

1714

Indians reported in Santa Fe that the Jumanos and some allied French traders had attacked El Cuartelejo.

Ref: Thomas, *After Coronado*, p. 264.

1717

The Company of the West (or, the Mississippi Company) secured control of Louisiana and its trade for 25 years. Though the speculative schemes of John Law, its head, quickly failed, the company continued in power for 14 years. (In 1732 it failed and surrendered its charter.) Upper Louisiana (the Illinois country) came under the supervision of lower Louisiana's government in 1717.

1718

New Orleans was founded by Jean Baptiste Lemoyne, Sieur de Bienville, who had recently become governor of Louisiana. (In 1723 New Orleans became the seat of government.)

Guillaume Delisle's *Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississipi* (1718) was much more detailed in its information on the Missouri, the tributaries, and the Indians, than his map of 15 years earlier. The new data had come from Bourgmont.

For the first time, so far as known, the Kansas river ("Grande Riviere des Cansez") appeared by that name on a map; and some tributaries (unnamed) were indicated. In the forks of two branches [the present Junction City area?], Delisle placed a large village of the Kansas ("Cansez"). To the west, on headwaters of the Kansas, he showed villages of Padoucas. The Padoucas (indicated in four other locations to the north and south), together with the Apaches, were shown as forming a barrier to all the region west and southwest.

On the Missouri river, some distance above the mouth of the Kansas, was shown another village of the "Cansez" Indians, below a tributary labeled "Petite Riv. des Cansez" [the village in the present Doniphan area presumably].

Delisle located villages of Paniassa (Black Pawnees) on south-flowing tributaries of the Arkansas ("Riviere des Akansas").

See reproduction of a portion of Delisle's 1718 map *between* pp. 80, 81.

Ref: Carl I. Wheat, "Mapping the American West, 1540-1857," in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Worcester, Mass., v. 64, p. 50; Tucker, *op. cit.*; *American Historical Review*, v. 39, p. 656; Wedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29, and (for discussion of the identity of the Padoucas) 77, 78; Villiers du Terrage, *op. cit.*, p. 57 (who identified the "Petite Riv. des Cansez" as the Big Nemaha of today).

1719

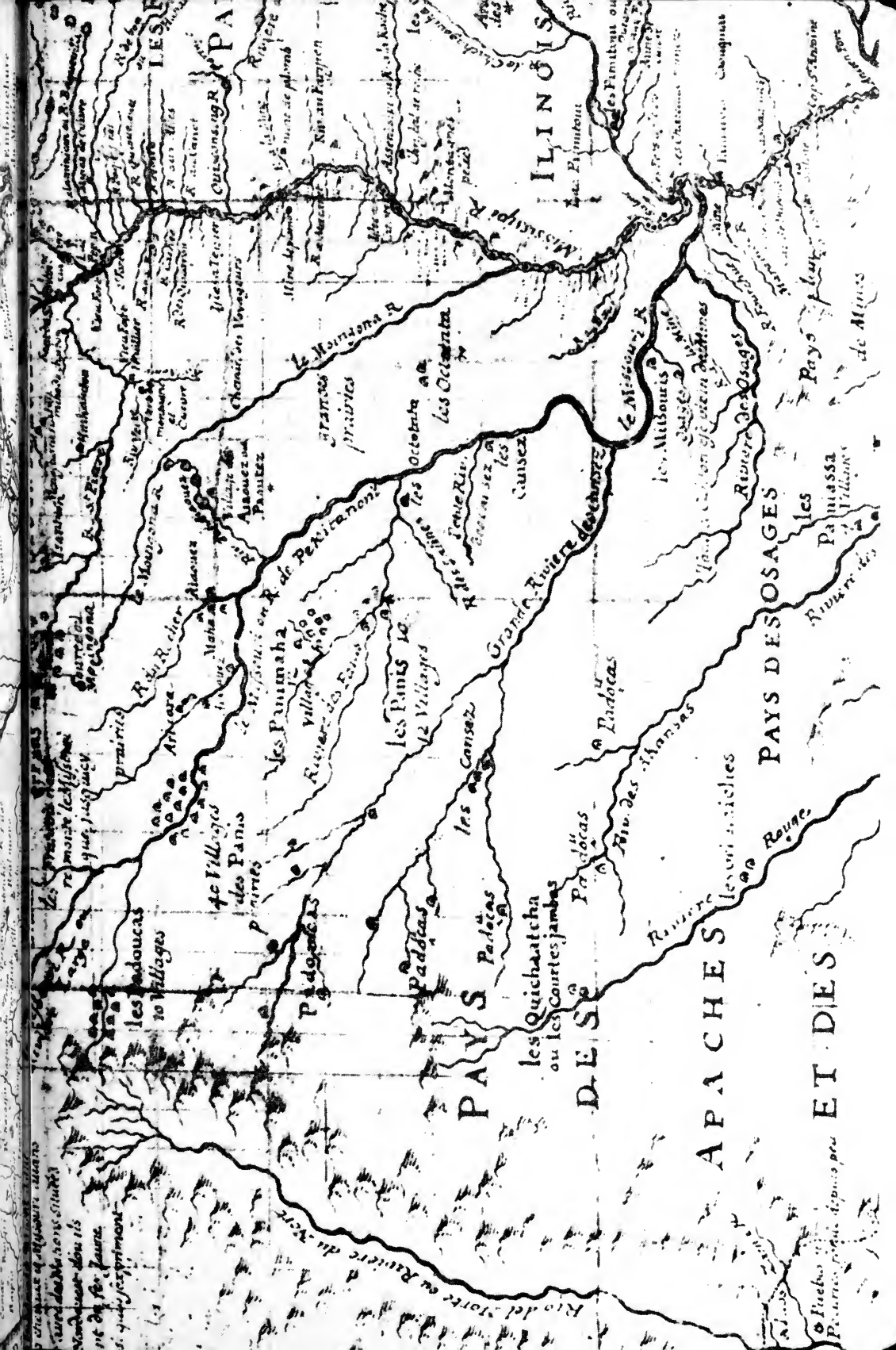
In an attempt to reach the Padoucas by an overland route, French officer Claude Charles Du Tisne set out in the spring from Kaskaskia [on the Mississippi]. His first objective was a visit to the Big Osages [in present Vernon county, Missouri]. He was well treated in their



Above (enlarged from Delisle's map of 1703) is a scale of distances showing comparative lengths of (1) the French land league, (2) the French marine league and Spanish land league [same], (3) the Spanish marine league, and (4) the English mile.

The league as a measure of distance has varied for different times and countries from 2.4 to 4.6 miles. Historians, tracing routes of the pre-19th century Spanish and French explorers, have estimated the league, generally, as between 2.5 and 3 miles; and seldom as more than 2.6 miles for the land league.

(On verso) A section of Guillaume Delisle's *Carte du Mexique et de la Floride* . . . 1703. The Cansa Indians are shown as living on the Metchigamiki river, a name apparently applied but briefly to the Kansas. It does not appear in later records.



“ . . . Upstream is a smaller river which flows into the Missouri, called the ‘Rivière d’Ecanzé’ [Kansas]. . . . This is the finest country and the most beautiful land in the world; the prairies are like the seas, and filled with wild animals; especially oxen, cattle, hind and stag, in such quantities as to surpass the imagination. . . . ”

—Quoted from the 1717 account of De Bourgmont, whose explorations up the Missouri supplied much new information for Delisle’s 1718 map.

(On verso) A portion of Guillaume Delisle’s *Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississipi* . . . 1718. Here, the Kansas river (“Grande Riviere des Cansez”) appeared by that name for the first time on a map, so far as is known. As located by Delisle, the Kansa Indians were living in the early 18th century in two, far-apart villages, one, between the forks of a Kansas tributary, the other, on the Missouri, at the mouth of a stream labeled “Petite Riv. des Cansez.”

villages, and spent some time trading among them. (Du Tisne was their first official French visitor.) Though they opposed his continuing onward to the Paniouassa (Black Pawnees), he was able to obtain a few horses from the Osages. But he left all his trading goods except three guns and a few other articles when he started southwest (accompanied by a guide-interpreter and perhaps one other person). He traveled over prairies and hills [in present southeast Kansas] where there were many buffalo. The country was fine and well wooded. He crossed four rivers, the largest, a branch of the Arkansas [the Neosho or Grand?] flowed from the northwest and had rapids. (The others were Osage tributaries.)

After four days and 40 leagues of travel Du Tisne came to a stream (12 leagues west of the large Arkansas branch) where there were two large villages of Paniouassa (a few miles apart), totaling at least 250 lodges and 500 warriors. [Whether they were in southeast Kansas or in northeast Oklahoma has not been determined.] There, Osage meddling nearly cost him his life, but Du Tisne was saved by his own daring and boldness. He was able to secure a peace and trade alliance with the Paniouassa, but they refused to let him proceed to the country of their mortal enemies, the Padoucas, whose great village they said was 15 days journey beyond. The Paniouassa said Spaniards had visited them, but the Padoucas were a barrier to intercourse. Du Tisne traded three guns, powder, pickaxes, and knives to the Paniouassa (who had many horses) for two horses and a mule marked with the Spanish brand.

On September 27, after placing a French flag among these Indians, Du Tisne began the homeward trip. The Osages refused him guides, and he relied on a compass to make his way back to Kaskaskia. Of his 14 horses (and a mule), six (and a colt) were lost during the journey.

Ref: Benard de La Harpe's *Journal Historique de L'Etablissement des Français a la Louisiane* (New Orleans, 1831), pp. 168-172, in which it is specifically stated that the largest stream Du Tisne crossed en route to the Paniouassa was a branch of the Arkansas (not the Arkansas itself, as given in Margry's work); Margry, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 309-315; Villiers du Terrage, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 69; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 39, pp. 505-512; Nasatir, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, pp. 252-254; Wedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 65, 66, 533. See, particularly, Wedel, p. 533, for possible location of the Paniouassa villages sites in the Neodesha area.

Antonio de Valverde, governor of New Mexico, led an expedition against the Utes and Comanches in the fall of 1719. Unsuccessful in finding them, he was ready to return home in late October when he learned that several bands of El Cuartelejo Apaches were coming

to meet him. The gathering place was on the Rio Napestle [Arkansas], in southeastern Colorado of today. From the Palomas (a band never visited by the Spanish) who came from "the most remote borderlands" of the Apaches "farther in from El Cuartelejo," Valverde heard disquieting news of white men [the French] who had made recent alliance with the Cancer [Kansa], and with the Pawnees and Jumanos, to whom they had given firearms. [Presumably these were references to Bourgmont's and Du Tisne's activities.] The Palomas told of an attack made on them earlier in the year by the Pawnees and Jumanos and said they had been forced to leave their lands. (A Paloma Indian, wounded by a bullet in the fight, in one version of his story said they had fought the Kansa Indians.) Elaborating the facts, they told of two French settlements among the Pawnees and Jumanos. [The Palomas apparently lived in present Kansas—neighbors to the Kansa and to the Black Pawnees of southern Kansas or northern Oklahoma. To the French the Paloma Apaches very likely represented a part of the people they called Padoucas.]

The Palomas spoke only of the Kansa, the Pawnees and Jumanos, and the Cadodachos Indians. When they described French settlements on a large river they were talking about *lower* Louisiana, but the Spaniards misinterpreted what the Apaches were telling them. Valverde's scout Naranjo, who had previously traveled as far as a large river which he named the Rio Jesus Maria [*i. e.*, the South Platte], where there were Pawnees, decided *it* was the river the Palomas meant.

The Spanish expedition returned to New Mexico in November. Valverde's report (of November 30) specifically stated: ". . . the French have their settlement on a very large river which here [Santa Fe] is known as the Jesús María. . . ."

Ref: Thomas, *After Coronado*, pp. 129-133, 143, 144.

1719-1722

From lower Louisiana Benard de La Harpe made explorations by way of the Red river and the Arkansas in the 1719-1722 period—explorations which first brought him to the Arkansas river in present Oklahoma in 1719. He met representatives of nine allied Indian nations most of whom lived on a tributary (probably the Canadian of today). These people raised crops, spent their winters hunting buffalo, bred fine horses. They were allied with the Paniouassa (the Black Pawnees) who were 40 leagues to the north. With the Osages (40 leagues to the northeast) they were at peace,

but there was mutual mistrust. Other allies were some nomadic nations on the upper Red river. Their enemies were the Canecey (to the south on the Red river), the Padoucas (who had villages 15 days journey to the west-northwest), and a few villages of Panis. The "nine-nations" people ate their captives.

They told La Harpe that a white nation [the Spaniards] traded with the Padoucas, but that they seldom went far in that direction because of their enemies. They said they knew that the Aricaras [meaning the northern Pawnees] lived in the direction of the Cances [Kansa] on the Missouri.

Knowledge gained by La Harpe's explorations was depicted on the Sieur de Beauvilliers' map of 1720 (manuscript). The "nine-nations" Indians were shown well to the west on the stream labeled "Atcanka R." [the Canadian]. The Arkansas above the junction of the Canadian was designated only as "R. decouverte en 1720." Between the two rivers and north of the nine nations were "Villages Ascanis et Ousita." (These were, actually, two of the nine nations as listed by La Harpe.)

[The Ousita may well have been the Wichita Indians of today, and if so, La Harpe provided an early reference to the Wichitas by the name which was later to be applied to them.]

Ref: La Harpe, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-209, 316-325; Wheat, *loc. cit.*, p. 50.

1720

Alarmed by reports of French settlements which, as the Spanish understood, were among the Pawnees on the present Platte river, Governor Valverde of New Mexico, sent Pedro de Villasur with a small but well-equipped force to reconnoiter the French position. Villasur, with 45 Spaniards, 60 Indian allies, a priest, a French interpreter, and attendants, set out from Santa Fe in mid-June. Arriving at the El Cuartelejo settlements they stopped to rest. There some Apaches joined them, to act as guides.

On August 6 the Spaniards and their Indian cohorts crossed the Rio Jesus Maria [South Platte]. At what point, and by what route they arrived at the river cannot be determined. (Their course had been generally northeastward.) Four days later they came to a large Pawnee village at the junction of another river with the Platte, and made a camp opposite. Though aware that the Pawnees were up to some trickery, after unsuccessful attempts to negotiate and to get news of the French, the Spaniards were ill-prepared for the surprise attack which occurred at daybreak of August 13. (The only precautions they had taken were to move their camp,

and place guards, but the El Cuartelejo Apaches had realized the danger, and departed.) The Pawnees, aided by some Otoes, massacred a large part of the Spanish force. Villasur, more than two-thirds of his soldiers, and many of the Indian allies were slain. Survivors of the disastrous defeat made their way to the El Cuartelejo settlements, and then to New Mexico. Governor Valverde heard the bad news on September 6.

[There is disagreement as to where the massacre took place. It may have occurred, as some maintain, on the south side of the North Platte, near present North Platte, Neb.; others contend the Spaniards were killed near the mouth of the Loup Fork. If the Villasur massacre was in the Loup Fork vicinity, the Spanish expedition may have crossed northwestern Kansas to arrive at that locality. The French reported that the attackers were Otoes and Panimahas.]

Ref: Thomas, *After Coronado*, pp. 36-39, 133-137, 171-175, 182-187, 226-256 *passim*; Hyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-80; *Nebraska History*, Lincoln, v. 6, pp. 13-19; v. 7, pp. 68-87; Garraghan, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Villiers du Terrage, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

1723

Discussing possible sites for a Missouri river fort which Bourgmont had been ordered to establish, French engineer La Renaudiere wrote (on August 23):

. . . At thirty leagues in ascending [the Missouri, above Grand river] is the river of Quans [the Kansas] a beautiful river. . . . Thirty leagues higher up is a little river which runs to the north, where there is a large village of Quans, it is composed of 150 huts which border the Missouri. One finds there, on the south side, many beautiful prairies, and on the west side many mountains. . . .

[Despite the variation in distance, this was presumably the later-designated "Village of 24"—that is, the Kansa village on the Missouri said to be 24 leagues above the mouth of the Kansas—in the present Doniphan area.]

Ref: Margry, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 393, 394.

Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont and a party of 40 Frenchmen, journeyed up the Missouri from Kaskaskia in the fall of 1723, arriving at the Missouri Indians' village [on the south bank, in present Saline county, Missouri] on November 9. Crossing to the north side, a few miles up from the mouth of the Grand [in present Carroll county, Missouri] they erected, during the winter, a small post called Fort Orleans—the first French fortification on the Missouri. There, Bourgmont planned and prepared for his proposed expedition to the Padoucas.

Kansa chiefs apparently visited Fort Orleans either in the winter, or spring of 1724, and were given a French flag which was displayed in the Kansa village when Bourgmont arrived there the following July.

Fort Orleans was used for only five years. It was probably abandoned in 1728.

Ref: Garraghan, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 67, 93; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 35, pp. 373-384; v. 39, p. 525; Margry, *op. cit.*, v. 6, p. 404.

1724

Bourgmont (at Fort Orleans) in June organized his expedition to the Padoucas. It was to proceed by way of the Kansa village on the Missouri. He sent a small party under Saint-Ange upriver in canoes on June 25; and set out with seven other Frenchmen, some 100 Missouris and 64 Osages on July 3, traveling overland across present Missouri. Bourgmont's party camped, on July 7, on the Missouri opposite the Kansa village, crossing the next day. Illness among Saint-Ange's men kept the expedition in camp for over two weeks. (The Osages returned home because of the prevalent fever.) Meantime Bourgmont traded with the Kansa, obtained furs, and bought from them two Padouca slaves.

On July 24 a great throng of people set out westward across present Kansas. Accompanying the 19 Frenchmen were the two Great Chiefs, 14 war chiefs and 300 Kansa and Missouri warriors, about 300 women and 500 young people. And there were at least 300 dogs (drawing baggage). (The Kansa villagers were headed west on a buffalo hunt.)

A week later, when about three leagues from the Kansas river, Bourgmont became so ill he had to be carried back to the Kansa village on a litter (and then was taken by boat to recuperate at Fort Orleans). Before turning eastward on July 31, he delegated one of his men, Gaillard, to conduct the Padouca slaves to their people. Fifty Kansa Indians went with Gaillard. Traveling southwest and west they reached the Grand Village of the Padoucas [perhaps in Saline county?, or Ellsworth county?] on August 25. The Padoucas treated the party well, as Bourgmont was notified on September 6.

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 20, 21; Villiers du Terrage, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-112; Margry, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 398-449; Wedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-33; *The Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. 14, pp. 121-128; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 36, pp. 279-298; v. 39, pp. 521-528; A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 48, 49 (which has a translation of Le Page du Pratz's account of the Bourgmont expedition).

Bourgmont left Fort Orleans again on September 20 (by way of the Missouri), arriving at the Kansa village on the 27th. On October 5 and 6 he held councils with assembled Indian chiefs and head men. Five Padoucas had returned with Gaillard to the Kansa village (and encamped not far away were great numbers of Pa-

doucas with their families who had followed them eastward). The Missouri river Indians (Kansa, Missouris, Otoes, Iowas, and Panimahas) reluctantly agreed to make peace with the Padoucas.

On October 8, Bourgmont, with a party totaling 40, set out across present Kansas to visit the Great Chief of the Grand Village of the Padoucas. Accompanying Bourgmont were his ten-year-old son (by a Missouri woman); 14 Frenchmen; the five Padouca envoys; seven Missouris; five Kansa chiefs; four Otoe; and three Iowa chiefs. They had ten baggage-carrying horses. Proceeding west and southwest they crossed the Kansas river [near present Ross-ville?] on October 11; then traveled some 48 leagues farther (first southwest, and then west) during the next seven days.

On October 18 they met the Padoucas [in present Saline? or Ellsworth? county]. At the Grand Village, not far from a little river with brackish water [the Saline presumably], they were welcomed warmly. There were some 500 lodges, 800 warriors, 1,500 women, and more than 2,000 children in that village. The Padoucas had some horses, and lots of dogs. On October 19 Bourgmont presented many gifts to the Indians; then, before the assembled chiefs and head men (some 200 persons) he made a speech exhorting the Padoucas to cease warfare with the Missouri river Indians. A peace treaty was agreed to, and the Great Chief (who had been given a French flag) promised the allegiance of more than 2,000 warriors, as well as aid to Frenchmen who wished to cross to New Mexico. (The Spaniards were 12 days' travel from the village he said.) Bourgmont was presented with seven horses as a gift.

On October 22 the Frenchmen and Missouri river Indians started homeward. They took a route northeast, and east to the Kansas river (which they reached and crossed on the 27th). From that place they followed eastwardly down the river valley till they came to the Missouri, near the mouth of the Kansas. On November 1 Bourgmont embarked in a canoe with some of his men (sending the rest overland with the horses) and reached Fort Orleans on November 5.

Ref: See preceding entry. Wedel discusses Bourgmont's route and the conclusions others have reached as to the locale of the Grand Village of the Padoucas.

1725

Bourgmont, returning to France in the summer of 1725, escorted a delegation of Indians—including a Missouri, an Otoe, an Osage, and a young "Princess of the Missouri" to France. They arrived in Paris on September 20, were presented at court, and entertained

by royalty. The "Princess" was baptized in Notre Dame cathedral, and married one of Bourgmont's lieutenants. After more than a year abroad these Indian "ambassadors" were returned to their own people.

Ref: Garraghan, *op. cit.*, p. 69; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 36, p. 295; *Nebraska History*, v. 6, pp. 33-38; Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 21, 22.

1739

Bound for New Mexico on a trading expedition, the brothers Paul and Peter Mallet, and six other Frenchmen, ascended the Missouri river in the late spring, at least as far as the Panimaha village [on the Niobrara? river in Nebraska] before learning they had gone far out of their way. From that place they set out overland, with pack horses, on May 29, on a route which would take them back where they could set a course for the Spanish settlements. The river which they came to on June 2 they named the "Plate" [Platte]. Following up this stream beyond the river of the Padoucas [the Loup Fork?], they crossed the Platte on June 13 and set out toward the southwest. As they proceeded through present Kansas they crossed several large streams. On the 20th they lost seven merchandise-laden horses in the waters [swollen by rain?] of a river they thought was the "Cances" [possibly the south fork of the Solomon]. On June 30 they reached the bank of the Arkansas [perhaps in Ford county], where they found stones with Spanish inscriptions. Following upstream, on July 5 they came to a camp of Laitan [Comanche] Indians [perhaps in the vicinity of Lamar, Colo.]. From there, an Aricara slave guided them to the Spanish settlements. They reached Santa Fe on July 22; received good treatment in friendly custody; and remained for nine months. The Mallet party was the first (of record) to reach New Mexico from the Missouri country.

Ref: Margry, *op. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 455-465; *The Colorado Magazine*, v. 16, pp. 161-173; Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 28.

1740

Seven of the eight Frenchmen of the Mallet party left Santa Fe on May 1, intending to go to New Orleans. Arriving at the Canadian river on May 10, they followed downstream for three days [reaching a point probably a little east of the New Mexico-Texas boundary]. There the party split, three men deciding to "take the route of the Pani Indians" to the Illinois country. They reached their destination safely, probably more or less retracing their route of 1739 across present Kansas. No record of their journey exists.

The Mallet brothers and two companions proceeded down the Canadian [through present Oklahoma], abandoned their horses for canoes made of bark, and continued to the Arkansas river. Not long afterwards they came to a French hunting camp. From there they proceeded to the French post on the Arkansas about 45(?) miles upstream from the river's mouth, and eventually made their way to New Orleans.

An attempt by the Mallet brothers, in 1741, to guide an expedition to Santa Fe by way of the Canadian river ended in failure.

Ref: Same as preceding entry.

1744

At some time between 1724 and 1744 (apparently) the Kansa Indians moved from the "Village of 24" [present Doniphan] downstream to the site later known as the "Village of 12" [12 leagues up the Missouri from the mouth of the Kansas, in the present Salt Creek valley, Leavenworth county]. Near the new town, in 1743-1744, a Canadian named Deruisseau built a trading post, and a small fortification (Fort Cavagnolle), in return for a five-year (1745-1750) monopoly of the Missouri river trade. This second French post on the Missouri (*see* Fort Orleans, 1723-1728) was in use as late as 1758 when Fort Cavagnolle was described as a circular palisade enclosing some poor cabins and huts, where an officer, seven or eight soldiers, and some traders lived. One commandant was the Chevalier de Villiers (described as a capable officer of good intellect and conduct). The trading post annually furnished 100 packs of furs (chiefly beaver, deer, and bear). When the Sieur de Portneuf (successor to Deruisseau) asked French authorities about renovating the post in 1752, repairs were approved only after it was ascertained that the Kansa Indians had *returned* to their village near by. (Portneuf had earlier complained that the post was three days march from any Indians; that *voyageurs* went up the Kansas river without his permission; and for both reasons wished to build the fort at a better site.) It seems likely Fort Cavagnolle was abandoned before the Spanish came into control of the area in the 1760's.

[In 1804 the Lewis and Clark expedition camped opposite Salt Creek valley on the night of July 2. They saw no traces of the village but "About a mile in the rear . . . was a small fort, built by the French on an elevation. . . . the situation of the fort may be recognized by some remains of chimneys, and the general outline of the fortification, as well as by the fine spring which supplied it with water. . . ." Of the fort's one-time occupants they had no information.]

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 28, 35, 36, 40-42, 46-48, 50, 52; *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Springfield, v. 29, p. 9; Elliott Coues' *History of the Expedition . . . of Lewis and Clark* (New York, 1893), v. 1, p. 37.

1748

Pierre Satren, Luis Febre, and Joseph Riballo, deserters from the French post on the Arkansas, were members of a party of 12 which set out from a village of Zarca Indians [in eastern Arkansas] in the fall of 1748, for New Mexico. They went up the Rio de Napestle [the Arkansas] to the two villages of the Jumano or Panipiquet Indians [the Wichitas, possibly in present Kansas]; and were conducted by those Indians to a Comanche settlement of three villages. After remaining for a time, hunting, Satren, Febre, and Riballo accompanied some Comanches to Taos, and from there were taken by the Spanish to Santa Fe, arriving six months after leaving the Zarca Indians. They were allowed to remain as residents.

Ref: H. E. Bolton's *French Intrusions Into New Mexico 1749-1752* (reprinted from Stephens and Bolton's *The Pacific Ocean in History* (c1917), pp. 400-404; A. B. Thomas' *The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778* (Albuquerque, 1940).

1749-1750

Felipe de Sandoval (native of Spain) who had been at the French post on the Arkansas, and who left that place some time in 1749 with six other persons, arrived in Santa Fe, N. M., with two Frenchmen in February, 1750. Sandoval related that he and his companions had traveled up the Rio de Napestle [Arkansas] in canoes. After 50 days they reached the Jumano [Wichita] settlements where they found a French flag flying. These settled people lived along the river [possibly in the Wichita area of today] in grass houses, in two adjoining villages surrounded by stockades and ditches. They raised crops of corn, beans, and melons. The French, with whom they carried on an extensive trade, had recently paid them a visit and left gifts—and the flag. The Jumanos, who numbered about 500 warriors, were at war with the Pananas [Apaches?] and they were “fierce cannibals” according to Sandoval, who had seen them eat two captives. They had a few horses, secured from the Comanches.

Sandoval's party spent 20 days in the Jumano settlement, then set out with Indian guides, to find the Comanches. Unsuccessful, Sandoval and his companions separated, and he, after returning to the Jumanos for a few days, set out once more, this time following up the Arkansas with a Comanche guide. After 40 days of travel he reached a Comanche village, and remained among those Indians for some time. Then with two Frenchmen who had come there, and an Indian guide, he proceeded by way of Taos to Santa Fe. Sandoval thought the Jumanos were 20 to 25 days travel to the northeast and east of Taos; and that from the Jumanos, traveling

down the Arkansas to the French post would require about nine days.

Ref: Bolton's *French Intrusions*, pp. 396-398.

1750

Governor Velez of Santa Fe, in a report to his superiors, noted that on the northwest New Mexican frontier there were the Comanches, and the Jumanes (whom the French called Panipiquees). The alliance (in the latter 1740's) of the Comanches and Jumanes, he wrote, had resulted in their waging war against the Carlanes and other Apache bands of New Mexico; and had also made it easier for their allies, the French, to advance towards the southwest.

Velez described the Rio de Napestle [the Arkansas] which had its source in a rugged mountain range about 80 leagues from Taos. In its upper reaches the river was shallow, he wrote, but Frenchmen had told him that it was large at the Jumano [Wichita?] village, and farther down where the Colorado [Canadian] joined it, was still larger. Velez further reported that New Mexican soldiers under Lt. Gen. Bernardo de Bustamante y Tagle, pursuing some Comanches, had followed down the Rio de Napestle to the vicinity of the Jumano villages "on which expedition were acquired adequate reports of those regions, in the summer very delectable and pleasing, and inhabited by innumerable buffalo, which the Divine Providence created for the support of the barbarians and the greed of Frenchmen." (Presumably this expedition had occurred in the late 1740's.)

Ref: *Ibid.*, p. 398; H. E. Bolton's *Athanes de Mézières and the Louisiana Texas Frontier, 1768-1780* (Cleveland, 1914), v. 1, p. 48.

1751

La Jonquiere (commandant at Illinois) reported (September 25) that the Great Osages had been making continual warfare on "Les Panis noirs et picqueés" [the black and tattooed Pawnees—i. e., the Wichitas?] and "have completed the destruction of one of their villages, which was begun by the measles and smallpox." They [the Wichitas?] had "begged help of the Laytannes [Comanches], a tribe close to the Spaniards. This tribe . . . joined them, and they went together against the village of the Great Osages when a party of their people were at the *Cerne* [surround] killing animals. . . . the Great Osages lost twenty-two of their chiefs, and the others left twenty-seven of their people on the field of battle. . . ." The Osages had then come to get the Illinois Indians to help them avenge the defeat, but the French

reminded the Illinois that "Les Panis noirs et picqués" and the Laytannes were, like themselves, allied with the French, and induced them not to go with the Osages. La Jonquiere noted that the "Laytannes are armed with the lance like the Spaniards. They all are mounted on saddle horses, and the women go to war with them."

Ref: *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, v. 29, pp. 357-359, 678; Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 44, 45.

1752

After a winter at Fort Cavagnolle [on the Missouri, in what is now Leavenworth county] Jean Chapuis and Luis Feuilli(?), joined by eight other Frenchmen, set out about the middle of March on a trading expedition to New Mexico—a trip for which Chapuis had secured a license from French authorities. They first went upriver to the Panimaha village to obtain horses. There, or later, when in the Comanche country, eight men turned back. Chapuis and Feuilli, after paying a heavy toll to the Comanches were given directions to New Mexico. [Of their route across present Kansas there is no record.]

Forty days later, and four and a half months after setting out from Fort Cavagnolle, the two men reached Pecos mission, on August 6. They came from the north, guided by an Ae woman (a slave fleeing New Mexico) whom they had met north of the Arkansas, and persuaded to show them the way. Chapuis and Feuilli were taken into custody and sent to Mexico (and from there to Spain). The merchandise on their nine pack horses was confiscated and sold at auction.

Ref: Bolton's *French Intrusions*, pp. 400-404; Thomas, *The Plains Indians*, pp. 21, 24, 82, 85, 93, 94, 103-106; Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 42.

1753

Macarty (the commandant at Illinois) reported, on May 20, these items from the Western country:

"Four men who deserted from the Missouri post [Fort Cavagnolle] were killed by 'Les panis noire' [Black Pawnees]. . . .

"The Laitannes [Comanches], numerous and wandering tribes between our posts and the Spaniards, have asked . . . permission to come and see me; they said they wished to have a father. . . .

"The Spaniards have been in convoys as far as the places where they were defeated some years ago. . . ." [A reference to the Villasur massacre of 1720?]

Ref: *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, v. 29, pp. 820, 821.

1755

Ste. Genevieve was settled by the French. (When, in 1763, the French territory west of the Mississippi came under Spanish control, it was the only organized community in present Missouri.)

1757-1758

Antoine S. Le Page du Pratz's *Histoire de la Louisiane* was published in Paris in 1758 (and later in English translation, in London). The author (resident in the Natchez-New Orleans area from 1718 to 1734), wrote extensively, and from personal observation, of the lower Mississippi country. For upper Louisiana he had to rely on others. He devoted one chapter to an abridged version of Bourgmont's 1724 journey to the Padouca village; and he related a story [fabrication?] supposedly obtained in an interview, of a Yazoo Indian named Moncacht-ape who was said to have gone far up the Missouri before 1734.) But he apparently knew nothing of La Harpe's 1719-1721 discoveries, or of the Mallet brothers' 1739 journey to Santa Fe, or even of the existence of the great Platte river. In short, both Le Page du Pratz's writings and his map of Louisiana (dated 1757, and published in the *Histoire*) were more than 20 years out-of-date in presenting French geographical knowledge of the 1750's. (Delisle's map of 1718 contained more, and better data on the country of the Arkansas and the Missouri.) Of these rivers Le Page du Pratz wrote:

[The Arkansas] . . . takes its rise in the mountains adjoining to the east of Santa Fe. It afterwards goes up a little to the north [the great bend in south-central Kansas] from whence it comes down to the south, a little lower than its source. . . .

[The Missouri] . . . takes its rise at eight hundred leagues distance, as is alleged, from the place where it discharges itself into the Mississippi . . . though the Missouri comes out of a mountain, which lies to the northwest of New Mexico, we are told that all the lands it passes through are generally rich. . . . The French [have] . . . penetrated up the Missouri only for about three hundred leagues at most. . . . According to what I have been able to learn about the course of this great river, from its source to the Canzas, it runs from west to east; and from that nation it falls down to the southward, where it receives the river of the Canzas, which comes from the west; there it forms a great elbow, which terminates in the neighborhood of the Missouri. . . . The largest known river which falls into the Missouri is that of the Canzas which runs for near two hundred leagues in a very fine country. . . .

[Of the Indian tribes of the Missouri country] The principal nations who inhabit upon the banks, or in the neighborhood of the Missouri, are, besides . . . [the Missouriis and Osages], the Canzas, the Othoues, the White

Panis, the Black Panis, the Panimachas, the Aiouez, and the Padoucas. The most numerous of all those nations are the Padoucas, the smallest are the Aiouez, the Othoues, and the Osages; the others are pretty considerable.

Ref: Antoine S. Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiana* (Paris, 1758); Bernard De Voto's *The Course of Empire* (Boston, 1952), pp. 566-568 (for discussion of Moncacht-ape).

1758

Describing the Missouri river Indians with whom the French had dealings, the governor of Louisiana (Louis Billouart de Kerlerec), reported that the Kansa had only 250 to 300 warriors. They had once been very numerous, he wrote, but wars with the Pawnees, and smallpox had greatly weakened them. He mentioned their great friendship for the French, and noted that Fort Cavagnolle was located at their village. He stated that the Great Osages numbered 700 warriors; the Little Osages 250; the Missouris about 150; the Otoes 100; the Iowas 200; the Pani-Mahas on the Platte 600; the Mahas on the Missouri 800; and the Arikaras were thought to be more numerous than the Mahas.

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 51-53.

1762

On November 3, by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, France ceded Louisiana west of the Mississippi, plus the Isle d'Orleans, to her ally Spain.

(To Be Continued in the Summer, 1961, Issue.)

Some Notes on Kansas Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters—*Continued*

NYLE H. MILLER and JOSEPH W. SNELL

JONES, DANIEL WILLIAM

(1846?—)

CALDWELL was incorporated on July 22, 1879, and the city government was formed following the election of August 7. One week later city ordinance No. 3, providing for a marshal and policeman, was passed. Appointed under this ordinance were George W. Flatt, marshal, and Dan W. Jones, deputy.

That Deputy Marshal Jones was a courageous man there can be little doubt, for he had exhibited considerable fortitude after being thrown from a horse, December 31, 1878. The *Caldwell Post* of January 2, 1879, described the misfortune:

PAINFUL ACCIDENT.

THROWN FROM HIS HORSE—OUT ON THE PRAIRIES

ALMOST THIRTY-SIX HOURS WITHOUT FOOD—

RESCUED AT LAST.

Dan Jones, who is well known to the people in these parts, met with a very painful accident last Tuesday, the particulars of which are as follows: In the morning of the day named, he started on horseback from the Red Fork ranch, I. T., intending to look at a herd of cattle some distance below. After part of the distance had been accomplished, and when Dan was little thinking of danger, his horse fell and threw him, breaking his leg. Unable to remount, and too far away from any human being to make himself heard by shouting, he began to think of some means whereby assistance might be obtained. Although suffering terribly with the broken limb, the brave man strapped it to the other and commenced *crawling* toward a high ridge overlooking Red Fork ranch. All Tuesday night the plucky fellow was out, without any covering save the clothing he wore. How many of our readers, under similar circumstances suffering to the intensest degree the agony of a broken leg, and almost freezing to death from the severity of the cold, would have displayed the grit that he did. Nor has all been told.

Daylight came at last, and with it the hopes of the brave man rose, for the worst, he thought, had been passed. Slowly creeping on his painful journey, Dan at length saw the much-wished-for ridge. At last it was reached, and taking his hat he waved it feebly—for his strength was fast leaving him. Geo. Haines, the keeper of the ranch, saw it, and thinking it was a hunter who had

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NOTE: These articles on Kansas cowtown officers and gun fighters, with additional information and an index, are expected to be reprinted and offered for sale under one cover, upon completion of the series in the *Quarterly*.

killed a deer, and that he was signaling for help, went to his assistance. Imagine his surprise when, instead of finding the hunter and the slain deer, he saw the man who had the day before started from his house, in such a pitiable condition. Mr. Jones was taken to the ranch, and word sent to Dr. Hodge, at Fort Reno, who came up and attended to the needs of the sufferer.

It was Tuesday morning when the accident happened, and three o'clock P. M., Wednesday, when the man was found. It shows the stuff of which the man is made, when he crawled three miles with a broken leg, while almost freezing, and being without food for nearly thirty-six hours. At last accounts the wounded man was improving, and we hope it may not be long before he will be able to "go it alone" again.

Caldwell's police court docket, the initial entry being dated September 6, 1879, recorded Jones' first arrest on September 22. On that same day this embarrassing incident occurred, and was recorded in the *Post*, September 25:

That "mistakes occur in the best of regulated families" was only verified by the singular and unexpected incarceration and disarming of Deputy City Marshal Dan Jones last Monday night, the circumstances of which are very difficult to detail so that a modest public might clearly and unmistakably comprehend the situation, but the trials and tribulations of the news-monger can only be surmised by those who were so unfortunate as to read of Mr. Beecher in his balmy days, however, we will proceed by saying that Dan is a very efficient officer, and where Dan can't be found, you can't find any one, as the sequel will show.

It happened at one of Caldwell's fashionable hotels, and, like all other fashionable hotels, has two small rooms—over each door is an inscription by which a person may know whether he is to be admitted or not, but it being dark, and Dan's "business" qualifications not allowing him to stop and read everything that is hung up entered. About this time a lady attempted to enter but was foiled by Dan turning an inside latch—the lady hastened away, but soon returned with the key—(this is not a romance)—locked, unlocked and relocked and finally left to return no more.

Now as Dan's occupation calls him on the street he concluded that he might depart with safety, but imagine his feelings when he discovered that he had been locked in, but, as will be seen, Dan is equal to all emergencies, and began trying to extricate himself from his odorous prison. There is a seat in the room just opposite the door upon which Dan sat himself down, put his feet against the door, and with Heenan like strength pushed the door asunder, and at the same instant back went Dan's revolver down, down to the bottomless—after which a light was brought into requisition—it was fished up, a tub of water, barrel of soft soap and scrubbing-brush were readily used up and the pistol looks as natural as ever, and if the street gossip don't mention this we will never say a word about it to Dan.

On October 29, 1879, Marshal Flatt and Deputy Jones failed to catch John Dean who was firing his pistol within the city limits. The *Post* article describing this escape was included in the section on Flatt.

Under his first appointment, Jones' final arrests, recorded in the police court docket, were made November 3, 1879, when he brought in four alleged violators of the law.

On April 12, 1880, Dan Jones was nominated assistant city marshal by the newly elected mayor of Caldwell, Mike Meagher. The city council confirmed his appointment as well as those of William Horseman, marshal, and James Johnson, policeman, reported the *Post*, April 15, 1880.

Jones' first arrest under this new appointment was made April 19. The Caldwell police court docket stated:

One Jersey Defendant arrested on the complaint of D. W. Jones, Assist Marshall charging that on the 19 day of April A. D. 1880, at the said City of Caldwell the said Defendant Riding his horse at Full Speed Through the streets of Caldwell.

Deft Pleads Guilty.

Fine \$3.00 + cost.

J. M. THOMAS
Police Judge

Fine and cost paid.

J. M. THOMAS

Acting Police Judge

Paid to treasure by J. M. Thomas

Jersey's arrest was recorded in the *Caldwell Post*, April 22, 1880:

One day in the early part of the week one of our noble defenders, holding the exalted rank of corporal in Uncle Sam's army, was vainly attempting to get up a race with some one. At last he made up his mind he would try to beat his own shadow, so putting spurs to his horse, he went down Main street like a thousand of brick. Dan Jones, our assistant marshal considered himself capable of being referee in the matter and declared "a foul." The corporal goodnaturedly paid the city \$7 for the use of the race course.

Jones and Policeman Johnson arrested another soldier on April 24. The article reporting this arrest was reprinted in the section on James Johnson.

Soldiers were also the cause of a fight which took place in the "Keno room" on May 11, 1880. This article was reprinted in the section on William Horseman.

There is some confusion on the terminal date of Jones' second appointment. The Caldwell police court docket did not list him as a complaining officer after May 8, 1880, but the United States census, enumerated as of June 5, recorded him as assistant marshal. Apparently he was not on the city force when George Flatt was killed, June 19. He was at that time, however, a township constable and the first man to whom Flatt spoke after he had been shot.

Jones was among those arrested for suspected complicity in the crime. The *Caldwell Commercial*, July 1, 1880, labeled him "constable" in its report of the arrests while the *Post* of the same date merely identified him as "Mister" Jones. When the Flatt murder case was tried at the April, 1881, term of the district court, Jones was released because his name had been omitted from the information. The sections on Flatt, Horseman, Johnson, and Meagher contain more material on the arrest and trial of the city authorities.

Constable Jones arrested a horse thief on July 21, 1880. The *Caldwell Commercial* of July 22, reported:

There was quite a little flurry of excitement at the Eldorado stables yesterday morning, caused by the arrest of a horse thief. The thief's name is D. Waterman, and the horse was stolen on Monday night from a man named J. C. Brain, living between Winfield and Arkansas City. Brain discovered the loss of the animal some time during the night, and at once sent parties out to catch the thief and recover the property. Among those who started out were C. McKerlie and D. W. Ramage. They struck Waterman's trail at Arkansas City, followed him from there to Caldwell, reaching here about dark, some three or four hours after Waterman had arrived and put up his horse at the Eldorado stables. Finding the man and horse both here, and not likely to get away, they waited until yesterday morning before taking in the outfit.

At daylight Waterman concluded it was about time for him to start out, and mounting his horse, put out for the north. Ramage and McKerlie immediately went in search of a policeman, and finding Dan Jones, pursuit was given and the thief overhauled before he had time to get any distance from town. Waterman owns up to the theft and says he stole the horse because he was broke and wanted to raise a stake. And he succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations. He will be staked to a few years grub and hard work under the fostering care of the State institution near Leavenworth.

Jones was reappointed several times for short periods of service as a special policeman. Arrests made by him were docketed on September 13 and October 14, 1880. On October 9 it was in that capacity that Jones aided Marshal Johnson in the fruitless pursuit of Frank Hunt's killer. The article reporting Hunt's death and the actions of the marshal and his special assistant has been printed in the section on Hunt.

Red Bill Jones, a name given Dan Jones by the *Caldwell Post*, October 30, 1879, reappeared in the *Post* and the *Caldwell Commercial*, October 27, 1881. Said the *Commercial*:

Bill Jones, better known as "Red Bill," turned himself loose for a little racket on Tuesday night. Bill was taken in and locked up in the cooler, but upon going to that institution yesterday morning, Marshal [John] Rowen found the

door broken open and the bird gone. A states warrant has been issued against William and the next time he puts in an appearance he will be arrested again and trotted through on high pressure.

It seems unlikely that Dan "Red Bill" Jones and William "Red Bill" Jones were one and the same. Only a few days after the above event Dan Jones was offered the marshalship of Caldwell, a proposition hardly to be tendered an escapee with a state warrant on his head. Dan Jones, as well as Mike Meagher and George Brown, refused the position and with that Jones disappeared from the annals of the Caldwell police force.

LOWE, JOSEPH

(1845?-1874?)

Joseph "Rowdy Joe" Lowe, and his wife Rowdy Kate, were two of the early characters in Wichita's tough district, Delano. The team operated what was ostensibly a dance hall and saloon but which was actually a house of prostitution. Delano, or West Wichita as it was more often called, was not a part of the city of Wichita but was a separate community across the Arkansas river. City authority did not extend beyond the river and West Wichita had no law of its own. When things would get too "hot" for trouble makers in Wichita they merely had to cross the bridge at the foot of Douglas avenue to find refuge in West Wichita. From the earliest days there were some persons who felt that West Wichita should be annexed and law extended over its bounds but others saw the place as a safety valve, a necessary adjunct to house the lively element attendant to any cowtown.

In June, 1872, after a visit to Wichita, the editor of the *Emporia Ledger* had this to say about West Wichita:

THE IMMORALITY

of Wichita is not of such a terrible nature after all. The city is governed by an excellent body of officers, due strictness and enforcement being paid to law. We saw nothing while there to induce us to encourage the report for crime and wickedness which has already gone forth. "Over the river" may be called the red-hot place of Wichita, where everything originates and culminates to give a hard name to this youthful city. Some are agitating the addition of West Wichita to the city, but we believe that in doing so the city proper will be injured more than benefitted, because authority will be required to cover too much ground, and in leaving it out the city has now some point for a vent to everything bordering upon crime. If West Wichita should become a part of the city there would be just as much freedom to transcend the decencies of civilization in one portion of the city as any, but leaving it out, all such parties will go over the bridge to be buried. With the present condition of things we ask no better protection than Wichita now offers.¹

Rowdy Joe was his own policeman. When a customer became too rambunctious after a night of swill and gaiety, Joe would calm him down with a pistol whipping. Such an incident occurred on July 19, 1872, and was reported in the *Wichita Eagle* on July 26:

A fracas occurred at the dance house of Joseph Lowe, in West Wichita, on last Friday evening, in which a man by the name of Joseph Walters, who was at the time drunk, was badly bruised and cut about the face and head, by a revolver in the hands of the keeper of the house. Dr. [W. T.] Hendrickson dressed the man's wounds. From what we can learn Walters invited the attack by very disorderly conduct. At this writing the wounded man lies in a very critical condition.

A correspondent (perhaps S. S. Prouty, general manager) of the *Topeka Daily Kansas Commonwealth* described Rowdy Joe's on October 15, 1872:

A description of Wichita would be incomplete without a notice of the notorious dance house on the west side of the river, kept by that singular personage

ROWDY JOE,

or Joseph Lowe, his real name. Joe has been a frontiersman for many years, and has experienced about as much roughness as any other man. His dance house is patronized mainly by cattle herders, though all classes visit it; the respectable mostly from curiosity. I understand that the receipts over his bar average over one hundred dollars per night for months. The receipts are for drinks. No tax is levied for dancing, but it is expected that the males will purchase drinks for themselves and female partners at the conclusion of each dance. Joe is his own policeman, and maintains the best of order. No one is disposed to pick a quarrel with him, or infringe upon the rules of his house. A dancing party at this place is unique, as well as interesting. The Texan, with mammoth spurs on his boots, which are all exposed, and a broad brimmed *sombrero* on his head, is seen dancing by the side of a well-dressed, gentlemanly-appearing stranger from some eastern city; both having painted and jeweled courtezans for partners. In the corner of the hall are seen gamblers playing at their favorite game of poker. Jests and conversation suitable to the place and oc[ca]sion are heard. I would not recommend the establishment as one adapted for the schooling of the rising generation, but to those of mature years, who should become acquainted with all phases of society, Rowdy Joe's is a good place to get familiarized with one peculiar phase. While I would not recommend Rowdy Joe as a model for Sunday school scholars, yet I am constrained to say that there are many men passing in society as gentlemen whose hearts are black in comparison with his.

Possibly the correspondent did not know that the person whose heart he so charitably described had been involved in several early day escapades which obviously had no connection with Sunday school. For instance, on July 16, 1869, Joe and a companion drugged and robbed a man in Ellsworth. The *Junction City Weekly Union*, July 24, 1869, reported the act:

Friday night of last week a man was found drugged and robbed in Ellsworth by fellows known as Jim Bush and Rowdy Joe, the people got after them and in a few days secured the robbers and about seven hundred and fifty dollars of the money. They turned the money over to a pal named Howe who was also secured. The parties were permitted to leave the country. . . .

In November, 1870, Lowe was accused of stealing a mule. The case was recorded in the docket of the Wichita township justice of the peace:

The State of Kansas
against
Joseph Low

Criminal Action 35

Comes now T. I. McAdams this day of November 1870, and after being sworn according to Law deposes and Says that one Joseph Low on or about the 12th day of October A. D. 1870 at and in Said County of Sedgwick and State of Kansas, then and there being, did feloniously Steal take and carry away One Slate Colored Mule of the Value of One Hundred and Seventy five Dollars the personal property of Thos J. McAdams

November 1870 State Warrant issued returnable forthwith

Served this warrant by arresting Joseph Low alias Rody [sic] Joe at Ellsworth City Ellsworth County Kans and bringing him to Wichita Sedgwick County Kansas before Justice Van Trees Wichita J. P. Kans This 17th day of March 1871.

Fees Serving Warrant	75
Milage 200 miles	20.00
Board	5 00
Jailor	10 00
Expenses	5 00
	<hr/>
	\$40.75

W. N. WALKER Sheriff
J. C. SEIBER Deputy

And now towit on this 17th day of March 1871 this Cause Comes on for hearing, the Prosecuting Witness not appearing, the County Atty Dismissed this action at the Costs of the Prosecuting Witness T. I. McAdams.

Costs taxed at \$49.40.

VAN TREES J. P.

In Ellsworth, too, Rowdy Joe and Kate kept a saloon but the United States census enumerator for the county forever branded their real occupation on his tally sheet when in scarlet letters he wrote before their names—"house of ill fame." Kate, by the way, was only 19 years old when the census was taken on July 1, 1870, while Joe was 24. Both were born in Illinois.

In May, 1873, sportsman Lowe was injured in an accident on his way home from the races. The *Eagle*, May 22, 1873, said:

On returning from the races last Saturday, Joseph Lowe's—familiarily known as Rowdy Joe—horse fell, throwing Mr. L. under him. He was picked up insensible and carried into the house of Ida May and a doctor sent for. At

this writing (Monday) we have not heard further, but several who saw the accident thought him badly hurt.

Next door to Rowdy Joe's place in West Wichita a similar house was operated by E. T. "Red" Beard. On June 3 a shooting occurred there which eventually caused the destruction of Red's and threatened the existence of Rowdy Joe's. The *Eagle*, June 5, 1873, reported:

A shooting affray occurred on the west bank of the river, opposite Wichita, on Tuesday morning, between a party of rowdies and some soldiers, in which a "girl of the period" named Emma Stanley received a severe wound, two soldiers also being seriously injured. Doley, a private, was shot through the neck, the ball being extracted from the throat. Another soldier, named Boyle, had his right shin bone splintered by another ball. Neither of the parties were implicated in the origin of the affray. The balls were extracted by Dr. [C. C.] Furley, and the parties are all doing well.

The Topeka *Commonwealth*, June 4, 1873, went into more detail:

A TERRIBLE SHOOTING AFFRAY AT WICHITA.

ONE WOMAN AND TWO SOLDIERS BADLY WOUNDED.

THE SOLDIERS' COMRADES HIGHLY INDIGNANT.

LIVELY TIMES EXPECTED. . . .

SPECIAL DISPATCH TO THE COMMONWEALTH.

Wichita, Kansas, June 3.—A shooting scrape occurred at Red's dance house in West Wichita, in which two soldiers of company A 6th cavalry, and Emma Stanley, an inmate of the house, were badly wounded. The shooting originated in a quarrel which one of the soldiers had with the woman. He claims that she was attempting to beat him out of five dollars, and that he threatened to shoot her unless she complied with his demands, which she treated with contempt. He then drew his revolver and shot her through the fleshy part of the thigh, six inches below the hip joint. As soon as the shot was fired Red instantly drew his self-cocking revolver and commenced an indiscriminate fusillade, shooting two soldiers. One soldier was shot an inch below the angle of the lower jaw, in the neck, the ball lodging in the throat at the base of the tongue, and nearly severing it in its passage. It was extracted by Dr. Finley [C. C. Furley], of this city. His comrade received a ball through the middle of the calf of the leg, severely splintering the shin bone. The soldiers who were shot were not engaged in the quarrel, and are spoken of by their comrades as being very quiet and gentlemanly. The soldier who commenced the affray escaped unhurt and deserted last night. The dance house was closed this morning when your reporter called, and no admittance could be obtained. Rumor has it that Red has disappeared and will not be seen until the soldiers leave, who are en route for Ft. Hays. They are terribly indignant and threaten to raze the house to the ground.

Lively times are expected to-night. . . .

Not long after, the indignant soldiers returned. The *Eagle*, June 5, 1873, reported:

The soldiers have carried out their threat. This morning about 2 o'clock

we were aroused from sleep by the rapid discharge of firearms across the river. Hurrying on our clothes we ran down to the bridge, by which time the lurid flames were bursting forth from "Red's" dance house, accompanied by a yell from a squad of some thirty soldiers, whom we met on the bridge, marching by fours. They appeared to be perfectly possessed, and after the order to "shoulder arms," asked us "how is that for high?" pointing to the burning building. Being the first upon the ground, we found a man lying some fifty yards in front of the burning building, who gave his name as Chas. Leshhart, wounded through the body. We saw no one else that was hurt, but we heard that one of the girls was wounded, and that the girl wounded in the melee on Monday night had received a fresh shot. In a few minutes hundreds of citizens were upon the ground, and by prompt action and considerable exertion the house of Joseph Lowe was saved. The soldiers went off up Water street. We have no room for comments, but upon the whole the affairs of Monday and last night are no credit to our neighbor town.

The avenging troopers had been well organized. The *Eagle*, June 12, 1873, mentioned their precautions: "Before the soldiers made their raid upon Red's dance house, on last Wednesday night, they stationed a guard around the sheriff's [John Meagher's] house, another at the end of the bridge, and another with the horses on a back street."

Rowdy Joe and his neighbor, Red, were fighting again the night of October 27, 1873, but this time they chose each other. The aftermath of the combat included Red's death and Rowdy Joe's hasty departure from Sedgwick county. The *Eagle*, October 30, 1873, reported:

The dance houses on the west side of the river were again the scene of a terrible and fearful onset, on Monday night last. We have heard the versions of the principal actors, as also that of outsiders and the officers, with little satisfaction. Suffice it to say that the proprietors of the two dance houses in West Wichita, which stand in close proximity, "Rowdy Joe" and "Red," both being mad from the effects of distilled poison, and armed with revolvers and shot guns, waltzed into a deadly melee. Rowdy Joe was shot in the back of the neck with a pistol ball. The wound is not dangerous. Red was wounded in the arm and hip by buck shot from a shot gun. The chances are that he will lose the lower part of his arm. A poor dance girl, Annie Franklin, sick at the time, received a shot in the abdomen, which the doctors think must prove fatal. Bill Anderson, who through mistake killed a man last spring, was shot in the head, the ball passing just back of the eyes. Was alive at last accounts. Rowdy Joe gave himself up, and is now out on \$2,000 bail. No other arrests have been made, we believe. Comment is unnecessary, and a further dilation worse than foolish.

Red died on November 11. The *Wichita Eagle*, November 13, 1873, said:

E. T. Beard, better known as "Red," the proprietor of one of the dance houses across the river, paid the penalty of his misdeeds with his life, on Tues-

day morning at 3 o'clock a. m. It will be remembered that he was shot in a row at his dance house some two weeks since. A post mortem examination was made upon the body day before yesterday by Dr. [H.] Owens, the coroner. In company with Mr. [Fred A.] Sowers, of the *Beacon*, we proceeded to the Eagle Hotel, where we found seven doctors and a coroner's jury. The examination disclosed that his right arm at the elbow had been shattered fearfully and was in a state of decay. The wound in the hip was also in the same state. In the latter wound a bullet was found imbedded in the bone. Traces of pus were discovered, we believe, about the wound and in the lungs. The examination was very thorough, but we withdrew before the entire process was gone through with. At the hotel were several frail women, who had been inmates of his house, who seemed much affected. We noticed also Rowdy Joe, who is charged with shooting Red, who wore a solemn countenance.

The post mortem examination, technically and properly stated, revealed the fact of death by infiltration of pus in the blood, the result of gun shot wounds.

E. T. Beard was formerly from Beardstown, Ill., which place was laid out and named after his father, who was wealthy. He was well educated, and had christian training. He has three children, two daughters and a son, nearly grown, who are now attending school somewhere in the east, and know nothing of their father's wild life in the west. He was about forty-five years of age, straight as an arrow, red hair, which fell in a profusion of curls upon his shoulders, and from which he took his name of "Red," an enormous moustache and large nose. He knew no such thing as fear and was counted one of the best shots on the border. At the time of the burning of his house last summer by U. S. soldiers, and at which time, in a desperate encounter against great odds, he shot and wounded several, he remarked to some of our citizens that he would not live the summer through. He told Dr. Furley last week that he followed the disreputable business only in the hopes of getting a start in the world again, but if he got over his wounds he would never go inside of a dance house again.

"Oh, what a sign it is of evil life

When death's approach is seen so terrible."

Beard left some property and money in the hands of parties here for the use and benefit of his children, in the shape of a regular bequest.

A Winfield editor, who had known Red in days before, gave some additional information:

"Red."—James Kelley, the editor of the *Winfield Courier*, who was in Wichita the day "Red" was buried, was acquainted with the desperado in his early life, and in his paper makes the following interesting note:

"Red was none other than Ed. Beard, whose father gave to Beardstown, Cass county, Illinois, his name. We remember Ed. Beard as a jolly, rollicking young man, without a single bad trait in his make up. He married an estimable young lady near Virginia, Cass county. The writer of this article met "Red" last July, at Wichita, for the first time since he left Illinois, ten or twelve years ago. He then gave us his solemn promise that so soon as the Texas "season" was over he would abandon forever his wild, infamous life. The next time we saw him was in his coffin, and while we stood and gazed on that lifeless clay, going back in thought to his wild reckless life for the last twelve years, in California, Ore-

gon and Arizona, where his name was a terror to everybody, we could hardly convince ourselves that this was the handsome, jovial gifted Ed. Beard. Verily, the way of the transgressor is hard. Peace to his ashes." ²

On November 20, 1873, the *Eagle* reported:

Joseph Lowe, charged with killing Beard, had his examination before Esquire [E. B.] Jewett this week, [H. C.] Sluss upon the part of the state, [S. M.] Tucker for the defendant, the result of which was, bound over in the sum of \$2,000 for his appearance at the December term of court. The evidence is very voluminous, and, although we procured much of it, we cannot spare the space for its insertion.

Rowdy Joe's case came up before the Sedgwick county district court on December 9, 1873. The *Eagle*, December 11, reported:

The district court opened Monday noon, with Judge W. P. Campbell on the bench. . . .

Tuesday morning the case, state of Kansas vs. Joseph Lowe, alias, Rowdy Joe, was called. The court room filled with curious and interested people. In securing a jury the usual number of preemptory challenges were exhausted by the defense, but an unobjectionable jury was empannelled within an hour or two. H. C. Sluss for the state, [B. H.] Fisher, Tucker and [J. Smith] Deveny for the defense. Much interest has been evinced by court, bar and jury in the evidence given by the witnesses for the state, who, at this writing, Wednesday morning, we give in their testimony, and the prosecuting attorney will, in a few moments, rest his case. We understand that a large number of witnesses will be examined for the defense, and when the case will be given to the jury it is impossible to say, although a verdict may be reached before tomorrow morning. To give an opinion, or even to hazard a guess, as to what the verdict will be, would be impossible, of course, in this connection, but should one be rendered before going to press to-night we shall append it to this article.

The trial went to the jury on December 10 and the next morning Rowdy Joe was pronounced not guilty. New warrants were then issued against him for wounding Anderson and for destruction of property, but Lowe had skipped out. The *Wichita Eagle*, December 18, 1873, said:

In the culmination of the trial of Rowdy Joe on last Wednesday evening, for the killing of Red, more than ordinary interest was evinced by the people of the city. The court room was crowded, the stage in the rear of the hall even being filled. The judge charged the jury at great length on what constituted murder in the second degree, including five lesser crimes, either of which the prisoner might be found guilty under the charge. There were four speeches made by counsel, of the average duration of an hour each. H. C. Sluss, for the state, opened with a review of the entire testimony, giving his constructions and conclusions. After supper he was followed by S. M. Tucker for the defense, who not only in a clever but able manner reviewed the case in all its legal bearings. He in turn was followed by Smith Deveny, of Olathe, in an appeal to the jury, in which was recited the redeeming traits of Rowdy Joe, and in which was pictured in not very enviable colors the vagabond and desperado,

Red. By this time the interest of the spectators was visible to court and jury.

Mr. Sluss rose to close. His earnest manner told that he appreciated his surroundings. Embarrassed by his own witnesses, who were composed of men and women in full sympathy with the accused, whose sense of modesty and appreciation of right had long since been sacrificed with their virtue, and who cared little for the obligations of an oath, and less for the penalty that is attached to its violation, he had been conducting the case through almost hopeless surroundings. But unawed by menaces and undismayed in the absence of sympathy, with all the earnestness of his nature, he stood up to defend the sacred right to life, and the majesty of the law.

Despite the fact of being in a court of justice, upon closing his speech the spectators gave way to an uproarious applauding. It was a spontaneous acknowledgment by the better class of citizens of the able and conscientious manner in which the attorney for the people had discharged his duty. The jury retired at about 10 o'clock. A verdict of "not guilty" was rendered next morning.

Immediately another writ was issued for his arrest for shooting Anderson, also an action was commenced against him for damages. The pressure was too great, and Rowdy Joe came up missing last Sunday morning. He had eluded the vigilance of the officer, Mr. [John] Nugent, who had him in charge, and at this writing nothing has been heard of him. Sheriff [William] Smith with a posse followed all Saturday night, but returned disappointed. On Monday Smith had several parties arrested for participating or criminality in his escape, among them Rowdie Kate, the result of which we will inform our readers all in good season.

Sedgwick County Sheriff William Smith offered \$100 for Rowdy Joe's return. The *Eagle*, December 18, 1873, published a description of the wanted man:

I will give \$100.00 reward for the apprehension of one Joseph Lowe, alias Rowdy Joe, a fugitive from justice from Sedgwick county, Kansas. He is about 28 years old, 5 feet 9 inches tall, heavy set, dark complexion, black hair, and heavy black moustache, gruff manners,—formerly proprietor of a dance house. Had a scar on right side of neck from a pistol ball. Had on, when last seen, black pants, brown frock coat, and a brown overcoat, trimmed with fur; rode a bay horse with California saddle.—The foregoing is the matter of a notice sent to all sheriffs in the western states by Wm. Smith.

A few days after the trial, Rowdy Joe showed up in Osage Mission, a Neosho county town now known as St. Paul. William D. Walker, editor of the Osage Mission *Transcript*, did not know another warrant was hanging over Joe's head when, on December 19, 1873, he wrote: "ROWDY JOE the famous Wichitan is in town, and not much rowdy about him after all."

The same day, however, Editor Walker learned of the second charge against Lowe, but the culprit had flown—"GTT" (gone to Texas) as the frontiersmen called it. The editor immediately notified the Wichita *Eagle*, which reported:

Rowdy Joe, it seems from the following card, went direct east instead of south or southwest, as nearly every one supposed he had. Mr. Walker, who writes us, is the editor of the *Transcript* and knows Rowdy Joe, so there is no mistake:

OSAGE MISSION, Dec. 19th, 1873.

BROS MURDOCK:—Had your EAGLE reached here one day sooner, Rowdy Joe would have been taken. He has been here for several days, but left here yesterday morning for Texas. The horse is still in a stable. He watched the papers regularly in my office.

Yours, WALKER.³

In spite of the fact that Lowe could not be caught, the *Wichita Eagle* seemed satisfied with the results of the trial:

Wichita is fast getting rid of that element which has proved such a curse to her prosperity, thanks to the county attorney and the improved sentiment of the place which is backing him up. Rowdy Joe made a telling shot that night. It shot "Red" into eternity; himself out of the country; Anderson through the head; [Walter] Beebe, Red's bar tender, into the penitentiary [for assisting Joe to escape]; Joe De Merritt, Red's mistress, into the penitentiary; Rowdy Kate to parts unknown; and Smith, Omet and another into jail for perjury. "The mills of the gods grind slowly but they grind exceedingly small." Patten was sentenced for a year, Beebe for three years, and Josephine De Merritt for ten years.⁴

Rowdy Joe was finally arrested in St. Louis, Mo., on January 3, 1874. A dispatch from St. Louis, reprinted in the *Wichita Eagle*, January 8, notified the town of his capture and subsequent release:

ROWDY JOE.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Jan. 5.—Joseph Lowe, alias A. A. Becker, was arrested here on Saturday by orders received from Kansas, and was released to-day on a writ of habeas corpus, and after it was known that Sheriff Smith, of Sedgwick county, would arrive here on the first train to take him back to Kansas. Over \$8,000 were found on Lowe.

Ex-Sheriff Smith arrived home yesterday. The facts above given, he says, are correct. After he was notified that Joe was under arrest he telegraphed to the officers of St. Louis three times to hold him, as he would procure a requisition and be down on the next train. Just as he got ready to start he was notified by telegraph that Joe had escaped upon a writ of habeas corpus. It is evident that somebody in St. Louis was bought up.

The St. Louis *Democrat* evidently felt the same way but in addition to the charge of bribery the *Democrat* included internal bickering within the St. Louis police department as a factor in Lowe's release:

RELEASE OF ROWDY JOE.

A NOTED CHARACTER ALLOWED TO EVADE A KANSAS SHERIFF,
A RATHER STRANGE PROCEEDING.

For some time past the chief of police and the detectives have not been on the most friendly terms. There were various causes for this, but the matter was kept very quiet, and few knew of it, save those whose daily duty brings them

in contact with the police department. Yesterday this trouble rose to the surface, and there is a prospect that in a few days it will result in something serious. The cause of yesterday's rupture is as follows:

On Saturday last a noted character from Nevada named Joseph Low, familiarly known by the elegant cognomen of "Rowdy Joe," was arrested at the Laclede hotel by Detective Duckworth, one of the shrewdest men on the force. Low had been in the city some time and was under the surveillance of the detectives, who knew his reputation and suspected that his visit was not for any good. They were not aware that he was needed anywhere else until the receipt of the following telegram:

LEAVENWORTH, January 2nd.

Arrest and hold A. A. Becker for breaking jail; about five feet ten inches; thirty years old; square shoulders; heavy built; very full face; black moustache, eyes and hair; fresh scar across the back of his neck. He is to meet Kate Low to-morrow morning on arrival of one of the trains from Kansas City. Kate left here at 3 p. m. Kate is slender built; light brown hair; waterproof suit lined with red; has with her one large bull-dog in express car; also one small yellow lap dog; she will probably arrive by Missouri Pacific. A. A. Becker is an assumed name; is stopping at the Laclede hotel.

C. H. HALLETT,

Deputy United States Marshal.

Two days afterward another dispatch was received from Wm. Smith, sheriff of Sedgwick county, Kansas [Smith had been defeated for sheriff on November 4, 1873, and on January 1, 1874, turned the office over to the successful candidate, Pleasant H. Massey], asking if Low had been arrested, and on January 5th, still another came, as follows:

LEAVENWORTH, January 5th.

Is Low still in your custody? Answer quick. If so, I will be down on the next train.

WM. SMITH, Sheriff.

And yesterday morning, in answer to the telegram announcing the arrest of Lowe, a dispatch was received from Smith, stating that he would be down on the next train, and asking the Chief to hold the prisoner until his arrival.

When Low was arrested, the snug sum of \$8,295 was found on him. He passed under the assumed name of A. A. Becker, and was having a gay time with the boys.

Yesterday morning Mr. R. S. MacDonald and Kate Low, the prisoner's wife, called on Chief McDonough and had a conference, which resulted in the chief sending a note to Mr. A. W. Mead, the attorney of the board, asking whether the money found in Low's possession could be turned over to his wife. Mr. Mead answered that if he was not arrested on a charge which involved the money, such as larceny, it could be turned over on an order from Low. The money was accordingly given to Mrs. Low. The next step was to secure Low's release before the arrival of the sheriff, and MacDonald proceeded at once to the court of criminal correction and took advantage of the "great writ of habeas corpus."

In the petition it was claimed that Low "is now unlawfully and illegally restrained of his liberty by one Capt. James McDonough, chief of police; that no warrant or criminal process has been issued against him; that he is [not] guilty of the violation of any law of the state; that he was arrested by order of said McDonough, illegally, and is in the custody and control of said McDonough, and is held by said McDonough in confinement against his will and

consent; that there are no papers or process against him, and that his imprisonment was unlawful and unjust.

Judge Colvin ordered the writ issued, and it was immediately delivered to the Chief, who made the following return thereon:

"Executed the within writ, by delivering the within mentioned Joseph Low to the St. Louis court of criminal correction, this 5th day of January, 1874.

JAMES McDONOUGH,
"Chief of Police."

Low was then taken before Judge Colvin by Detective Duckworth and Tracy. The Judge asked Duckworth if that was all the return there was to be made, and was answered that there were some telegrams. The chief however, was willing to have the man released, but the detectives wanted him held until the sheriff arrived. Judge Colvin said he would recognize only the Chief, and told Duckworth to go and ascertain if that was all the returns to be made. "Duck" soon returned with a note to the judge, saying that the only authority he had for holding the man was the above telegrams, which he forwarded for the judge's inspection and enlightenment. Judge Colvin was in a quandary after reading them, and in a very hasty manner told the detective that he might have kept the writ back twenty-four hours if he wanted to, and knew the sheriff was coming for his prisoner. "Duck" replied that he did not answer the writ.

Mr. McDonald moved that the prisoner be discharged, which was accordingly done, and Low, with several friends, rapidly disappeared from the court, entered a carriage and drove swiftly away.

There were many comments on the case made, and several parties were so rash as to hint that some one in authority received a portion of the small change that Mrs. Low received—a most preposterous ideal

Low is said to have escaped from jail, where he was confined on a charge of murder.⁵

Later in the year Rowdy Joe was one of the early gold hunters in the Black Hills region of Dakota territory, and it was reported that he had been killed by Indians. The *Eagle* published the story October 29, 1874:

ROWDY JOE MURDERED.

Mayor [James G.] Hope received a letter from J. W. Brockett, now at Yankton, containing the information that Rowdy Joe, alias Joseph Lowe, so well known at Wichita, was with the party which was enroute for the Black Hills, and which was attacked by Indians and a portion of its number killed. The notorious Rowdy Joe fell first mortally wounded. We last week published an account of the attack, but the dispatches had his name John Lowe, instead of Joe. Thus this violent man met a violent death. Several of his victims are taking their last long sleep beneath the prairie sod of this border. Anderson, another, is here in Wichita, totally blind; Walter Beebe, who helped Lowe to escape the officers of the law at this place, is in the penitentiary, and Josephine Demerit keeps Beebe company. What a list of crimes Joe has gone to answer for.

Mayor Hope handed us an account of the attack clipped from a Yankton paper, from which we make the following extract:

"Of the Yankton company, Lowe was instantly killed three bullets piercing his body from a volley fired at the tent; Chas. Allen was wounded in the leg by an arrow; Baden was shot through the chest, probably fatally, while Orton received a flesh wound in the arm. The Indians then retreated from the field, when the Yanktonians put the body of Lowe, together with wounded man, Baden, into their wagon, and turning their faces homeward, traveled all night, leaving Mr. Baden at the Bohemian settlement and burying Mr. Lowe a few miles further east near a soldier camp, occupied by a detachment sent out from Randall to guard the settlers. The survivors arrived at Yankton on Thursday night. Their wagon bears unmistakable evidences of the bloody fight the party had with the Indians, being completely riddled with bullets and covered with the gore of their wounded and dead comrades, for it acted the part of a fortification behind which the boys concealed themselves as best they could during the time they were besieged. The survivors of this expedition will most likely give up opening a stock farm in that portion of Nebraska lately visited by them."

In 1899 the *Wichita Eagle* again reported that Rowdy Joe Lowe had been killed, this time in a Denver saloon. Lowe, then 72 according to the paper, insulted the Denver police department and was shot by a former policeman.⁶

Thus the reader has a choice of endings for the character known as Rowdy Joe.

1. *Wichita City Eagle*, June 28, 1872. 2. *Ibid.*, November 27, 1873. 3. *Ibid.*, December 25, 1873. 4. *Ibid.*, January 8, 1874. 5. *Ibid.*, January 15, 1874. 6. February 15, 1899.

McCARTY, HARRY T.

(———-1878)

Harry T. McCarty, surveyor and draftsman, was appointed deputy United States marshal for Ford county (Dodge City) in April, 1878. The *Ford County Globe*, April 30, reported his commission:

DEPUTY U. S. MARSHALSHIP.

Our active, energetic fellow-citizen, H. T. McCarty, who is known to every man, woman and child in Ford County, has received his commission as Deputy U. S. Marshal, under U. S. Marshal [Benjamin F.] Simpson.

When we say that the appointment gives good satisfaction to our farmers and a large majority of our business men, we simply tell the truth. There are, of course, some who may not like his appointment, but by inquiry they will be found to be, either violaters of the U. S. laws themselves, or personal enemies of Mr. McCarty.

We know that no other man in the County is so well fitted and qualified for the position as he is; because of his unlimited information concerning the violations of laws which take place in this county, and his desire to stop them.

We are greatly pleased that such a judicious choice has been made by Mr. Simpson, and predict a faithful performance of duty, "according to Hoyle," by Deputy Marshal McCarty.

Harry McCarty served less than three months. On July 13, 1878, he was shot and killed. His tragic murder was first described in the *Dodge City Times*, July 13:

ANOTHER MURDER.

H. T. McCARTY COWARDLY ASSASSINATED.

THE MURDERED MAN'S OWN PISTOL THE DEADLY WEAPON.

H. T. McCarty, a well-known citizen of Dodge City, was shot this morning about 4 o'clock, at the Long Branch saloon. The shot took effect in the right groin, severing the femoral artery; and the unfortunate man, after profusely bleeding for about an hour, expired.

The circumstances of the shooting are about as follows: A party of men were ridiculing one of their number, one Thomas Roach, a half-witted, rattle-brained and quarrelsome wretch, who, becoming incensed at the jibes and jeers of the crowd, rushed to where McCarty stood at the bar, and drawing McCarty's pistol from the latter's side, flourished it once or twice and fired one shot, which took effect as we have stated. McCarty was quietly standing at the bar drinking, and was in no manner connected with the hilarious crowd. A pistol shot was fired at the murderer, Tom Roach, which grazed him, though he fell to the floor, pretending to be dead, which prevented a bystander from repeating the shot upon being informed that the murderer of McCarty was already dead.

McCarty was removed to the house of Chas. Ronan, where in about an hour he died, having bled to death. The murderer was arrested and placed in jail.

A coroner's inquest was held this morning and the facts were elicited about as we have stated.

There is a good deal of indignation manifested over this brutal, unwarranted murder; and while it may appear in the present temper of a large class of people that law's delays and uncertainties are dangerous to the peace, life and protection of the community, we hope the sober, second thought will prevail and justice take its course.

Limping Tom, the prisoner, as he is familiarly known, was a cook in the camp of Shiner Bros. He was once led out of town last night and bid his way to camp, the party knowing Tom's querulous nature when under the influence of liquor. He has been living in this section of Kansas since last fall, and is generally unknown.

The deceased, H. T. McCarty, was an old resident of the border and for several years a resident of Dodge City. He was well-known in this section of Kansas.

He held the office of Surveyor of Ford county for two years, and followed the occupation of surveying and painting. The deceased was a man of warm, genial nature, and though he made strong friends he had bitter enemies. He was a man of excellent attainments, though of rude culture; a forcible writer, and an artist and painter of no mean merit. While possessing virtues he had faults; but the kindlier nature takes hold of these people as the soul of the deceased is wafted to another sphere. His faults are buried with the body, and the virtues only hold in the affections and sympathy of the kind and generous people of Dodge City.

The funeral of the deceased McCarty takes place this afternoon at 4 o'clock under the auspices of the Dodge City Fire Company, of which company the deceased was a member.

The *Ford County Globe* reported the shooting in its issue of July 16:

ASSASSINATION.

A DEPUTY U. S. MARSHAL FOULLY MURDERED.

THE ASSASSIN UNDER ARREST.

Saturday at 3:30 A. M., two pistol shots fired in quick succession were heard issuing from the "Long Branch" saloon, the first of which it was soon found had summoned the genial, warm-hearted Harry T. McCarty, ex-county surveyor and Deputy U. S. Marshal for Ford county, from this world to another. The circumstances seem as follows: "Mack" had just came up the street and stepped into the "Long Branch;" while leaning on the counter talking to Mr. Jackson, a half drunken desperado named Thomas Roach snatched "Mack's" pistol (a 45 caliber Colt) from the scabbard, and as "Mack" turned to see who had so nimbly disarmed him, the assassin, giving the weapon a flourish or two, fired the fatal shot. The ball penetrated the right groin severing the femoral artery, thence passing through the thigh lodged in the floor. The deceased staggered toward the door where he fell—another shot was almost instantaneously fired at Roach by a bystander, the ball grazing his right side. Roach falling called out "I am shot," and dropped to the floor, thus saving himself from the immediate penalty of his crime from the leveled revolvers about him. In the meantime medical assistance had been promptly summoned to the aid of his unfortunate victim, but it was soon found that he had passed that point when human aid however skilled could be of assistance. He was removed to the rooms of Charles Ronan to breath his last in a few minutes, recovering consciousness but for a brief period of time.

Even a stranger, unfamiliar with the circumstances, would have known as he passed up the streets an hour later that some sad tragedy had been enacted, by the air of gloom that pervaded every countenance, and the groups gathered upon the corners, some with minds too much occupied with the calamity to indulge in conversation, others in whispers that portended mischief, discussing the propriety of obviating the delays attendant upon legal process, and giving immediate illustration to the saying of our Savior, "Whoever sheds man's blood by man shall his blood be shed." But to the credit of Dodge City be it spoken, that the better counsel prevailed and even in the moment of excitement she determined to put herself on record as willing to submit to the law.

An inquest was held in the forenoon and a verdict rendered in accordance with the facts, and in the afternoon as quietly as possible (it being the desire of the officers to prevent anything that could tend to excite the already agitated crowd) an examination was held before R. G. Cook, Esq., at which time the prisoner was charged with murder in the first degree. Upon being brought up the charge was read to him, and he was fully instructed as to his rights, etc., by M. W. Sutton, County Attorney, and upon expressing it as his wish to waive an examination, he was recommitted to await trial at the next term of court.

Early in the forenoon the Dodge City fire company, of which deceased had been an active member since its organization, began to take the necessary steps to show their respect for the deceased. The hall was tastefully draped in mourning and the flag hung suspended at half mast. After services by Rev. O. W. Wright, at 4 P. M., the procession left the hall headed by the band, with Judge H. E. Gryden, M. W. Sutton, Dr. S. Galland, J. J. Webb, G. F. Jones and Marshal C. E. Bassett as pall bearers, followed by the entire company in

uniform and a large concourse of citizens in carriages. The procession moved through the principal streets, the pavements being thronged with spectators gazing at the solemn cortege.

At the grave a short address was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Wright, and all that was mortal of Harry T. McCarty was mingled with the dust.

Immediately on the return of the fire company they assembled at their hall when a short address was delivered by Marshal [P. L.] Beatty followed by Judge H. E. Gryden who spoke in eulogistic terms of the deceased and offered the following resolutions which were passed and ordered to be printed in the "GLOBE" and "Times" and the secretary ordered to furnish copies of proceedings to relatives of deceased.

WHEREAS, In His mercy it has pleased the Father of all to, by the hands of an assassin, take from us our fellow citizen and brother fireman, HARRY T. McCARTY,

Resolved, That we deeply feel the loss, not only of an efficient fireman and true brother, but of one whose superior qualities of head and heart have ever commanded our love and esteem.

Resolved, That we tender our heartfelt sympathies to the relatives of the deceased, and especially to his aged mother, assuring her and them that the sudden and unjustifiable assassination of the deceased has cast a shadow and gloom over our entire community, and that, though many winters' snow may spread its cold covering over the place where his ashes lie mingled with the dust, and though the green grass of his prairie grave be as often sere by the frosts of autumn, while life lasts the memory of HARRY T. McCARTY will be ever fresh and green in our hearts of affection.

Resolved, That in honor of our dead brother the members of the Dodge City Fire Company will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

Thus all that was mortal of the third of the gallant little band of Dodge City Firemen, killed by the hand of the assassin, was consigned to Mother Earth. Let us hope that it will be the last. In the years to come when the silvery hairs of the few remaining charter members will be warning them of the grave, they will ever remember with love and respect their early companions, Masterson [City Marshal Edward J. Masterson, killed by drunken cowboys on April 9, 1878] and McCarty, and as the blossoms of spring peep from the prairies they will, we doubt not, long to strew garlands, bedecked with tears, upon their untimely graves.

Thomas O'Haran, alias Thomas Roach, was tried at the January, 1879, term of the Ford county district court, Judge S. R. Peters presiding. O'Haran plead guilty to manslaughter in the first degree and was sentenced to 12 years and three months in the state penitentiary, the Dodge City *Times* reported, February 1, 1879.

MASON, JOSEPH W.

(1842?-_____)

Joe Mason, a former scout and one of the "old timers" of Dodge City, was appointed policeman on the Dodge force May 9, 1877. Lawrence E. Deger was marshal and in June Ed Masterson became assistant. All three officers earned \$75 a month salary.¹

The *Dodge City Times*, May 12, 1877, said of the new officer: "Joe Mason was appointed policeman by Mayor [James H.] Kelley and confirmed by the Council this week. Joe is a quiet young man who attends strictly to his own business, but will not fail to 'go to the joint' in case of a row. He will make a good officer."

Two days after he was appointed Joe Mason stopped a cruel and bloody game of "lap jacket." The *Times*, May 12, 1877, reported:

We yesterday witnessed an exhibition of the African national game of "lap jacket," in front of Shulz' harness shop. The game is played by two colored men, who each toe a mark and whip each other with bullwhips. In the contest yesterday Henry Rodgers, called Eph for short, contended with another darkey for the championship and fifty cents prize money. They took heavy new whips from the harness shop and poured in the strokes pretty lively. Blood flowed and dust flew and the crowd cheered until Policeman Joe Mason came along and suspended the cheerful exercise.

In Africa, where this pleasant pastime is indulged in to perfection, the contestants strip to the skin, and frequently cut each other's flesh open to the bone.

On June 6, 1877, Policeman Mason helped subdue Bat Masterson who had "wound his arm affectionately around the Marshal's [Deger's] neck and let . . . [his] prisoner escape." Bat had objected to Deger's manner of taking Bobby Gill to jail. The article reporting this will appear in the section on Masterson.

"The new policemen, Ed Masterson and Joe Mason, are covering themselves with glory, and their prompt and efficient action cannot be too highly commended," said the *Dodge City Times*, June 16, 1877.

Joe Mason stopped another fight a few days later, this time between "ladies," according to the *Times* of June 23, 1877:

THE JOINT.

A BATTLE OF THE BEAUTIES.

Presto Change! Josie Armstrong wears the belt. Now you wouldn't think to look at Miss Josie—a very pink of feminine symmetry and grace—that she would buckle on her armor and go into the shoulder hitting business. But there are times when occasion demands great effort, and such a time always arrives with a woman when she falls in with the evidences of an intruding rival.

Last monday Josie happened upon evidence of this kind. She didn't seize the weapon of her sex—broomstick—but she rolled up her delicate sleeves, and hand in hand with the green eyed monster, marched on to victory. (Here, were it not for the clamours of a curious public, we would gladly drop the curtain, for there is something about human carnage and the flow of human blood that harrows up our soul.)

In the fight that ensued there was a display of the most remarkable activity. The combatants unanimously waived the established rules of the London P. R.

and fell to pulling hair and kicking shins in a way that will live in the minds of the bystanders long after the noble piles of architecture that surrounded the battle field have fallen into decay.

Just as the combat deepened and the prospect for two bald-headed maidens was bright, the irrepressible Joe Mason, regardless of the fact that

"Those who in quarrels interpose
Must often wipe a bloody nose,"

sallied in and restored the peace and dignity of the city. A similar display of muscular activity has never before been known in this community.

Such is the brief story of the combat, and thus is added to immortality two more Maids of Orleans.

On September 8, 1877, the *Times* stated that "Policeman Mason made six arrests this week." And on September 15: "Policeman Mason was this week presented with a magnificent air gun which opens with a padlock. Mr. Mix has it on exhibition at the Long Branch."

Policeman Mason tried to arrest the sheriff of Edwards county, not recognizing that gentleman when he arrived in Dodge on September 17 and unwittingly thinking him to be a member of a gang of swindlers who had been operating in Dodge. The *Times* article reporting this will be presented in the section on W. B. Masterson.

The city council of Dodge City discharged Mason from the police force on October 2, by reason "that his services would no longer be required."² By October 13 Joe had become bartender of the Long Branch saloon. He left the Long Branch before November 24 and started working for one Russell; by December 1 he was again a police officer, this time a deputy sheriff under Charles E. Bassett. A week later, however, Mason was on his way to Sweetwater, Tex., with several other Dodgeites intending to open a saloon there.³

It was in Sweetwater that Mason shot and killed Ed Ryan. The Dodge City *Times*, January 12, 1878, reported:

A FATAL SHOT.

AN EX-DODGE CITY POLICEMAN KILLS HIS MAN.

ED. RYAN, A WELL KNOWN SPORTING MAN, THE VICTIM.

Last evening about dusk the overland stage from the south brought a letter from Sweetwater, Texas, in which the following paragraph appeared:

"Jo. Mason shot Ed. Ryan yesterday. He will be buried to-day. Jo. is willing to give himself up. Ed. was here three days before he was killed."

Mr. Reynolds, the mail contractor, confirms the news.

Jo. Mason is well known here, having served on the police force nearly all last summer. He never bore the reputation of being a "killer," and we believe this is the first time the click of his revolver has been the signal for a fatal shot.

Ed. Ryan was in Dodge City nearly all last Summer, and like many others in

the wild frontier, followed that artistic and exciting profession, of which four acres is the highest accomplishment. Ed. Ryan was a very large, stout man, not over thirty years of age, and seemed to be of a good natured disposition when sober.

At one time last summer, while Mason was on the police force, the two men had a very bitter quarrel, which would have probably resulted seriously had not third parties interfered.

In the next edition, January 19, the *Times* gave some additional information:

CAMP SUPPLY.

CAMP SUPPLY, I. T., Jan. 13, 1878.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE TIMES.

. . . News reached us this evening from Fort Elliott that Joe Mason formerly of Dodge City shot and killed a man at that post a week ago. Joe it seems is connected with a free-and-easy kind of a house at Sweetwater City, and at the time one of his old friends, a hunter, who it seems Joe had arrested while an official at Dodge, came up to him and commenced abusing him, and threatened that he would some day square accounts with him. Joe stood it for awhile and then gave the fellow the alternative of lighting out or a ball through his skull. It seems the fellow chose the latter for Joe fired and the bold hunter fell. Joe went out dug a hole six by two and placed his victim therein. Joe with his girl is on his way to Dodge City.

THE MASON-RYAN SHOOTING.

Joe Mason arrived in Dodge City yesterday. The following is a copy of the proceedings of a court of inquiry, which exonerates Mason, held at Sweetwater:

Proceedings of a Board of Officers convened at Fort Elliott, Texas, by virtue of the following order.

HEADQUARTERS FORT ELLIOTT, TEXAS,
January 5, 1878.

SPECIAL ORDERS, No. 4.

A Board of Officers to consist of Capt C Mauck 4th Cav, Capt E H Liscum, 19th Inf, and 2d Lt G K Hunter, 4th Cav, will convene at once to inquire into and report upon the killing of one Ed Ryan by Jos Mason, in the town of Sweetwater, last evening the 4th inst. The Board will make a report in writing on the merits of the case.

By order of Lt Col J P Hatch.

(Signed) THEO H ECKERSON
2d Lt 19th Inf, Post Adjutant.

FORT ELLIOTT, TEXAS, Jan 5, 1878.

The Board met pursuant to the foregoing order at 2.30 o'clock P M. Present, Capt C Mauck, 4th Cav, Capt E H Liscum, 19th Inf, and 2d Lt G K Hunter, 4th Cav.

The Board then proceeded to the examination of the following named witnesses. Tim Leavy, Harry Fleming, Granger Dyer, W H Weed, David Remington, Arrington, Norton and Dr. LaGarde. The Board after mature deliberation arrived at the following conclusion. That Ed Ryan came to his death

from a gun shot wound at the hands of Jos Mason, and that the said Jos Mason was justifiable in the premises. There being no further business before it the board then adjourned sine die.

C MAUCK, Capt 4th Cav,
E H LISCUM, Capt 19th Inf.
GEO K HUNTEY, 2d Lt 4th Cav, Recorder.
Hd Qts, FORT ELLIOTT, Jan 10, 1878.

The foregoing proceedings are approved.

JNO P HATCH,
Lt Col 4th Cav, Commanding.

Apparently feeling that his Dodge City friends would not think well of him, Mason wrote this note to the *Times* which was published on January 26:

TO THE EDITORS OF THE TIMES.

In your issue of January 19th I find among the items from your correspondent at Camp Supply, a description of the unfortunate shooting at Ft. Elliott some days ago. I only wish to say that your correspondent has misrepresented me. I was in no way connected with a "free-and-easy" at Sweetwater, nor did I "dig a hole and place the victim therein."

J. W. MASON.

The *Ford County Globe*, January 22, 1878, merely stated: "Joe Mason has returned from Elliott, he looks well and says he intends remaining in the city."

This epilogue appeared in the *Globe*, February 12, 1878: "Joe Mason received a letter yesterday morning, from Sioux city, Nebraska, containing a photograph of Ed Ryan, telling him that if the photo represented the man he killed he is entitled to the thanks of Sioux city."

Mason was temporarily reappointed to the Dodge City police force in April, 1878,⁴ but no record was found of the length or effectiveness of his service.

In June he assisted Sheriff Bat Masterson in guarding some prisoners and on July 1 the board of county commissioners allowed him \$18 for his services.⁵

The last mention found of Joe Mason in the Dodge City papers appeared in the *Ford County Globe*, May 17, 1881: "Joseph Mason, an old frontiersman and former police officer of Dodge City, after an absence from this place for over a year returned to the city Saturday last with a view of making this his permanent home."

1. "Kansas State Census," 1875, Ford county, p. 11; Dodge City *Times*, May 12, June 9, July 7, August 11, September 8, October 6, 1877. 2. Dodge City *Times*, October 6, 1877. 3. *Ibid.*, October 13, November 24, December 1, 8, 1877. 4. *Ibid.*, April 13, 1878. 5. *Ibid.*, June 15, July 6, 1878.

MASSEY, PLEASANT H.

(1823-——)

The Republicans of Sedgwick county, at a convention held in Wichita October 4, 1873, nominated P. H. Massey for sheriff. Massey, then a 50-year-old farmer, received the support of the Wichita *Eagle* editor Marsh Murdock who said of him:

PLEASANT H. MASSEY,

the nominee for sheriff, is an old resident of South Bend, Indiana, a Colfax Republican of many years standing. He has never voted any other ticket since the organization of the party. He served three years as deputy sheriff in that populous county. He is a farmer living in Ninesha township was brought up a Whig. Mr. Massey is a pleasant gentleman, full of earnestness and life. From letters that we have been permitted to read we know that he must have stood well at his old home. He has been a resident of this county for three years and commands the respect of all who know him—and will be elected without a doubt.¹

Massey's chief opponent was incumbent William Smith, a former Wichita city marshal and deputy sheriff who had been appointed in September, 1873, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Sheriff John Meagher.²

At the November 4 election Massey won handily over Smith and one D. L. Green, a third candidate. The sheriff-elect received 665 votes, Smith 599, and Green 167.³

When the district court was scheduled to open in December, 1873, Massey, being the sheriff-elect, felt it was his duty rather than the duty of appointee Smith to announce the opening of the session. The *Eagle*, December 11, 1873, reported this interesting controversy:

The district court opened Monday noon, with Judge W. P. Campbell on the bench. Preceding the formal command for the sheriff to announce the opening, Mr. Stanley submitted the matter of difference between Sheriff Smith, the appointee, and Sheriff Massey, elect. Mr. Balderston appeared on behalf of Sheriff Smith. It appeared that Mr. Massey had duly qualified, and his bonds having been approved by the commissioners, he claimed that under the law he was entitled to and that it became incumbent upon to assume the active duties of the office. The judge said that in chambers he had no power to adjudicate any such matter; that he should recognize as the officer of his court the individual who had the possession of the books and papers pertaining to said office of sheriff, and that after the court had regularly opened he would be ready to hear any matter brought before him in proper form in the regular practice. Mr. Smith opened the court, and so the matter stands at present.

The office was officially turned over to Massey on January 1, 1874. Said the *Eagle*, January 8: "Sheriff Smith delivered, on New Year's day, to Sheriff P. H. Massey the books and papers pertaining to the

office of sheriff, and now friend Pleasant may be heard crying from an upper window, 'hear yel hear yel' etc."

Shortly before Massey was sworn into office, Wichita was shocked by an incendiary murder which the *Eagle* termed the "Christmas Cremation." Since Massey, as sheriff, was only indirectly involved the complete story of the murder and the subsequent activity in capturing and trying the perpetrators will be presented in the section on Mike Meagher who was city marshal at the time.

Massey's primary concern with the case was in holding the prisoners before the trial and in acting as an officer of the court during the hearing. On March 5, 1874, the *Eagle* had reported that "Sheriff Massey took McNutt and his wife [two of the accused murderers] to Topeka for safe keeping." Arthur Winner, the third accused killer, was being kept in Cottonwood Falls.

By May 17, 1874, the McNutts and Winner were brought back to Wichita for their trial. The two male defendants were placed in the sheriff's office, next door to the *Eagle* printing plant, and were not only chained to each other but also at night were chained to iron rings bolted to the sheriff's floor.⁴ In spite of this security, Winner was able to give the sheriff some anxious moments. The *Wichita Eagle*, May 21, 1874, reported one incident:

Winner, who is chained to McNutt, both of whom have been for some days confined in the sheriff's office, adjoining that of our own, is as nochalant, gay and independent as he was during the preliminary examination last Christmas. Nothing appears to depress his spirits. On Sunday he constructed a key out of a pen point with which he unlocked his shackles, and laughingly exhibited the result of his feat to the sheriff, which officer then riveted his shackles.

On Monday one of the guards discovered him trying to part the rivets with a pocket knife. The fact being reported to Sheriff Massey, that officer attempted to search him and take away the knife, whereupon the wiry little fellow took it into his head to kick up a resistance. The noise and confusion made by the sheriff in taking the young man down startled us, and we rushed around to the door to find it locked. Treasurer Johnson came rushing up the hall with a cocked revolver in his hand, and Kellogg, Little and Phillips came puffing out of their offices, and for a moment the tableau was at least interesting, if not exciting.

A call from us, asking if help was desired, elicited no answer, but Nessley opened the door, when we found the sheriff holding in his iron grip the prostrate prisoner; who was wagging his tongue at a lively rate, declaring that it would take three such men to handle him if he had a show. He was manacled still more closely, when he cooled down and all was again serene. The rest of the prisoners sat around, appearing to enjoy the excitement. Winner asked us before we left to give the facts, and we guess we have. He is rather an odd boy, aggressive and fearless, and withal of a light and cheerful disposition.

Sheriff Massey opened the district court, May 18, and the trial of

the murderers commenced May 21.⁵ Apparently such a crowd was expected that certain alterations had to be made in the court room. The *Eagle*, May 21, 1874, reported: "Sheriff Massey has had a temporary railing put up in the court room, the court, its officers, jury-men and witnesses occupying one side and the spectators the other. Good idea."

Finding unprejudiced jurors was a task for the sheriff. Editor Murdock felt it was the result of the *Eagle's* popularity in Sedgwick county:

Sheriff Massey and deputies, are out hunting fifty more men, qualified to sit on the trial of McNutt. The sheriff says when he finds a man in a lonely out of the way place, he asks the question, "do you read the EAGLE?" when if the answer is in the negative, he draws his papers on him, in the full assurance that another juryman has been found. He says he found one such man within four miles of the city—the fellow couldn't read at all.⁶

While the Christmas cremation trial was in progress, a Texas cowboy named Ramsey shot and killed a Negro hod carrier, Charley Sanders. The article reporting this, May 28, 1874, will be included in the section on William Smith. Ramsey had not been captured by July 23, 1874, when the *Eagle* reported a false lead:

Sheriff Massey is bound to catch the desperado that shot the colored man last spring. He heard that the outlaw was at Coffeyville last week and the next train of cars found him *en route* to trap the bird, which he successfully did, and in spite of a partial issued *habeas corpus*, brought him in irons to Wichita, but it proved to be a different rooster and he was released. We hope our officers will leave no stone unturned to bring the murderer to trial.

In August a man by the name of James Long stole a horse from a Wichita stable and headed east. Massey, learning that he had been in Fort Scott, left for that place. The *Eagle*, August 13, 1874, said: "Sheriff Massey has gone to Ft. Scott to accompany a man by the name of Long back to this place, Long having borrowed a horse at the diamond front stable which he forgot to return."

Long hoodwinked the citizens of Fort Scott and journeyed on into Missouri where he was finally caught. The Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*, August 18, 1874, reported Long's abilities as a confidence man:

HORSE THIEF CAUGHT.

About three weeks ago a man giving his name as Long, from Sumner county, arrived in our city and asked Mr. Tannehill to lend him some money, stating that he was after a horse thief, had run out of money and wished to proceed. Mr. T., having heard of the horses being stolen, took it for granted that it was all right and advanced the amount desired. It turned out, however, that Long was the horse thief and took this method of avoiding suspicion. Mr. Tannehill and Constable Avery started in pursuit and overtook him at Springfield, Mo.,

with three horses, and they are now awaiting a requisition from the Governor to bring him here.

Horse stealing is getting to be a dangerous business. In most every instance the thief is caught, and in many cases the punishment is swift and terrible.

While Massey chased Long over two states, his son acted as sheriff in his father's absence: "Sheriff Massey is still absent, and Tence, his son and deputy sheriff, has his hands full. He was detained in Jefferson City by a telegram from the Governor."⁷

On August 27, 1874, the *Eagle* reported that Sheriff Massey had returned with a prisoner. It is apparent that the captive was not the horse thief so eagerly sought but was rather someone who unfortunately remains unknown: "Sheriff Massey returned Saturday night with one prisoner, but he took the next eastern bound train for Springfield, Missouri, after Long, the man who hired a horse at the livery stable and forgot to come back."

The Fort Scott *Monitor*, August 28, 1874, reported that "Constable Avery has returned from Springfield, Mo., bringing with him the horse thieves which he arrested at that place a week or more ago. They are in durance vile to await their trial at the next term of court."

Perhaps the Sedgwick county charge of horse stealing carried more weight than the Bourbon county charge of monetary theft for the sheriff soon showed up in Wichita with the two horse thieves: "Sheriff Massey came home from Springfield, Mo., last week with two prisoners charged with horse stealing," said the *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, September 2, 1874. The identity of the second thief is not definitely known but he may have been young Bill Wright who was convicted for pony stealing in October, 1874.

The next day, September 3, 1874, the *Eagle* complimented the sheriff and his son:

Sheriff Massey seldom if ever fails to get his man when he goes for him. He returned a few days since with Long, who will have justice meted out to him we trust.

Sheriff Massey, who for the past three weeks has been continuously on the track of criminals in this and other states is again at home. Our boy, Tence, as deputy makes a splendid officer. He is prompt, affective and makes no mistakes.

The travels of Pleasant H. Massey were not yet over. On September 4, 1874, the sheriff headed back for Missouri:

Sheriff Massey, George Fessenden, D. M. V. Stewart and Jackson Bolend, will start to Jefferson City, Mo., on Friday to testify in the case of Dr. W. F.

Bowie, before the United States District Court. Bowie was merchandising at Sedalia, Mo., went into bankruptcy, forfeited a bond of \$15,000, and is now charged with perjury. His trial is set for the 7th of this month.⁸

Later in the month he visited the state penitentiary:

Sheriff Massey returned yesterday from the state penitentiary, where he had delivered three prisoners convicted at the last term of court, viz: J. H. Hill, for two years for shooting Stewart, on the Ninnescah, last spring; James Long, for three years, for stealing a horse; Wm. Wright, a boy, for one year, for stealing a pony. The criminal docket was not entirely cleared up for want of time. Two prisoners yet remain in the sheriffs custody.⁹

About the beginning of Massey's second year as sheriff, the new Sedgwick county jail was finished. The jail was designed to house not only county prisoners but also the sheriff. The living section of the building was one of the most modern in town for it boasted a furnace *and* running water. Massey moved into his new quarters about the end of January, 1875. The *Eagle*, January 28, reported:

Sheriff Massey has moved his family into the city. His new home, the resident portion of the new jail, is one of the most complete and comfortable establishments, heated, as it is, by a furnace and supplied with soft water from an up-stairs tank.

A month later the sheriff celebrated his 52d birthday in his new home. The *Eagle*, February 25, 1875, reported the success of the surprise party:

Sheriff Massey's fifty-second birthday, the 22d, was the occasion of a feast and old fashioned frolic tendered him by his good wife, who made all the arrangements and done the inviting. In the evening the house of sheriff Massey was invaded by a hilarious surprise party consisting of young folks, who kept things lively until well nigh unto morning, with feasting dancing and merry-making. By a coincidence, Geo. Washington, the father of his country, was born on the same day that sheriff Massey was. But the sheriff gets away with George in the item of birthday celebrations.

Things were pretty quiet in the sheriff's office the first few months of 1875. On March 31 the *Beacon* reported: "Sheriff Massey returned from Leavenworth last week having delivered his 'fresh fish' Becker and Hoss, sent up for horse-stealing, at the penitentiary. He says that McNutt is cutting leather in the shoe shop, while Winner works in the paint shop." On June 16 the paper stated: "Al Thomas was put in jail Sunday, by Sheriff Massey, but was allowed to go out on parole after a short imprisonment," and on June 23 it mentioned another trip east:

Sheriff Massey left yesterday morning for Topeka in charge of county commissioners York, Carpenter and Hobbs, who will invoke the aid of the supreme court through the instrumentality of a writ of *habeas corpus* to wrest them

from the clutches of Judge Campbell who now holds them in contempt, with a fine of \$100 each and "conditional" imprisonment in the county jail staring them in the face.

Sheriff Massey lost three prisoners from his jail on July 10. The *Beacon*, July 14, 1875, reported the escape:

THREE PRISONERS BREAK JAIL.

On Saturday afternoon the prisoners were allowed to promenade along the corridor of the jail which incloses the narrow space in front of the cells. This was only being partly restored to liberty, and the three prisoners took advantage of their position by cutting through an eighteen-inch thick brick wall with a knife and hatchet, while Sheriff Massey and family were at supper. How they obtained their instruments to work with, is not known. The work was done in a short time, and as the brick were taken out, they were placed in a blanket and carried to a cell, by which means a hole eighteen inches in diameter was soon made under one of the outer windows, through which the three men escaped.

When Mr. Massey returned from supper and called the prisoners to their cells no response was made and their absence was soon made conspicuous. Now in the first place these men were allowed too wide latitude, and in the second place it is a piece of stupidity to construct the outer walls of a jail with strong wrought-iron windows (through which it would be extremely difficult to effect an escape with a crow bar) in walls of brick, which can be dug through with a jack knife in twenty minutes. The heat in the cells is terribly oppressive, and, under the circumstances, Mr. Massey can hardly be censured for permitting the prisoners to breathe half-pure air for so short a time.

Wallace Bennett, the notorious thief and desperado who was recently captured in the territory, was one of the party. The other two, Geo. Houston and W. W. Chamberlain, were awaiting trial for stealing in this city. No clue has yet been heard of them.

The *Eagle*, July 15, 1875, suggested that outside aid had been given:

"Last Saturday evening, just before being locked up for the night, three prisoners dug their way out of the jail. They had been assisted by outside confederates. Sheriff Massey has taken steps for their recovery."

The *Beacon*, July 28, 1875, published a description of two of the escapees and reported a \$50 reward offered for their return:

Sheriff Massey has offered a reward of fifty dollars for Geo. Houston and W. W. Chamberlain who escaped from the jail on the 10th of July. They are described as follows:

Houston is about twenty-eight or thirty years old, dark complexion, dark hair, dark chin whiskers and moustaches; hight, about five feet eight inches; weighs about 145 pounds; had coarse shoes on, nearly new, and dark colored pants. Chamberlain is about twenty-seven years old, light complexion, light

hair, short chin whiskers and moustaches; had on light colored pants, badly worn.

In July Massey failed to flush a horse thief from a corn field but a private citizen, coming upon the man later, put the outlaw permanently out of business. The *Eagle*, August 5, 1875, reported the incidents:

A week or two ago a telegram was received from Gamett giving the description of a man named Waterman who had stolen a horse. Sheriff Massey found the horse in the course of a few days near Eldorado. The thief was afterwards discovered near the depot where he ran into a corn field. The field was surrounded by the Sheriff, police and a posse but the bird had flown. The same night of his escape he stole a horse from a Mr. Allen, living between here and Douglas. Mr. Allen gave pursuit, and some time during the day came upon both man and horse, the former lying on the bank of a creek asleep, with a revolver in each hand. Mr. Allen aroused him up and told him to surrender or he would kill him. The thief said he would never surrender when Mr. Allen carried out his threat leaving the miscreant lying upon the prairie and he returning with his property home. This is as we got it and comment is unnecessary.

Pleasant H. Massey did not run for re-election in November, 1875. His successor was H. W. Dunning, who had been elected over two other candidates.¹⁰ In December Dunning was deputized by Sheriff Massey in order that he might become acquainted with the duties and routine of the office. The *Wichita Eagle*, December 9, 1875, reported:

Maj. Dunning becomes Sheriff sooner than the law or the people contemplated. Sheriff Massey was compelled to leave on Monday for Topeka, where he had been summoned as a witness before the United States District Court, so to get the Major well started in, he just deputized the newly elected Sheriff. Yank Owens and Major Dunning appear to hold everything level, even the heels and heads of the lawyers, which are generally on a level with the tables.

The last official act performed by Sheriff Massey which was mentioned in the *Wichita* press was reported in the *Eagle*, December 23, 1875: "Sheriff Massey left yesterday morning for the State Penitentiary in charge of Henry Lee, whom Judge Campbell had sentenced to two years for pleading guilty to a charge of stealing a horse from a colored man by the name of Stevens."

From that point Pleasant H. Massey returned to the obscurity of private life.

1. *Wichita City Eagle*, October 9, 1873. 2. *Ibid.*, September 18, 1873. 3. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1873. 4. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1874. 5. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1874. 6. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1874. 7. *Ibid.*, August 20, 1874. 8. *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, September 2, 1874. 9. *Wichita City Eagle*, October 1, 1874. 10. *Ibid.*, November 4, 1875.

(To Be Continued in the Summer, 1961, Issue.)

The Annual Meeting

THE 85th annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in Topeka on October 18, 1960.

Following a plan inaugurated in 1958, a session was held for persons interested in county and local historical societies, and museums. The meeting was called for 10 A. M. in the museum. Edgar Langsdorf, assistant secretary, presided. Roger Kirkwood, director of the Kansas Centennial Commission, talked on centennial programs and activities for local groups, and on the major activities of the state commission. Stanley Sohl, director of the State Historical Society's museum, also participated. Organizations in many parts of the state were represented.

The session for the Society's board of directors was held concurrently in the newspaper reading room. Pres. Edward R. Sloan was not present because of illness and George L. Anderson, second vice-president presided. First business was the report of the secretary:

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 18, 1960

At the conclusion of last year's meeting the newly elected president, Edward R. Sloan, reappointed Charles M. Correll and Frank Haucke to the executive committee. Members holding over were Will T. Beck, John S. Dawson, and T. M. Lillard.

The death of Judge Dawson on February 19, 1960, at the age of 90, meant the loss of one of the Society's oldest and most devoted friends. President in 1931-1932, a member of the board of directors for more than 50 years and of the executive committee since 1935, Judge Dawson's advice and counsel were of great benefit to the Society. Throughout his long life he was deeply involved in the making of Kansas history, and he was equally interested in its preservation.

Judge Dawson's place on the executive committee was filled by the appointment of Wilford Reigle of Emporia.

The Society suffered another blow in the loss of Jerome C. Berryman of Ashland, who died May 23, 1960. At the time of his death Mr. Berryman was first vice-president of the Society. He had been a life member since 1927 and a member of the board of directors since 1940. His widespread business and political interests did not prevent his taking part in the work of the Society, and his loss, like that of Judge Dawson, is sincerely regretted.

Three other members of the board of directors also passed away during the year. Lloyd W. Chambers, Clearwater farmer-stockman and member of the board since 1944, died January 15; W. W. Davis, former professor of history at the University of Kansas and member of the board since 1937, died April 5, and Clyde K. Rodkey, Manhattan attorney, member of the board

since 1947, died August 11. All were good friends whose absence will be keenly felt.

APPROPRIATIONS AND BUDGET REQUESTS

Most worthy of note in the current budget is an appropriation for the long-desired remodeling of the G. A. R. auditorium and adjacent areas. This work is now in noisy and dusty progress, with completion expected—perhaps it would be better to say hoped for—in December. The mammoth G. A. R. hall, which has been used so seldom in recent years that there was no longer any reason for keeping it, is being divided to make a smaller and more usable auditorium, two new museum display areas, a microfilm reading room, and three levels of storage stacks. In addition, the former G. A. R. museum area in the west wing of the second floor is being altered to make a new military display area, three new period rooms will be installed in the small rooms adjoining, and other modernizations are in process that will make the entire section more pleasant and more efficiently utilized. Last but far from least, all museum areas, offices, and reading rooms throughout the Society's quarters will enjoy air conditioning next summer.

Another major appropriation of the 1960 legislature is for installation of a new elevator at the east end of the lobby. The existing shaft, empty since the Memorial building was completed in 1914, will be used, and the present nearly 50-year-old elevator—which Governor Docking once remarked should be made a part of the Society's collection of antiques—will be relegated to stand-by and emergency service.

Two new staff positions have been established since the last report. On the professional staff, the Society now has an archaeologist; although archaeological work has been a part of the program for two years, the archaeologist officially was the assistant museum director until this new position was created. On the custodial staff, a watchman-guide has been appointed. Upon completion of the current remodeling, he will be stationed in the new museum areas on the second and third floors.

The memorial to Kansans who participated in the campaigns before Vicksburg, mentioned in last year's report, was erected on June 13. Designed by State Architect John Brink, it is a monument of bronze symbolizing the broken and subsequently reunited Union.

Budget requests for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1962, were filed with the state budget director in September. Permission was asked to employ a maintenance and equipment supervisor, and a director of field services, who would work with school groups in what has been called in other states a junior historian program, and who would also be given responsibility for searching out and acquiring for the Society manuscript and other material which too often is lost because its existence is learned of too late.

Capital improvement requests repeated from last year's budget include installation of a suspended ceiling in the museum, replacing the old glass floors with steel in the main stack area, and sandblasting and tuckpointing the exterior of the Memorial building.

Other operating expenses are expected to remain at about the same level as in recent years both for the Society itself and the historical properties it administers.

PUBLICATIONS AND SPECIAL PROJECTS

With the Spring issue of 1960, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* began publication of "Some Notes on Kansas Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters," a series which has been received with wide interest.

The compilers, Nyle H. Miller and Joseph W. Snell, have sufficient noteworthy police officers and gunslingers in their lineup to run the series well into 1962. So you fans of the Real West have much in store for the immediate future. The Spring *Quarterly* also included Thomas H. O'Connor's story of Boston's "Cotton Whigs" who spent time and fortune to save Kansas from slavery. The Summer and Autumn numbers of 1960 included letters by Charles M. Chase, a Vermonter, written during visits to Kansas in 1863 and 1873, edited by Mrs. Lela Barnes, treasurer of the Society. Dr. James C. Malin gave an interesting insight into early Fort Scott politics in an article entitled "Eugene Ware and Dr. Sanger: The Code of Political Ethics, 1872-1892," published in the Autumn *Quarterly*. A timely article by Mrs. George T. Hawley of the Society's staff, "Kansas Congressmen and Reapportionment," including a list of all U. S. representatives who have served Kansas, was featured in the Winter number.

Over 2,500 copies of each issue of the *Quarterly* are distributed to members of the Society, schools, and libraries. Volume 26, comprising the four 1960 issues, will be bound and ready for distribution soon.

The Historical Society *Mirror*, now in its sixth year, has been since its inception a markedly successful means of keeping members informed of their Society's activities. It has been well received, and has proved its worth in the large number of valuable donations submitted in response to specific requests of the various departments.

Hundred-year-ago items from the Kansas press are still being compiled and sent out each month to the newspapers of the state. The number of publishers who use all or part of this material is gratifying, and it may not be unreasonable to anticipate that even more will find use for this material during the centennial year.

Work is continuing on the second volume of the *Comprehensive Index*, this one expected to cover the published volumes of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*. Louise Barry, a member of the staff, although occupied with other Society projects, has completed the indexing of the first three volumes of the *Quarterly*. Pressure of centennial activities has meant slower than normal progress, but by the middle of next year it is hoped this work can be resumed at the same pace as formerly.

Texts for three more historical markers were prepared this year. One, covering the history of the statehouse, is expected to be erected on the capitol grounds in time for the centennial. The others, dealing with the cattle business and the bluestem pasture region, are to be located in turnout areas in Chase and Greenwood counties.

Mention was made in last year's report that work was underway on a pictorial history of Kansas, to be published jointly with the Kansas Centennial Commission if the necessary financial assistance could be obtained from the legislature. It is a pleasure to announce that this was accomplished, that all editorial work except final proofreading and indexing has been completed, and that the book is scheduled for official publication on January 10, 1961.

All members will receive order blanks in ample time to take advantage of a special prepublication price of \$7.95, a dollar less than the regular price. The book will run some 300 pages, will have more than 800 illustrations, with five maps and a Samuel Reader painting of the "Battle of the Blue" reproduced in color, and will be indexed. It should be a handsome as well as a useful and—it is hoped—readable volume, one that all members of the Society and other Kansans interested in the story of their state will want to make a part of their libraries.

Another publication of special note is now in the hands of the printer and is expected to be available early in December. This unique work, *Kansas in Maps*, by Robert W. Baughman of Liberal, one of the Society's directors, is being published by the Society through the generosity of the Baughman Foundation. The 90 maps reproduced, including 20 pages in color, cover 400 years of this space called Kansas. The maps are accompanied by a well-researched, inspired textual commentary, and the book will give a fascinating, out-of-the-ordinary view of the Jayhawk state.

The major phase of another Baughman project, a compilation of Kansas postal beginnings of which mention was made in last year's report, is scheduled for publication in 1961.

The Historical Society staff continues to co-operate fully with the Kansas Centennial Commission and with individuals, newspapers, and others who have need for historical information for use in centennial projects of various kinds.

The centennial commission has authorized the equipping of art and historical trailers to travel the state during much of 1961, the state centennial year. Stanley Sohl, the Society's museum director, will supervise the planning and installation of the materials from the Historical Society which will be displayed in the historical trailer.

ARCHAEOLOGY

The Society's major archaeological work during the summer was the excavation of four prehistoric Indian sites in the proposed Wilson reservoir area, in Russell and Lincoln counties. The work was managed in the field by Tom Witty, the Society's new archaeologist, in co-operation with the National Park Service. It was designed to salvage information on some of the sites expected to be destroyed when the reservoir is flooded.

The first excavation on Hell creek was the remains of a rectangular earth lodge and its associated storage pits. The next site was a small cave which had on the floor about four feet of fill resulting from camps, one on top of another, over a period of some 300 years. This site provided an excellent record of the sequence of various cultures which moved through the valley. The last two digs were open camp sites along the edge of the Saline river valley. The sites worked this season represent a time period from 450 to 800 years ago. Material and data collected will be processed, studied, and written up during the coming winter.

An archaeological survey of the John Redmond reservoir area meanwhile was carried on by Roscoe Wilmeth, who has since left the employment of the Society to work on his doctorate in anthropology. Some 40 sites have thus far been located in the Redmond area. The report and analysis of the excavations carried on in the summer of 1959 in the Pomona reservoir is now in manuscript and copies should soon be available.

ARCHIVES DIVISION

Public records from the following state departments have been transferred during the year to the archives division:

<i>Source</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Agriculture, Board of	*Statistical Rolls of Counties, 1953 Population Schedules of Cities and Townships	1953 .. 1960	1,710 vols. 4,241 vols.
Engineering Examiners, Board of	Engineer License Application Folders	1956-1959	9 reels microfilm
Labor Department	Correspondence and Papers	1942-1955	28 bxs.

(* Have been microfilmed. Originals will be destroyed.)

Annual reports were received from the Director of Alcoholic Beverage Control, Board of Healing Arts, Board of Podiatry Examiners, Fort Hays Kansas State College, Real Estate Commission, and the Traveling Libraries Commission for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1959. The state auditor's office transferred to the Society two volumes recording the municipal indebtedness of the state, 1878 and 1880, and samples of World War I state soldiers' bonus bonds and coupons.

Two large archival microfilming projects were completed this year. Records of the insurance department received in 1958 and 1959 were put on film and the originals destroyed. Agents' licenses, 1927-1928, 1945-1952; applications for agents' licenses, prior to 1951, and annual statements, 1949-1952, are now contained on 114 rolls of film.

The second project, begun in 1959, resulted in the placing on microfilm of county statistical rolls, 1919, 1937-1953; abstracts of statistical rolls, 1905-1957; and population schedules for cities and townships, 1919, 1937-1954. These records, coming originally from the Board of Agriculture, are now contained on 635 rolls of film. The completion of this job, and the subsequent disposal of original records, will free valuable shelf space for other storage.

LIBRARY

A gratifying change in the interests of library patrons has become evident in the past few years. While in 1955 only about 35 per cent worked on Kansas subjects, in 1960 almost 50 per cent, or 2,336, devoted their time to state and local topics. Some of this increased interest is due, no doubt, to the coming state centennial, but much of it can be accounted for by the growing familiarity of the public with the materials available in the Historical Society. More students also take advantage of the library's resources each year. For the past two years a Topeka high school history teacher has brought all sections of his classes to tour the library. A surprising number of these students return, bringing others with them, seeking a wide range of information for their classes.

The approaching Civil War centennial has also made itself felt. While the number of patrons working on general subjects ordinarily stays much the same, this year it rose over 22 per cent to a total of 1,071. Interest in genealogy, in contrast, decreased slightly to a total of 1,364. Library patrons totaled 4,771, an increase of almost six per cent over last year.

More than half of the 800 inquiries by mail were from out-of-state patrons. Forty-six states were represented as well as Canada, England, Australia, and Germany. The English and German correspondents were members of Westerners' associations in those countries and were interested in various phases of frontier life in Kansas. There are over 1,000 German Westerners who hope, through research, to improve the quality of the American frontier tales so eagerly read by both teen-agers and adults in that country. Numerous free pamphlets were sent out, principally to students, and 252 packages of loan file material were mailed during the year.

In the clipping department 7,680 copies of newspapers were read. These issues included seven regular dailies and over 5,000 miscellaneous papers. Nearly 500 clippings were mounted on cards for the biographical file and 4,638 were pasted on sheets to be bound into volumes. With part-time help during the summer it was possible to remount the clippings in ten badly worn volumes. Many more of these older clipping books are in need of repair.

Microfilm accessions included a file of the *Indian Advocate*, Sacred Heart Mission, Indian territory, 1889-1910; *The Soule Genealogy*, a two-volume family history lent by A. L. Soule, Topeka; "History of Dodge City," a thesis on loan from the author, Owen D. Wiggins; *The Claghorn Family*, donated by Mrs. Guy D. Josseland; and *Strangeman Hutchins*, a genealogical pamphlet given by Mrs. Nancy Hineman. *The Virginia Gazette*, of Williamsburg, Va., 1736-1780, was purchased with money given by the National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Kansas. Louise Barry donated a reel of the 1810 federal census of Virginia, and Mr. and Mrs. Frank Helm gave two reels of the 1850 New York census and one reel of the 1880 census of Texas. The Polly Ogden chapter, D. A. R., Manhattan, sent money to be applied on the purchase of additional reels of the 1850 New York census. Through the courtesy of the probate judges of Anderson, Linn, and Shawnee counties early marriage records of those counties were microfilmed. These records preceded the marriage license law of 1867 and were recorded from slips sent in by the persons performing the marriages. Early marriage records are important for biographical and genealogical purposes and all such Kansas records should be microfilmed for safe keeping.

Several theses were received during the year. Col. and Mrs. Harrie S. Mueller gave a copy of "Elam Bartholomew, Pioneer, Farmer, Botanist," by Leonard E. Muir; Ralph E. Herrick sent a copy of his thesis, *History of the First Baptist Church, Emporia, Kansas*, and Mrs. Vera E. Pletcher gave a copy of her "History of Smith County."

Collections of books were received from Grace E. Derby, Arthur Bridwell, Mrs. Edward Carl Johnson, the U. S. Veterans Administration, Fort Leavenworth, Louise Wolcott, and the family of Dr. Charles H. Lerrigo. A number of persons donated single volumes, pamphlets, and other material to the library. Kenneth Davis, a former Kansan, now of Seattle, Wash., sent a generous check to be used for the purchase of books.

Centennial booklets from the First Presbyterian church, Salina; First Presbyterian church, Topeka; First Baptist church, Wathena; and the city of Washington, were added to the Kansas collection.

Heritage of Kansas, by Everett Rich, and *One Way Ticket to Kansas*, by Frank M. Stahl, as told by Margaret Whittemore, were significant Kansas books

published recently. An important contribution to the early history of the state was the reprinting of three older books which have become scarce. *Thirty Years in Topeka, 1854-1884*, by F. W. Giles, was issued in an attractive format as a Stauffer Publication centennial contribution; *History of Jewell County, Kansas*, by M. Winsor and J. A. Scarbrough, originally published in 1878, was reprinted by the Excelsior Study Club, Burr Oak; and *The Heart of the New Kansas, a Pamphlet Historical and Descriptive of Southwestern Kansas*, by Bernard Bryan Smyth, was reproduced in facsimile by Ray S. Schulz, Great Bend.

Library accessions, October 1, 1959-September 30, 1960, were:

Bound volumes

Books

Kansas	343	
General	871	
Genealogy and local history	180	
Indians and the West	61	
Kansas state publications	47	
Total		1,502
Clippings		8
Periodicals		134

Total, bound volumes	1,644
Microcards (titles)	1
Microfilm (reels)	48

Pamphlets

Kansas	1,127	
General	564	
Genealogy and local history	37	
Indians and the West	17	
Kansas state publications	359	
Total, pamphlets		2,104

MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

Both manuscripts and microfilm acquired during the year have added to information on the towns and surrounding areas which played a part in the era of the cattle drives. Mrs. Merritt L. Beeson, Dodge City, gave five volumes of justices' dockets for Dodge township, Ford county, 1891-1908. These are records of civil and criminal actions. Mrs. Robert M. Rath, Dodge City, gave records of the Wright and Beverley Mercantile company which operated in Dodge City and Mobeetie, Tex. Included are cash books, invoices, correspondence, and account books dated in the 1880's.

Gerald Carson, author of *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley*, presented material gathered by him for use in preparation of the book. It consists largely of photostats and reproductions of newspaper and magazine articles. There are some letters. Mr. Carson also gave the typescript of his book.

Papers of the late Robert Stone, prominent Topeka attorney, were given by his daughter, Mrs. Beryl Johnson. The collection includes correspondence, speeches and articles, files on the Charles Boswell estate, a sketch of the life of his brother, George Melville Stone, and an incomplete autobiography.

The family of the late Charles Henry Lerrigo, M. D., gave papers relating

to Red Cross Ambulance company No. 44, organized by Dr. Lerrigo at Washburn College in 1917. It subsequently became Ambulance company 347, 312th Sanitary train, 87th division, and was commanded by Dr. Lerrigo.

Medical records of Horace G. Slavens, M. D., Neosho Falls, were given by Lawrence E. Diver of that city. The 13 volumes include records of visits to patients and medicine dispensed, accounts, and two stubs of returns of births, 1885-1888.

Elmo R. Richardson, coauthor with Alan Farley of *John Palmer Usher, Lincoln's Secretary of the Interior*, presented a small group of letters from members of the Usher family, written in response to inquiries by Mr. Richardson.

The Records Center of the General Services Administration at Kansas City, Mo., gave negative photostats of 11 documents relating to the massacre of the Jordan family in Ness county, 1872.

Bonnie Bailey Vaughn, Topeka, has given a 300-page manuscript, "Taming the Kansas Prairie." This is a story of western Kansas, 1885-1902, dedicated to the memory of her parents, Nathan Hunt and Ida King Bailey, who pre-empted land in the Whitewoman creek basin, Scott county, in 1885. The manuscript contains three books: "Boom and Bust 80's"; the "Gray 90's"; and "Turn of the Century."

Received during the year were two single items of more than usual interest: Order book of the band and noncommissioned officers of the Seventh regiment, U. S. cavalry, 1889-1891, given by Judge Arthur J. Stanley, Kansas City; and a record of licenses issued by the city of Topeka, 1907-1909, gift of Frank J. Warren. Among those paying fees were hucksters, fortune tellers, bicycle riders, hack operators, circuses, a minstrel show, and the Buffalo Bill Wild West show.

Microfilm copies of the following have been acquired:

Dodge City police court dockets, September 3, 1888-September 20, 1894, April 15, 1901-August 31, 1906; records of Wright, Beverley & Co. (subsequently R. M. Wright & Co.), Dodge City, 1879-1887; papers of Maj. George W. Baird, 1874-1878, with references to the fight at Adobe Walls, the Indian territory expedition, and the Yellowstone command. The originals were lent by Mrs. Merritt L. Beeson, Dodge City.

Records of the city of Caldwell. These include city council proceedings, 1884-1904; city ordinances, 1885-1920; cemetery records, 1880's-1930's; and police dockets, 1879-1896. Originals were lent by the city clerk of Caldwell.

Records of Dodge City. The 69 original volumes, 1875-1928, included ordinance books, city council minutes, a warrant register, police court dockets, voters' registration books, lot register for Maple Grove cemetery, and a single volume of Ford county vital statistics, 1905-1911. Lent by Dodge City through Merle Smith, city clerk.

Ford county commissioners' journals, 1873-1904. Lent by Ford county commissioners.

Papers of Cyrus K. Holliday. This film, a gift from the Henry E. Huntington library, San Marino, Cal., is largely a duplication of film already in the Society's holdings.

Records of Fort Wallace. Purchase of two microfilm reels of War Department records from the National Archives, was made possible through a gift from Mrs. Raymond Millbrook, Detroit. Included are letters sent, 1866-1882; and orders, 1877-1882.

Records of Fort Dodge. The six reels of records in the National Archives contain the following: Letters sent, 1866-1882; telegrams received, 1874; orders, 1866-1882; and reports of scouts and marches, 1868-1869, 1875-1879. As in the case of the Fort Wallace records, purchase was also made possible through a generous gift from Mrs. Raymond Millbrook.

Records of the court martial of Lt. Col. Owen A. Bassett, Second Kansas cavalry. Originals are in the office of the judge advocate general, War Department. This was a gift from Mark Plummer, Normal, Ill.

Sedgwick county district court records, 1870-1886. Originals were lent by Mrs. Harriet Graham, clerk of the Sedgwick county district court. Mrs. Graham also lent justice of the peace dockets, 1870-1873, of Wichita township, Sedgwick county.

Records of the city of Wichita, miscellaneous papers, 1871-1881, including reports of city marshals, city clerks, city treasurers, police judges, and papers relating to the cattle trade. Originals lent by the city of Wichita through Frank Backstrom, city manager.

Other donors included: Robert W. Baughman, Liberal; W. T. Bishop, Winona; Mrs. S. J. Brandenburg, Worcester, Mass.; George H. Browne, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Mrs. W. H. Bullock, Topeka; Madge E. Busch, East Lansing, Mich.; C. C. Calnan, Troy; Capper Publications, Topeka; Berlin B. Chapman, Stillwater, Okla.; George W. Cook, Topeka; Dudley Cornish, Pittsburg; Mrs. C. E. Coulter, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. L. A. Delp, Topeka; Robert S. Drenner, Culp Creek, Ore.; Alan Farley, Kansas City; Mrs. Lolita T. Fetter, Washington, D. C.; Clarence S. Gee, Lockport, N. Y.; Arthur Grosbeck, Topeka; Mrs. R. M. Hartzler, Kansas City, Mo.; Paul Henderson, Bridgeport, Neb.; Katharine Hobson, Fort Smith, Ark.; Donald W. Janes, Topeka; H. R. Landis, Topeka; Mrs. E. W. McNeill, Syracuse; Mrs. Grace Fox Metzler, Carbondale; Ottawa County Historical Society; Jennie Small Owen, Topeka; G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, N. Y.; Floyd E. Risvold, Minneapolis, Minn.; Mrs. J. C. Ruppenthal, Russell; Mrs. B. C. Sander, Topeka; Frederick F. Seely, Meadville, Pa.; Mrs. Barton L. Simpson, Windber, Pa.; Clare A. Spool, New York, N. Y.; Mrs. E. T. Stallard, Topeka; Mrs. Mildred Steinmeyer, Topeka; Mrs. Fred M. Thompson, Topeka; Mrs. Nellie E. Thorpe, Topeka; M. W. Tuttle, Topeka; Caroline K. Walbridge, Topeka; Dick Walker, Topeka; Louise Wolcott, Topeka; Mrs. Max Wolf, Manhattan; Woman's Kansas Day Club; E. V. Wood, Baldwin; Mrs. James York, Junction City.

MICROFILM DIVISION

Since the last report the microfilm division has produced nearly 246,000 photographs, more than 200,000 of newspapers, 30,000 of archival materials, and the balance for the library and the manuscript division.

Larger newspaper microfilming projects included the Coffeyville *Daily Journal*, 1921-1930; Wyandotte and Kansas City *Daily Gazette*, March 15, 1887-April 12, 1909, and its continuation, the *Gazette-Globe*, April 13, 1909-May 27, 1917; *Brown County World*, Hiawatha, March 16, 1882-December 29, 1916; *Wellington Daily News*, January 1, 1920-September 30, 1927; *Holton Recorder*, April 12, 1872-December 27, 1900; *Fort Scott Weekly Monitor*, July 6, 1876-April 13, 1904; and the *Kearny County Advocate*, Lakin, May 23, 1885-December 31, 1920.

Other newspapers microfilmed included the Olathe *Mirror*, October 5, 1905-December 30, 1920; Wyandotte *Weekly Gazette*, June 4, 1859-July 6, 1888;

Kansas City *Weekly Gazette*, July 13, 1888-April 29, 1909; Kansas City *Daily Globe*, June 19, 1905-April 12, 1909, May 28, 1917-September 1, 1918; Hays City *Sentinel*, January 26, 1876-October 15, 1895; and 14 other newspapers requiring four rolls of film or less.

Filming of the statistical rolls of counties mentioned in the archives report has been completed.

MUSEUM

The continuing expansion and modernization program of the museum has again attracted a large number of visitors. Total attendance for the year ending September 30 was 64,277, with 419 school and scout groups taking advantage of the guided tours conducted as part of the educational program. Frank Walsh, who joined the staff as assistant museum director on September 1, is in charge of the educational program.

For the third straight year the Society had a display at the Mid-America Fair. Attendance was a record 16,177, an increase of 7,233 over last year. The Society was given a larger exhibit area this year which provided space for a display of farm implements dating from the late 1800's, in addition to various household items of pioneer days, Indian clothing, and an old-time general store.

A blacksmith and harness shop, ninth in the series of period rooms, was completed last winter. Items on display include a stone and brick forge, a large hand-operated bellows, an anvil mounted on a tree stump, and numerous hand tools.

Newest addition to the period rooms, and largest and most ornate in this series of displays, is a Victorian parlor. Construction of the room was made possible largely because of a generous gift from the Woman's Kansas Day Club. A fireplace with intricately designed mantle and ceramic tile work, once in the governor's mansion, is an outstanding feature of the room. Other items lending to the atmosphere of Victorian elegance are a brass chandelier, grandfather clock, marble-topped tables, and heavy velvet drapes.

The Woman's Kansas Day Club also provided funds for purchase of a display case for the silver service used on the Battleship *Kansas*. A gift from the Kansas Dental Association helped to complete the period room depicting a dentist's office, while donations from the Dillon estate and the P. E. O. were used to purchase two cases for displaying old-time medical and dental instruments.

There were 166 accessions during the year. Among them are a switchboard used since 1912 in the Watson community, presented by the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company; a "G. W. Brown Imperial corn planter" donated by Joe Campbell; and a scale model of the Jayhawk hay stacker given by the F. Wyatt Manufacturing Company of Salina. The museum's collection of clothing and household items was expanded by gifts from the Laing estate of Topeka and from Lawrence E. Diver, Neosho Falls, which included 234 items.

Other donors were: Mrs. Rosella Aitken, Topeka; Clarence Althof, Topeka; Mrs. L. N. Annen, Topeka; Mrs. W. J. Ash, Wichita; Creola-Charles Baker; Pratt; George Baker, Wamego; Mrs. Lela Barnes, Topeka; Mrs. Lita Battey, Yakima, Wash.; Joseph Bidwell, Baldwin; Mrs. Henry Blake, Topeka; Austin Bolyard, Topeka; Dr. M. M. Booth, St. Helena, Cal.; Tom and Kate Bottom estate, Topeka; Glenn L. Boydston, Denison; Richard D. Branum, Houston, Tex.; Ray Brooks, Topeka; Mrs. George Brownson, Kansas City; Mrs. Juanita Bullock, Topeka; Mrs. Madge E. Busch, East Lansing, Mich.; Joe Campbell,

Rossville; O. F. Canterbury, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Howard Carvin, Independence; Mrs. Eileen Charbo, Topeka; Howard Claycamp, Strawn; Herman M. Coffman, Topeka; Mrs. Arthur Coil, Kansas City, Mo.; George W. Cook, Topeka; Copies Inc., by James Olive, Topeka; Ross Cornwell, Haddam; Mrs. C. M. Correll, Manhattan; Mrs. R. R. Cross, Council Grove; Daughters of the American Revolution, by Mrs. C. E. Niven, Topeka; Mrs. H. E. Davidson, California; Larry Davis, Topeka; Lyndon R. Day, Springfield, Va.; Mrs. Loren A. Delp, Topeka; Gov. and Mrs. George Docking, Topeka; Billy Eberting, Topeka; Mrs. Martha Engert, Manhattan; D. D. Ensley, Hepler; Dr. T. A. Evans, Baldwin; Ethelynn Fortescue, Topeka; Roy and Clyde Gibbons, Lecompton; Mrs. Roy S. Gibson, Chanute; Robert Gorman family, Topeka; Art Groesbeck, Topeka; Larry Hahn, Topeka; Standish Hall, Wichita; David E. Hamilton, Moline; Mrs. Laura H. Hamilton, Topeka; Mrs. Samuel Hanna, Howard; Vance Henderson, Topeka; Mrs. Joe R. Henning, Ottawa; Fern F. Henry estate, Topeka; Mrs. H. L. Hiebert, Topeka; Otis Hofman, Burlington; Mrs. S. W. Holt, Topeka; Mrs. Ora Hurst, Marysville; Emma and Louis T. Jacoby, Napoleon, Neb.; Danny Janes, Topeka; A. M. Jarboe, Topeka; Mrs. Edward C. Johnson, Topeka; Dr. Fred Johnson, Topeka; Mrs. Lou V. Johnson, Hutchinson; Kansas state senate; Frank Klicker, Topeka; William Koch, Manhattan; Ladies of the G. A. R., Topeka; Mrs. Henry Lautz, Topeka; Dr. Charles Lerrigo family, Topeka; Helen D. Little, La Crosse; Mrs. Clarence M. Locke, Topeka; Avery McClain, Topeka; Mrs. Muriel McClary, Independence; Mrs. C. H. McElroy, Merriam; Charlotte McLellan, Topeka; Mrs. C. C. McMillen, Topeka; Mark Marling, Topeka; Regina Matson, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Merriam, Topeka; Mrs. J. J. Milbauer, Los Angeles, Cal.; Harlan W. Miller, Lawrence; Max Miller, Topeka; Mrs. Nyle Miller, Topeka; Harry Nelson, Topeka; Mildred Otis, Agra; T. L. Pattison, Topeka; Frank Paulson, Topeka; Mrs. Jane B. Pearson, Denver, Colo.; Jim Petterson, Topeka; John F. and Ben O. Pickering, Olathe; Mrs. Roy Platt, Medicine Lodge; Mrs. H. W. Ragsdale, Silver Spring, Md.; Mrs. Victor A. Rankin, Mission; Jerry Reiman, Topeka; Frank Rezac, Topeka; Mrs. Robert W. Richmond, Topeka; A. W. Roberts, Herington; Mrs. George D. Royer, Jr., Kansas City, Mo.; Gordon Sailors, Topeka; R. Schellenger, Ottumwa; Mr. and Mrs. Clyde Schenck, Topeka; Mrs. Ted Scott, Topeka; Mrs. Harriet Shaffer, Moline; Stanley Sohl, Topeka; Mrs. Ruth Sollner, Burdick; Mrs. Ulin Sondlin, Greenleaf; Southwestern Bell Telephone Co., by Bob Hildgardner, Topeka; Mrs. Harry Stanton, Washington; George M. Stone, Jr., Kansas City; Mrs. S. A. Stover, McPherson; Ron and Rick Strickland, Topeka; Miss E. E. Terry, Olathe; Mrs. Luther Tillotson, Topeka; John Turnbull estate, Maple Hill; H. C. Vangampolard, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. Owen Ward, Lawrence; Mrs. William Ward, Marysville; Dr. William L. Warriner, Topeka; John E. Wible, Long Beach, Cal.; Edgar Williamson, Strawn; Roscoe Wilmeth, Topeka; Louise Wolcott, Topeka; Woman's Kansas Day Club; Mr. and Mrs. L. A. Womer, Agra; Emily Wood, Munson, Mass.; Otto Wullschlegler, Frankfort; Mary A. Zimmerman, Valley Falls; Phil Zimmerman, Topeka.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISION

During the year 5,254 patrons were served in person by the newspaper and census division, and 4,706 mail requests were answered. Over 10,700 searches were made by members of the staff in census and newspaper volumes, an increase of more than 700 over the previous year. Certified copies of records furnished totaled 3,898.

Materials used by patrons and the staff during the year included: 14,649 census volumes; 8,299 bound newspaper volumes; 4,825 single issues of newspapers; and 3,243 microfilm reels. This is an increase of 1,700 bound volumes of newspapers and 900 microfilm reels over the previous year.

The Society continues to receive nearly all Kansas newspapers for filing. In addition the publishers of 14 newspapers donate microfilm copies of their current issues. Publications currently received include 57 dailies, 15 semi-weeklies, 306 weeklies, and 102 published less frequently. Of the total of 481 publications received by the newspaper division, 342 are regular newspapers, and 139 are school, religious, fraternal, labor, industrial, trade, and miscellaneous periodicals. Ten out-of-state newspapers are received.

Five hundred and ninety-six bound volumes of Kansas newspapers were added to the files during the year, making the total 58,683. The Society also has 12,024 bound volumes of out-of-state newspapers. The collection of newspapers on microfilm was increased by 474 reels during the year, bringing the total to 7,916.

Among older newspapers received by the Society this year were copies of the *Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, March 7, 1855, donated by the University of Minnesota library, Minneapolis; *White City Whig*, August 29, 1885 (Vol. 1, No. 1), and the *Dwight Wasp*, March 31, 1887 (Vol. 1, No. 1), donated by R. R. Dodderidge, Council Grove; and the *Continental Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, Boston, February 20, 1777, donated by Nelson A. Crawford, Topeka. Other donors of newspapers included: Mrs. L. N. Armen, Topeka; Lucinda Casey, Topeka; B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Okla.; Lawrence E. Diver, Neosho Falls; Mrs. L. H. W. Hall, Dodge City; Mrs. Laura Hall Hamilton, Topeka; Lowell Hogue, Russell; Alf M. Landon, Topeka; Norman Niccum, Tecumseh; Jennie S. Owen, Topeka; University of Kansas library, Lawrence; Dick Walker, Topeka; Fe Waters, Topeka; and Mary Zimmerman, Valley Falls.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND MAPS

The collection of photographs has been increased by the addition of 2,015 new pictures, while 393 duplicate, damaged, or otherwise valueless prints have been removed, making a net increase of 1,622. Of these, 1,263 were gifts, 341 were lent to the Society for copying, and 411 were taken by the Society staff. There are now 516 items in the color slide collection.

In addition to the still photographs accessioned, one 400-foot reel of 16 mm. motion picture film, taken at the Society's 1959 archaeological dig, was donated by WIBW-TV, Topeka.

Several large groups of pictures were given to the Society this year. Among the more important were 62 views of aircraft, Air Force personnel, and activities from Forbes Air Force Base, Topeka; 28 pictures of the Hutchinson Naval Air Station from the Hutchinson Chamber of Commerce; 65 views of Topeka businesses, churches, and schools in the 1920's from the Topeka Chamber of Commerce; 24 photographs of modern Kansas industry and agriculture from the Kansas Industrial Development Commission; and 279 views of the 1951 flood and the 1954 Topeka centennial celebration from Wolfe's Camera Shops, Topeka.

Excellent collections of Kansas pictures were lent for copying by Mrs. Merritt Beeson, Dodge City; Otto Epp and Owen Sleigh, Tribune; Lawson May, Hutchinson; Floyd Souders, Cheney; Merle Miller, Belleville; Mrs. Ray Garrett, Neodesha; Caroline Walbridge and John Ripley, Topeka.

Demands for copies of pictures in the Society's collection have increased markedly, in large part due to preparations underway for the state centennial in 1961. Many recent books on the West have used pictures from the Society's files as illustrations, and national magazines continue to draw on Kansas sources. The National Broadcasting Company, in preparing programs for the *Project 20* television series, has also made extensive use of the Society's pictures, as have the Universities of Kansas and Nebraska, also for television purposes.

One hundred and eight new maps and atlases have been accessioned this year, 42 of which are recent issues of the United States Geological Survey. The Kansas Highway Commission has deposited with the Society 32 county highway maps in the current series and the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey has begun to send aeronautical charts for the Kansas area on a regular basis.

Other map gifts of particular interest include an 1886 plat of Girard from George F. Beezley, Girard; two Pawnee county atlases from E. E. Glasscock, Wellesley, Mass.; a Finney county atlas from O. W. Terhune, Garden City; and several different Pony Express maps from L. C. Bishop, Cheyenne, Wyo.; the Wyoming Pony Express Centennial Commission; Edith Givens, Parsons; and Sherrill Halbert, Sacramento, Cal. Other donors included Benjamin Powers, Kansas City, Mo.; George Rion, Junction City; Gen. R. M. Montgomery, Washington, D. C.; St. Mary's College, St. Marys; Hearne Bros. Co., Detroit, Mich.; Ida Freels, Oxnard, Cal.; Eugene Stotts, Mrs. Robert Kingman, and Art Groesbeck, Topeka.

Mrs. Ray Garrett, Neodesha, lent a lithograph of the town of Neodesha, 1883, for copying.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

Subjects for extended research included: land policy of the Kansas Pacific railroad in Wallace county, the open range, early history of Smith county, history of the grange in Kansas, involvement of immigrants in Farmers' Alliance and Populism in Kansas, Charles M. Sheldon and some aspects of the social gospel movement, attitude of the farmer toward the New Deal farm program in Kansas, history of Stevens county, 1885-1900, recent political issues in Kansas, history of Alton, Atchison in the 1880's, history of Sterling College, the Kansas Power and Light Company, banks of Jewell and Finney counties, the German press in Kansas, rural health in Kansas, prohibition in Topeka, forts of New Mexico, the Donner party, Samuel J. Crawford, E. Haldeman-Julius, Arthur Capper, and John P. St. John.

SOCIETY HOLDINGS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1960

Bound volumes

Books

Kansas	10,537
General	58,898
Genealogy and local history	10,397
Indians and the West	1,637
Kansas state publications	3,302
Total	84,771
Clippings	1,306
Periodicals	17,657

Total, bound volumes 103,734

Manuscripts (archives and private papers, cubic feet)	5,707	
Maps, atlases, and lithographs	5,553	
Microcards (titles)	106	
Microfilm (reels)		
Books and other library materials	371	
Public archives and private papers	2,293	
Newspapers	7,916	
Total		10,580
Newspapers (bound volumes)		
Kansas	58,683	
Out-of-state	12,024	
Total		70,707
Paintings and drawings		1,093
Pamphlets		
Kansas	97,083	
General	39,600	
Genealogy and local history	3,822	
Indians and the West	1,106	
Kansas state publications	6,357	
Total, pamphlets		147,968
Photographs		
Black and white	36,518	
Color slides	516	
Total		37,034

THE FIRST CAPITOL

Total visitors at the First Territorial Capitol on the Fort Riley military reservation during the year, were 6,994, representing 48 states, the District of Columbia, and 18 foreign countries. The property is in good condition except for a small amount of water seepage through the walls. Funds have been requested for repairing these defective areas.

THE FUNSTON HOME

Registration this year at the Funston Home, north of Iola, totaled 713. Visitors represented 17 states.

Except for a termite infestation which has caused some damage, the property is in good physical condition, and presents the best appearance since it was taken over by the state.

THE KAW MISSION

An unusual number of Indian visitors were reported at the Kaw Mission, at Council Grove, during the year. Tribes represented were the Kaw, Navajo, Cherokee, Apache, Pottawatomie, Osage, and Pawnee. Total number of visitors was 6,038, with 45 states and 13 foreign countries represented. As in past years, the Society is happy to express appreciation for the co-operation of the Council Grove *Republican*, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Nautilus Club, all of which have taken an active interest in the progress of the Mission.

Donors of museum items included Mrs. Mabel Amrine, the C. H. Chitty family, Mrs. C. C. Krause, Mrs. Ethel Marks, the P. E. O. Club, Mrs. A. J. Tatlow, Ida Treels, W. T. Turnbull, and Mrs. Albert Ullrich.

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

Number of visitors at the Shawnee Mission jumped substantially this year to a total of 11,193, of whom 6,603 were Kansans, 4,573 came from 43 other states, and 17 represented ten foreign countries. Among the visitors were Ray F. and David E. Bluejacket, great-great-grandsons of Shawnee Chief Charles Bluejacket, and Mrs. Florence Brown of Illinois, a great-great-niece of Moses Silverheel.

The Colonial Dames, Daughters of American Colonists, Daughters of 1812, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society are again to be thanked for their continued interest and assistance.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

As in past years it is a privilege to make public acknowledgment of the fine work of the Society's staff. This has been perhaps the busiest and most productive year in the past decade, and each department has carried its full share of the load. Expressions of appreciation from persons who have received assistance indicate real satisfaction with the Society's service. A public official in another state wrote that "it was very unusual to receive such a response from a historical society. . . . The response from your office is the best and most gratifying of any from any State in the Union." Another correspondent said, "You have done the impossible. . . . You . . . have provided the one thing that nobody else has." We do take pride in the quality of our research and the lengths to which we go in order to provide satisfactory information. May we always be able to furnish prompt and quality service to the public!

Respectfully submitted,

NYLE H. MILLER, *Secretary*.

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, James Malone moved that it be accepted. The motion was seconded by Will T. Beck and the report was accepted.

Mr. Anderson then called for the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Lela Barnes:

TREASURER'S REPORT

Based on the post-audit by the State Division of Auditing and Accounting for the period August 9, 1959, to August 20, 1960.

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, August 8, 1959:

Cash	\$4,732.10	
U. S. bonds, Series K	5,000.00	
		<hr/>
		\$9,732.10

Receipts:

Membership fees	\$1,671.99	
Interest on bonds	138.00	
Interest on savings	79.45	
Gifts	1,650.46	
Interest, Thomas H. Bowlus gift	27.60	
		<u>3,567.50</u>
		<u>\$13,299.60</u>

Disbursements \$2,274.94

Balance, August 20, 1960:

Cash	\$6,024.66	
U. S. bonds, Series K	5,000.00	
		<u>11,024.66</u>
		<u>\$13,299.60</u>

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, August 8, 1959:

Cash	\$113.31	
U. S. bond, Series K	1,000.00	
		<u>\$1,113.31</u>

Receipts:

Interest on bond	\$27.60	
Interest on savings account	3.81	
		<u>31.41</u>
		<u>\$1,144.72</u>

Balance, August 20, 1960:

Cash	\$144.72	
U. S. bond, Series K	1,000.00	
		<u>\$1,144.72</u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, August 8, 1959:

Cash	\$163.48	
U. S. bond, Series K	500.00	
		<u>\$663.48</u>

Receipts:

Interest on bond	\$13.80	
Interest on savings account	5.09	
		<u>18.89</u>
		<u>\$682.37</u>

Balance, August 20, 1960:

Cash	\$182.37	
U. S. bond, Series K	500.00	
		<u>\$682.37</u>

THOMAS H. BOWLUS DONATION

This donation is substantiated by a U. S. bond, Series K, in the amount of \$1,000. The interest is credited to the membership fee fund.

ELIZABETH READER BEQUEST

Balance, August 8, 1959:

Cash (deposited in membership fee fund)	\$614.44	
U. S. bonds, Series K	5,500.00	
		<u>\$6,114.44</u>

Receipts:

Interest on bonds (deposited in membership fee fund)	151.80	
		<u>\$6,266.24</u>

Disbursements: books, prints, mss. 430.29

Balance, August 20, 1960:

Cash (deposited in membership fee fund)	\$335.95	
U. S. bonds, Series K	5,500.00	
		<u>5,835.95</u>
		<u>\$6,266.24</u>

STATE APPROPRIATIONS

This report covers only the membership fee fund and other custodial funds. Appropriations made to the Historical Society by the legislature are disbursed through the State Department of Administration. For the year ending June 30, 1960, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, including the Memorial building, \$525,332; First Capitol of Kansas, \$3,425; Kaw Mission, \$4,047; Funston Home, \$3,491; Pike Pawnee Village, \$150; Old Shawnee Mission, \$9,307.

Respectfully submitted,
MRS. LELA BARNES, *Treasurer.*

Kirke Mechem moved that the report be adopted. Alan W. Farley seconded the motion and the report was accepted.

Will T. Beck presented the report of the executive committee on the post-audit of the Society's funds by the State Division of Auditing and Accounting:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 14, 1960.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the State Department of Post-Audit has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the Old Shawnee Mission,

the First Capitol of Kansas, the Old Kaw Mission, the Funston Home, and Pike's Pawnee Village, for the period August 9, 1959, to August 20, 1960, and that they are hereby approved.

WILL T. BECK, *Chairman*,
CHARLES M. CORRELL,
T. M. LILLARD,
FRANK HAUCKE.

On a motion by Will T. Beck, seconded by Mrs. Jesse C. Harper, the report was accepted.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by Will T. Beck:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

October 14, 1960.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report for officers of the Kansas State Historical Society:

For a one-year term: George L. Anderson, Lawrence, president; Emory K. Lindquist, Wichita, first vice-president; and James E. Taylor, Sharon Springs, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Mrs. Lela Barnes, Topeka, treasurer.

Respectfully submitted,
WILL T. BECK, *Chairman*,
CHARLES M. CORRELL,
FRANK HAUCKE,
T. M. LILLARD.

Will T. Beck moved that the report be accepted. A. Bower Sageser seconded the motion and the officers were unanimously elected.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Annual Meeting of the Society

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society opened with a luncheon at noon in the roof garden of the Jayhawk Hotel. About 180 members and guests attended.

The invocation was given by Emory K. Lindquist, dean of the faculties at the University of Wichita and the newly elected first vice-president.

Following the luncheon, President-elect Anderson introduced the guests at the speakers' table. These included Gov. and Mrs. George Docking and officers of the Society and their wives.

Governor Docking spoke briefly and presented to the Society restorations in facsimile of the original Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States of America. These were

painstakingly produced by Theodore William Ohman of Memphis, Tenn., whose work in documentary restorations is nationally known. Mr. Ohman was a guest at the meeting.

President Edward R. Sloan, whose convalescence from an illness prevented his attendance at the meeting, was represented by his son, Eldon. Before reading the presidential address, Eldon Sloan read the following statement which is printed here at President Sloan's request:

Kansas is indeed fortunate in having the services of Nyle Miller as executive secretary of its State Historical Society. Under Nyle's leadership we have a society unmatched in the entire country.

Our state has made great progress in its struggle to the stars. In order to build higher we must know the underlying structure. Through Nyle's efforts an excellent record of every facet of Kansas life and growth is being assembled and made available.

Our leaders of the future will certainly know where we have been and with this knowledge they will be able to lead us ever higher.

Being your president is a highly cherished honor. Your greatest gift, however, was to afford me the opportunity to become better acquainted with Nyle Miller.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SHORT-GRASS COUNTRY

EDWARD R. SLOAN

IT is an established custom for the president of the Kansas State Historical Society to deliver an address at the close of his term of office on some subject relating to the history and development of the state.

When I began to think about a subject for this address my mind went back to the scenes of my boyhood. This may be a symptom of childishness.

My parents brought me to Sheridan county in April, 1886, and settled on a homestead where they built a sod house in which I grew to adulthood. The state was then 25 years old. If I live to celebrate the centennial, I will have lived through 75 years of Kansas history, most of which has been in eastern Kansas.

Kansas came into being during a bitter struggle between the North and South. The first settlements were in the eastern part of the state, prompted by the desire not only to establish homes but also to make Kansas a free or Proslavery state. It was in the east therefore that this momentous issue was joined and was finally decided for freedom.

The western part of Kansas was not settled until years after the war between the states. The enactment of the federal homestead law, which permitted the acquisition of 160 acres of land by establishing a home thereon was the inducement for the settlement of western Kansas. Many of the western Kansas homesteaders were veterans of the Civil War, endearingly referred to as "old soldiers." Their purpose was to own land and establish homes.

The problems of the western homesteader differed from those of the eastern settlers. The eastern settlers had living water in the rivers and small streams, together with timber. This gave him the first essentials, water, building material, and fuel. The homesteader had none of these. He had only the broad prairies covered with buffalo grass, without water, building material, or fuel, except as it was provided by the buffalo grass.

It was necessary for the homesteader to have water, so he dug a well. This was not new to pioneering. Abraham dug a well and so did Jacob, but the wells in the prairie country were from 75 to 150 feet deep. These wells were dug with pick and shovel and the dirt carried to the surface by bucket with rope and pulley. The well digger, when he reached sand, curved it. Otherwise, the well was simply a hole in the ground without curbing. When he found water, it was good and plentiful, slightly on the hard side, but it was fresh and cool and had a much better flavor than some of the cities' purified water. At first the water was drawn by bucket, but the pump and windmill soon became the instrument of producing water from the well. When a well was once established, water was hauled in barrels on sleds for miles across the prairie, skidding gently on the buffalo grass.

The prairie country is sometimes referred to as the short-grass country. It was a sea of buffalo grass, probably the most useful grass on God's footstool. It provided food for animals, building material, and fuel, with the help of the animals. It was feed for the buffalo and afterwards for cattle and other domestic animals. It ripened in the fall on the ground and cured into hay so that it was feed through the year. The snow was sometimes dragged off the grass so that cattle could feed on it. Horses learned to paw off the snow and feed on good hay. In addition to this, its sturdy roots bound together the top soil so that it could be cut into brick sod out of which the sod house was built.

The sod house was a direct product of the buffalo grass. The undisturbed grass made the better sod. The sod was first cut by an ordinary breaking plow and then cut with a spade into the length desired. The block of sod was from 18 inches to two feet in length, about ten inches wide and two and one-half inches thick. The sod was laid much the same as brick, but without mortar or cement. The walls were from eight to ten feet high and of course provided for doors and windows. Rafters were run from wall to wall to support the roof. The roof of the early house was constructed of willows covered with sod. When lumber became available the roofs were made of lumber covered with sod. The inside of the wall was carefully smoothed with a sharp spade and plastered with magnesium and sand found along the dry river. Windows and doors in the early homes consisted of canvas. After the railroad came through glass doors and windows could be had. The floor, until lumber was available, was the ground. Most of the homes had two rooms, some had five or six. The walls were whitewashed and sometimes the floors were carpeted with rag carpet. There were no oriental rugs. The rooms were light and airy, warm in winter and cool in summer. They had only the furniture the homesteader brought with him, until the railroads made furniture available. Some were then quite well furnished, including musical instruments. They were homes with all the tender emotions of family life.

The homesteader was not troubled with plumbers or electricians. The problem was fuel, and again he went to the prairie and gathered cow chips, which were the direct product of the buffalo grass. They dried on the prairie and were easily handled and served the purpose of fuel.

The homesteader came to the prairie in covered wagons and brought with him his horses and cattle and a few pigs and chickens. He lived in his wagon or tent until he could build a house. It was not uncommon for one neighbor to lend to another a cow to milk, or a home cured ham, or a sack of flour or cornmeal.

When the Rock Island came through on its way from Omaha to Colorado Springs, it was about three miles from our homestead. The railroad established a coal chute in our town. The engine tenders were filled with coal at this station and for some distance out of town coal would fall from the tender. It was a common practice for people to go along the railroad and pick up the coal. I have heard that firemen on the engines sometimes threw off a few

shovelfuls for people who were searching for coal. The discarded ties of the railroad were in demand for fuel. My only experience in chopping wood was on a discarded railroad tie.

Thus, the pioneer with the use of the material nature provided established a dwelling place and became the owner of land. Most of these were homes in the true sense of the word. Homes are not built with material but out of the loving hearts and hands of parents, especially the mother whose tender touch heals the hurts of her children. Homes are developed in log cabins, sod shanties, and mansions, and they sometimes fail in each.

Buffalo sod as building material went out of use in the early part of the 20th century and frame dwellings and schoolhouses took its place. This was not due so much to the inconvenience of the sod buildings, but to the fact that the buffalo grass was heavily pastured and plowed into wheat fields and sod became useless as building material. At about the same time dug wells were replaced with drilled wells. The cow chips fell into disuse when the cattle had other feed than buffalo grass.

During the last two decades of the 19th century school districts were organized and sod schoolhouses dotted the prairie. They were not only schoolhouses but also churches and community centers. The builders of these temples of sod were acting under no compulsion save the desire to educate their children. The compulsory school law did not come until after the turn of the century. Were it not for the desire of the parents to educate their children my generation could have easily grown up in illiteracy.

The schools were taught by local teachers. There were usually not more than a dozen children in the school. They were graded only in the sense that they read the first, second, third, or fourth reader. One of my teachers is still living. Her name is Winona Douglas, now Mellick. She drove a horse and cart seven miles across the prairie to the schoolhouse and did her own janitor work. She was in my mind a great teacher and I have often said that she had more influence on my life than any teacher I have ever had.

The prairie homesteader has had his ups and downs. He has met droughts, hot winds, and crop failures, but as spring follows the winter, rains have followed droughts and crop failures have been followed by good crops. A little success soon heals the wounds of hardship and disappointment. The western farmer came to his own in the first World War when he produced the

bread that was necessary to win the war. Since then he had to cope with dust storms, but he had learned how to meet the obstacles of the country and to turn the prairie into wheat fields. Some of those who saw the open prairies and withstood its hardships have lived to see its prosperity. The prairie country could furnish bread to the hungry of the world if our statesmen were wise enough to get it to them.

The differences between eastern and western Kansas still exist, but it is very much tempered to what it was many years ago. The constitution provides for a representative from each county and the sparsely settled counties have influenced legislation. Among the last legislative controversies between the east and the west was the constitutional amendment authorizing the state highway system. The west opposed it because they were afraid that the roads would be built in the eastern part of the state. They did not realize that the aristocracy of the east would have to have good roads across the prairie to get to the playgrounds of the Rocky Mountains. The state highway system has probably done more to harmonize the people of Kansas than anything that has happened in my generation.

We are sometimes asked why would one live his life in Kansas with its hot summers and cold winters. The beautiful springs and magnificent falls cause us to forget the inclement weather. We have tornadoes, hail, and dust storms, but we do not have tidal waves or earthquakes. Wherever we are, life is struggle. Where there is no struggle, life ceases to exist. The Creator seems to have ordained it so. The greater the struggle, the more permanent are the footprints on the sands of time. Kansas has been generous to most of us. It has been good to me. I thank my parents, who had the courage to bring me here. I expect to spend my remaining years a Kansan with my boyhood sweetheart from the prairie country.

At the close of the reading of retiring President Sloan's address, a small plaque was presented to Eldon Sloan to be transmitted to his father in recognition of his service to the Society.

A portrait of Philip Pitt Campbell, prominent resident of southeastern Kansas and congressman from the third district for 20 years, was presented to the Society in the name of his daughter,

Mrs. Helen Campbell Kleberg of Kingsville, Tex. In the absence of Fred W. Brinkerhoff who was to have made the presentation, the secretary, Nyle Miller, introduced Mrs. Jessie Munn Noel of Pittsburg, niece of Philip Campbell, who unveiled the portrait.

Mr. Brinkerhoff's prepared statement follows:

Philip Pitt Campbell was born in Nova Scotia, April 25, 1862. Five years later the parents, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel A. Campbell, and family, four sons and a daughter, traveled to Boston where a covered wagon was purchased and outfitted. In it the Campbell family came to Kansas, stopping for a few months in Illinois. The Campbells settled on a farm in Walnut Grove township in Neosho county, not far from the town of Walnut. Phil Campbell spent his boyhood and young manhood on this farm. He attended the common schools and later went to Baker University from which he was graduated in 1888. In 1889 he was admitted to the bar. And two years later he began the practice of law in Pittsburg. He became active in Republican politics and gained an early reputation for his oratory. He was one of the speakers at the first dinner of the Kansas Day club in Topeka in 1893. In 1902 he was nominated for congress at the third district Republican convention at Winfield where 105 ballots were taken before he won. He served the next 20 years in the house of representatives, rising to the top rank of Republican leaders. He was chairman of the rules committee in the closing years of his service. In 1922 he was defeated for renomination by one of the three men he defeated in the convention in 1902. Retiring from congress, Campbell established a law practice in Washington which he continued until his death in Washington, May 26, 1941.

This portrait, by the artist, Boris B. Gordon, was presented to the Kansas State Historical Society by Campbell's daughter, Helen, now Mrs. Robert J. Kleberg of Kingsville, Tex. During his long service in congress Campbell was a picturesque figure in a stock which he wore in preference to a collar and necktie. It was said of him that he closely resembled the poet, Robert Burns, and the statement did not displease Campbell, who was proud of his Scotch ancestry. But after his retirement from congress he discarded the stock and resumed the conventional neckwear. The artist painted the portrait in this later period of Campbell's life.

Bob Brooks and Bill Walker, graduate students of the University of Kansas, gave the premiere showing of their interesting motion picture, "Six Gun to Sixty-One," which narrates the story of Kansas through 100 years of statehood.

The report of the committee on nominations for directors was called for and was read by Will T. Beck:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 14, 1960.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending in October, 1963:

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.
 Baughman, Robert W., Liberal.
 Beezley, George F., Girard.
 Beougher, Edward M., Grinnell.
 Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
 Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.
 Cron, F. H., El Dorado.
 Docking, George, Lawrence.
 Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.
 Farrell, F. D., Manhattan.
 Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.
 Harper, Mrs. Jesse C., Ashland.
 Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.
 Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.
 Hodges, Frank, Olathe.
 Lingenfelter, Angelus, Atchison.
 Long, Richard M., Wichita.

McArthur, Mrs. Vernon E.,
 Hutchinson.
 McCain, James A., Manhattan.
 McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
 McGrew, Mrs. Wm. E., Kansas City.
 Malone, James, Gem.
 Mechem, Kirke, Lindsborg.
 Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita.
 Ripley, John, Topeka.
 Rogler, Wayne, Matfield Green.
 Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
 Simons, Dolph, Lawrence.
 Slagg, Mrs. C. M., Manhattan.
 Templar, George, Arkansas City.
 Thomas, Sister M. Evangeline, Salina.
 Townsley, Will, Great Bend.
 Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

Respectfully submitted,

WILL T. BECK, *Chairman*,
 C. M. CORRELL,
 T. M. LILLARD,
 FRANK HAUCKE.

Motion for acceptance of the report was made by Standish Hall, seconded by Ivan N. Hewitt. The report was adopted and directors for the term ending in October, 1963, were elected.

The following memorial to John S. Dawson was read by C. M. Correll:

JOHN S. DAWSON

John S. Dawson, outstanding Kansas jurist and public servant for over half a century, died in Topeka on February 19, 1960. He had served on the board of directors of this Society for over 50 years, on the executive committee since 1935, and as president in 1931-1932.

John Dawson was born in Spey Bridge, Scotland, June 10, 1869, and came to the United States in 1884. After spending three years on an Illinois farm he moved to Graham county, Kansas, where he became a teacher in the public schools. While serving as principal of the Hill City grade school he read law and in 1898 was admitted to the bar.

In 1899 he became bond clerk in the state treasurer's office and five years later, although he was already a full-fledged attorney, he enrolled in the Washburn law school. In 1906 he received the bachelor of laws degree but while he was still a student he became an assistant attorney general, a job he held until 1908.

Dawson's career in state service was a distinguished one. He served as private secretary to Governor Stubbs, was an attorney for the board of railroad commissioners, and in 1910 was elected to the first of two terms as attorney general. From 1915 to 1937 he was a justice of the state supreme court and then served as chief justice until 1945, during which time he wrote more than 1,600 opinions. His retirement was short-lived for he soon returned to the statehouse for another decade as pardon attorney in the governor's office.

Judge Dawson, who won an enviable reputation as a vigorous enforcer of liquor and antitrust laws in Kansas, was active in the affairs of the state bar association and received well-deserved honors and recognition from that organization at the time of his retirement from the court. In 1927 he was given an honorary doctor of laws degree by Washburn University, and in 1951 was awarded the 33d degree in Masonry.

John Dawson was a staunch friend of this Society. He gave generously of his time and talent and was greatly interested in the history of his adopted state and nation.

A memorial to Jerome C. Berryman was read by Frank Haucke:

JEROME C. BERRYMAN

The Society lost a valued member and friend when Jerome C. Berryman died on May 23, 1960. He had been a life member of the Society since 1927, a member of the board of directors since 1940, and was first vice-president at the time of his death.

Jerome Berryman, a native of Kansas, was born in Ashland, May 22, 1902, and spent most of his life there. He graduated from Centre College in Kentucky in 1925 and after a brief residence in Oklahoma returned to Ashland where he entered the banking business. His business and financial interests were extensive, and as a banker, lumber company executive, and rancher he was an active promoter of the agricultural and economic development of Kansas.

As a young man Berryman became interested in politics and his interest remained strong. He was a Republican member of the Kansas legislature for four terms beginning in 1949 and he served as a member of the state office building commission, state board of abstractors, and as sixth district commissioner of the Kansas state highway commission.

In 1943 he entered the United States navy and was discharged as a lieutenant commander at the end of the war, having served on the staff of Adm. William Halsey in the Pacific. He was a member of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity, Sons of the American Revolution, and Masonic bodies.

The Berryman family's interest in history stems from the earliest days of white settlement in present Kansas. Mr. Berryman's great grandfather came as a Methodist missionary to the Kickapoo and Shawnee Indians in the early 1830's. Therefore, it was natural for Berryman to have a deep concern for the history of his state, and as a member of the Clark County Historical Society and this Society he worked at preserving the story of Kansas.

Jerome Berryman's death was a loss to his family, his community, and to his state which he served so well.

Members of several local historical societies reported briefly on the activities of their organizations.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

Directors of the Kansas State Historical Society as of October, 1960

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1961

Barr, Frank, Wichita.
 Charlson, Sam C., Manhattan.
 Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
 Denious, Jess C., Jr., Dodge City.
 Hall, Standish, Wichita.
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
 Humphrey, Arthur S., Junction City.
 Jameson, Henry, Abilene.
 Jones, Horace, Lyons.
 Kampschroeder, Mrs. Jean Norris,
 Garden City.
 Kaul, Robert H., Wamego.
 Lauterbach, August W., Colby.
 Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
 Lindquist, Emory K., Wichita.
 Maranville, Lea, Ness City.
 Means, Hugh, Lawrence.

Montgomery, John D., Junction City.
 Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence.
 Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
 Richards, Walter M., Emporia.
 Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
 Robbins, Richard W., Pratt.
 Roberts, Larry W., Wichita.
 Scott, Angelo, Iola.
 Shrewder, Mrs. Roy V., Ashland.
 Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
 Smelser, Mary M., Lawrence.
 Socolofsky, Homer E., Manhattan.
 Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
 Taylor, James E., Sharon Springs.
 Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
 Wark, George H., Caney.
 Williams, Charles A., Bentley.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1962

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
 Anderson, George L., Lawrence.
 Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.
 Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.
 Beck, Will T., Holton.
 Bray, Mrs. Easton C., Syracuse.
 Chandler, C. J., Wichita.
 Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado.
 Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg.
 Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.
 Eckdall, Frank F., Emporia.
 Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.
 Farley, Alan W., Kansas City.
 Gard, Spencer A., Iola.
 Harvey, Perce, Topeka.
 Jelinek, George J., Ellsworth.
 Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.

Landon, Alf M., Topeka.
 Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
 Lose, Harry F., Topeka.
 Malin, James C., Lawrence.
 Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander,
 Wichita.
 Menninger, Karl, Topeka.
 Moore, Russell, Wichita.
 Rankin, Charles C., Lawrence.
 Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
 Reed, Clyde M., Jr., Parsons.
 Sageser, A. Bower, Manhattan.
 Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
 Stewart, Donald, Independence.
 Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
 von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton.
 Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1963

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.
 Baughman, Robert W., Liberal.
 Beezley, George F., Girard.
 Beougher, Edward M., Grinnell.
 Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
 Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.
 Cron, F. H., El Dorado.
 Docking, George, Lawrence.
 Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.
 Farrell, F. D., Manhattan.
 Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.
 Harper, Mrs. Jesse C., Ashland.
 Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.
 Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.
 Hodges, Frank, Olathe.
 Lingenfelter, Angelus, Atchison.
 Long, Richard M., Wichita.

McArthur, Mrs. Vernon E.,
 Hutchinson.
 McCain, James A., Manhattan.
 McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
 McGrew, Mrs. Wm. E., Kansas City.
 Malone, James, Gem.
 Mechem, Kirke, Lindsborg.
 Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita.
 Ripley, John, Topeka.
 Rogler, Wayne, Matfield Green.
 Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
 Simons, Dolph, Lawrence.
 Slagg, Mrs. C. M., Manhattan.
 Templar, George, Arkansas City.
 Thomas, Sister M. Evangeline, Salina.
 Townsley, Will, Great Bend.
 Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

Bypaths of Kansas History

REASON ENOUGH

Mrs. Lynn R. Brodrick and her sister, Iowa Jones, of Marysville, recently presented to the State Historical Society what seems to be the subscription list of the old Palmetto *Kansan*, a newspaper published in the latter 1850's in a town next door to Marysville.

The town didn't last and the newspaper didn't publish long, but the reason offered for the demise of the latter was intriguing. Scrawled across one of the pages was the following candid statement: "Palmetto *Kansan* Suspended for want of Brain to Edit it."

If newspapers must suspend it probably can't be denied that this reason is as good as any.

JUVENILE DELINQUENTS, 1860 MODELS

From *The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, December 29, 1860.

There were an innumerable number of snow-storms on the streets yesterday and the day before,—not exactly after the manner in which they usually come, but *improvised* and gotten up for the occasion by an army of about forty boys. They arranged themselves, in military style, on one side of the street, and dispatched a shower of snow-balls after every team and pedestrian that passed along. Wo to the unlucky wight who stopped and resented the sudden and unexpected pelting which he was sure to encounter, if he came within snow-shot of the boys. A perfect tornado of white bullets would greet him, in response to his expostulations. We even saw some cutters containing ladies that were assaulted by the youngsters. This was an exhibition of a want of gallantry which a few days training in the callaboose would probably remedy. It may be fine sport for the boys to throw snow-balls, but they should learn to be a little more discriminating in their attacks.

"LIGHTNING SPEED" ON THE SANTA FE

From the *Dodge City Times*, January 19, 1878.

A special train consisting of an engine and Pullman car, left the Santa Fe depot, Topeka, Thursday, with the right of the road to Pueblo. It carried a gentleman who had received a dispatch that his wife was very sick and likely to die in Colorado Springs. \$350 it is said was paid for this ride.

From the *Times*, January 26, 1878.

Last week we referred to the charter of a special train by a gentleman who wished to make all possible haste to the bedside of his dying wife. The Commonwealth gives the following particulars:

Mr. Dunn, of the firm of H. B. Claflin & Co., the heavy New York dry

goods merchants, whose wife was lying at the point of death from quick consumption, at Manitou, Colorado, telegraphed Colonel Morse on Thursday, chartering a special train from Topeka to Pueblo ahead of the regular train. As it was a matter of life and death it was desirable to reach his destination as soon as possible, which occasioned a very rapid run, as the figures below indicate. The train consisted of a sleeping car drawn by engine 23, built by the Taunton locomotive works, with 62 inch drivers and cylinders 14 x 24. J. W. Griffith run the engine the entire distance, 568 miles, with John Flemming to assist him as fireman.

	TIME	MILES
The train left Topeka at.....	3:05 p. m.	0
Left Emporia Junction	4:51	60
Arrived at Newton.....	7:20	135
(Coaled and supper)		
Left Newton	7:38	
Left Great Bend.....	9:54	219
Arrived at Dodge (Coaled).....	12:15 a. m.	302
Left Dodge	12:30	
Left Lakin	2:26	374
Left Granada	4:00	421
Left West Las Animas (Coaled).....	5:35	476
Arrived at Pueblo.....	7:30	568

This run was made in sixteen hours and twenty-five minutes, including all stops. Actual running time, about fifteen hours and forty minutes. Average speed, including all stops, thirty-four and a half miles per hour. Maximum between stations, forty-three miles per hour; minimum, twenty-seven.

For a new western road, this is rather an extraordinary run and would indicate excellent condition of the track and rolling stock.

At Pueblo, the Denver & Rio Grande railroad had a special train in waiting which conveyed Mr. Dunn to Colorado Springs, where he took a team to Manitou, five miles distant, reaching the bedside of his wife only twenty minutes before her death. The thoughts of the husband can be better imagined than described as he dashed up the valley the long night through, at a maximum speed of 43 miles per hour to reach the side of his dying wife. . . .

FAST DRAW—NO CONTEST

From the Dodge City *Times*, July 13, 1878.

The other day a wild Texan boarded the train at Ellis for Kansas City. It was his first ride on the cars, and as the conductor reached in his pocket for his punch, the sharp eye of the Texan caught a glimpse of its polished handle and quick as thought he leveled a big six shooter on the conductor, saying: "Put 'er up, or I'll blow daylight through you. No man can get the drop on me."—Hays *Sentinel*.

A STATE-OF-THE TOWNSHIP REPORT FROM BURR OAK, JEWELL COUNTY, IN THE 1885 KANSAS CENSUS

Under "General Remarks by Assessors" in the 1885 state census of Kansas (v. 119), one assessor took the suggestion to mean what it said, and thereupon reported the situation in Burr Oak township, Jewell county, as of March 1, 1885:

Wheat not in good condition Acreage Small it is not A Success in this locality Oats can be raised in Abundance Average crop about 50 bu per Acre corn in good condition Acreage large average crop 30 to 60 per Acre the Chintz Bug is here this Season damageing Wheat allready

Peach Trees nearly all Winter Killed apples do Well all Small fruits do Well

all Kinds of forrest trees do Well except cottonwood dont pay to Set them out Box elder and in fact all other Kinds do Well

their is a Small Bug eating the leves of the young Cottonwood this Season looks Somthing like Colorado Beatle

their has bin little Rheumatism or Something like it among the Horses this Winter they get down cant get up Some dies others get Well

EVERYTHING UP-TO-DATE IN KANSAS CITY

From the *Kansas City Gazette*, July 29, 1895.

Saturday afternoon two young ladies from Kansas City, Mo. came across the line on bicycles. They attracted especial attention on account of their costume. One was dressed in bloomers and the other in tights. Their appearance was so strikingly unusual to the staid population of this city that the town suspended business for a while to take a look at them. The young ladies had gone but a little way along Minnesota avenue when a troop of dudes on wheels took their trail. Finally one of the girls punctured a pneumatic tire on the fragment of a whisky bottle and when she alighted to examine the damage she was heard to remark: "I thought this was a prohibition town." As the transportation of bicycles on the cable cars is forbidden she was obliged to walk home, pushing her wheel, with a crowd at her heels like that which usually follows a Bohemian and his trained bear. Kansas City, Kansas, never had so much fun since the day of the Lewelling administration. But it must not be understood that Kansas City, Kansas, was shocked. She never gets shocked.

ONE WAY TO BOOST TRADE

From *The Brown County World*, Hiawatha, June 30, 1899.

It is a good thing for the merchants of Hiawatha to have Indian prisoners in the jail. They draw Indian trade. There have been more Indians in Hiawatha since the Indians have been in the jail than there ever were before.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Articles by Harry E. Chrisman in the *Southwest Daily Times*, Liberal, in recent months included: "Liberalites Participated in [George] Mulligan's Gold Rush [to Alaska in 1901]," April 30, 1960; "Phones Here Preceded by Telegraph in Early Days," May 6; "John E. George, Early Day Cowboy, Later Banker and Financier, Had Part in Last SW Kansas Indian Fight," July 2; "All That Is Left of Fargo Springs, Ghost Town, Is School Bell Now on 1st Christian Church Patio Here," August 17; "Cattle Rustling on the Cimarron River Harassed Pioneer Ranchmen in This Area," September 17; and "Coyotes Once Seward Co. Official Melon Testers," September 30, October 1, 4, 5.

Among historical articles printed in the *Hays Daily News* recently were: "Pleasant Old Soldier 'Cap' Craig Haunts G. A. R. Holiday Memories," by Mollie Madden, May 15, 1960; "Dodge City Points Up Hays Mistake in Failing to Fence in Its Boot Hill," June 12; "Agricultural Life in [Ellis] County Changed by Arrival of First Header in 1881," June 21; "Recently Sold 'Golden Valley Farm' [in Ellis County] a Picturesque and Historical Place," June 26; "St. Joe [Reno County] Used To Be Ost," by Alvin Dumler, and "Stirring Account of Civil War Days in Kansas by Late Resident [Mrs. Anne McIntosh Gilkeson] of Hays," July 24; "The Story of Jenny Martin Records Rugged Living of Pioneers at Ellis," by Kittie Dale, August 7; "Druggist [Terry Foltz] Recalls When Carry Nation Wrecked Business," by Ted Blankenship, August 28; "Kansas Oil First Sought in 1860 by Energetic Editor [G. W. Brown] at [of] Lawrence," October 9; and "Insurance Firms Took Chance on Any Hazard of Old West," October 23.

Hosea C. Holdredge's 35-year career as constable of Caldwell was reviewed in an article published in the *Topeka Capital-Journal*, July 10, and the *Caldwell Messenger*, July 18, 1960.

Beginning July 13, 1960, the *Kiowa County Signal*, Greensburg, has been publishing Dr. Irvan L. Corder's "A History of Kiowa County," in serial form.

G. M. Weeks is the author of the "Story of El Dorado's First Water Mill Replete With Other Early Day Data," which appeared in the *Butler County News*, El Dorado, July 14 and 21, 1960. A biographical sketch of Edward E. Snyder, retired El Dorado teacher, was printed in the *News*, August 18 and 25.

Featured in the August, 1960, number of *Thomas County Yesterday and Today*, Colby, was a biographical sketch of Mrs. Emily Thiel Stover who settled in Thomas county in 1887. Other articles included: "Issac Flood Plants Many Trees Here in Early Days," "Measles Strike in '99, Claiming Four Member of the Eli Anderson Family Within One Week," and "History of Levant Centers Around Church, Schools, and Business Places." Among articles in the September issue were: "J. W. Hutchinson Family Makes Home in Thomas County in 1885," "Kansas Farmers Union First Organized in Thomas County in 1916," "L. C. Howard Describes Early Times," "Clyde Chelf Reminisces About Settlement Years in County; Includes Many Interesting Facts," and an article on the building of good roads in the area.

Early Lindsborg history and a biographical sketch of W. B. O'Connor, early city marshal of Lindsborg, were included in an article by Anton Peterson, printed in the *Lindsborg News-Record*, August 4, 1960.

One hundred-year-old Mrs. H. M. Holloway, Larned, was the subject of a biographical sketch published in the *Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, August 12, 1960. On September 2 a biographical sketch of Michael Sweeny, Pawnee county pioneer, appeared in the *Tiller and Toiler*.

In 1885 the Rev. C. R. Robinson started the Wellsford Methodist church. A history of the church has been appearing serially in the *Haviland Journal*, beginning August 18, 1960. The early part of the history was written by Mrs. C. E. Anderson in 1935, the remainder by Mrs. Frank Meisel and Mrs. John Powell.

"'Ballad of Nicodemus' Kansas Town's Theme," by Kittie Dale, a history of Kansas' only all-Negro settlement, was published in the *Wichita Eagle Magazine*, August 21, 1960.

Articles of historical note in recent issues of the *Courtland Journal* included: "Eight Months in Western Kansas in 1907," August 25, 1960; "The Glasgow Family Prominent in Early History," September 1; "Sorghum Mill—an Early Industry in Courtland Township," September 8; "Fort Nonsense," a building erected by the Excelsior colony in north central Kansas for protection from the Indians, September 15; and "Courtland School Reaches 72nd Anniversary," by Nina Engwall and Anona Blackburn, September 22.

On August 25, 1960, the *Harper Advocate* published an eight-page historical supplement under the title *Harper Headache*. The sup-

plement is comprised largely of historical and humorous articles from early issues of Harper newspapers.

The Arkansas *Daily Traveler*, September 16, 1960, printed a short sketch of the opening of the Cherokee Strip, September 16, 1893, by Walter Hutchison.

A history of Meade, by Lura Smith, appeared in the *Meade Globe-Press*, September 15, 1960. The town was incorporated in 1885.

On September 18, 1960, the Atchison *Daily Globe* printed a history of St. Benedict's church, near Bendena. The church recently celebrated its centennial.

The *Weir Spectator* on September 22, 1960, printed the first in a series of articles on the history of Weir by Mrs. Ralph O'Malley.

A history of the Marysville Methodist church appeared in the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, September 22, 1960. The city's first Methodist services were held in 1857.

Histories of the Hope Methodist church were published in the *Hope Dispatch* and the *Herington Advertiser-Times*, September 29, 1960. Although a Sunday school had existed for several years previous, the church was not organized and chartered until 1885.

Early in 1885 the Baptist church of Simpson was organized, according to a history of the church printed in the *Beloit Gazette*, September 29, 1960.

In observance of the 75th anniversary of the Norwich Methodist church, the *Kingman Countian*, Kingman, September 29, 1960, published a history of the church.

Histories of Herndon and Ludell, 1902-1909, by Alfaretta Court-right, were published in the *Citizen-Patriot*, Atwood, September 29, 1960.

William C. Quantrill's activities in the Kansas-Missouri border area during the Civil War are reviewed by Albert Castel in "The Bloodiest Man in American History," which appeared in *American Heritage*, New York, October, 1960. Accompanying the article were the reminiscences of Sophia L. Bissell who was living in Lawrence at the time of Quantrill's raid there.

"Alfred M. Landon and the Presidential Campaign of 1936," by Donald R. McCoy, was published in the October, 1960, issue of *Mid-America—An Historical Review*, Chicago.

Kansas Historical Notes

A charter-member meeting of the newly formed Mitchell County Historical Society was held July 28, 1960, in Beloit. It was announced that 82 persons had become charter members. Nyle H. Miller, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, spoke to the gathering. Alan Houghton is president of the Mitchell county society.

Chase county's historical museum in Cottonwood Falls, a gift of Frank and George Roniger, was formally opened to the public August 20, 1960. The display consists largely of the Roniger brothers' Indian relics, and the historical collections of George Miser and the Chase County Historical Society. Miser is the museum curator.

All officers of the Chase County Historical Society were re-elected at the annual meeting of the society in Cottonwood Falls, September 10, 1960. They are: Charles Gaines, president; Paul Wood, vice-president; Whitt Laughridge, secretary; George T. Dawson, treasurer; and Mrs. Ruth Conner, librarian. The group heard Stanley Sohl, director of the Kansas State Historical Society museum, discuss procedures in starting a museum.

U. S. cavalry and Cheyenne Indians (both portrayed by local citizens) met again on the battlefield at Squaw's Den near Scott City, when the last major Indian battle in Kansas was re-enacted September 11, 1960. The original battle was fought September 27, 1878.

The first meeting of the Reno County Historical Society was held in Hutchinson, September 22, 1960. Mrs. Vern Maupin was elected president; Don Wyman, vice-president; and Kenneth Collins, secretary-treasurer. I. N. "Jibo" Hewitt, special representative of the Kansas Centennial Commission, was the principal speaker.

Luncheon speaker at the conference of teachers of history at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, September 23 and 24, 1960, was Nyle H. Miller, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, whose subject was "When Kansas Became a State." Other parts of the program relating to Kansas history included a discussion session led by Drs. George L. Anderson and James C. Malin of the University of Kansas, on Kansas history, and a discussion of the Kansas centennial in the classroom by Miller, Edgar Langsdorf, and Robert Richmond of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Officers elected for the coming year at the annual homecoming at Glenloch, Anderson county, September 25, 1960, were: Mrs. Effie Pierce, president; Frank Bennett, vice-president; and Mrs. Libby Dockstader, secretary-treasurer.

Harold O. Taylor was re-elected president of the Crawford County Historical Society at the society's annual meeting, September 29, 1960, in Pittsburg. Robert O. Karr, vice-president, and Mrs. J. W. Black, treasurer, were also re-elected. Mrs. A. N. Ligon was named secretary, and Dr. Garfield W. Weede, Dr. Elizabeth Cochran, and Dr. Theodore Sperry were chosen directors for three-year terms. Henry E. Carey addressed the group on "The Crawford County Story."

The Norton County Historical Society was organized at Norton, October 3, 1960. Raymond D. Bower was elected president and Mrs. Melvin O'Toole secretary.

At a meeting, October 8, 1960, at Minneapolis, the Ottawa County Historical Society elected the following officers: Paul Wilkins, president; Fred Miller, vice-president; Mrs. Ray Halberstadt, secretary; Mrs. Ethel Jagger, treasurer; Mrs. Zella Heald, reporter; and Louis Ballou, Ray Halberstadt, and Mrs. Thomas Swart, directors. After the business session members present inspected Ralph Fuller's collection of antique engines and farm machinery at his home near Minneapolis.

A. R. Bentley, Dighton, was elected president of the Lane County Historical Society at a meeting in Dighton, October 10, 1960. Other officers chosen include: Mrs. John Hagaman, vice-president; Mrs. Joe Hanna, secretary; Mrs. Dale Jewett, treasurer; and Robert Jenison, Mrs. H. S. Edmundson, and R. J. Tillotson, directors. Bill Pike was the retiring president. It was reported that 886 persons visited the society's sod house during the summer.

Mrs. Ray Livingston, Abilene, second vice-president, and Mrs. Walter Wilkins, Chapman, treasurer, were re-elected at the annual meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society at the Ebenezer Baptist church near Navarre, October 13, 1960. The program featured histories of the Ebenezer community. B. H. Oesterreich, Woodbine, is president of the society.

Featured event of Valley Center's recent diamond jubilee anniversary celebration was the historical pageant presented October 13 and 14, 1960. The Valley Center *Index* printed a four-page special

souvenir edition, featuring historical articles and pictures, October 13.

Officers elected at the annual meeting of the Comanche County Historical Society in Coldwater, October 15, 1960, were: D. Jay Overocker, president; Ward H. Butcher, vice-president; Mrs. Cliff Sibbitt, secretary; and F. H. Moberley, treasurer. Mrs. Donald Booth was the retiring president.

Miltonvale history was the subject of a Cloud County Historical Society program in Concordia, October 18, 1960. At the business session George Dutton was elected vice-president, and George Caldwell a director. Robert Hanson is president of the society.

The fourth annual meeting of the Missouri Valley Conference of Collegiate Teachers of History will be held March 24, 25, 1961, at Omaha under the auspices of the Department of History of the University of Omaha. Prof. Bell I. Wiley of Emory University will be the featured speaker of the opening session commemorating the centennial of the Civil War. The Saturday session will give especial attention to the subject of local history.

Included in a 70-page booklet by Fannie Palmer, entitled *Miltonvale*, published in 1959, are histories of the town, its schools, churches, business institutions, and biographies and reminiscences of many of its residents and former residents.

Freedom Has a Happy Ring is the title of a 71-page booklet, edited by Mrs. Anna Manley Galt, and compiled and published by Irma Doster in 1960, containing excerpts from winning essays in contests on our constitutional freedoms. The publication was dedicated to Miss Doster's father, Frank Doster, a former chief justice of the Kansas supreme court.

Eugene F. Ware's *The Indian War of 1864*, published in 1911, has been republished by St. Martin's Press, New York, in 1960. An introduction and notes by Clyde C. Walton are included in the new 483-page volume. Ware was an officer in the Seventh Iowa cavalry which in 1864 was engaged in fighting the Indians in Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Colorado, and Wyoming. The book is Ware's account of the campaign.

F. W. Giles' *Thirty Years in Topeka, 1854-1884*, originally published in 1886, has been reprinted by Stauffer Publications, Topeka, in 1960, with illustrations, maps, and a foreword by Zula Bennington Greene added.

James H. Kyner's *End of Track*, first published in 1937, was reprinted in 1960 in a 280-page paper-bound volume by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. The book is a history of railroad building in the Nebraska-Idaho-Colorado-Wyoming area, based on Kyner's memoirs as a railroad construction contractor.

A 191-page biography of William Barclay "Bat" Masterson, by Dale White, entitled *Bat Masterson*, was published by Julian Messner, Inc., New York, in 1960.

Many a Voyage, a 309-page historical novel based on the life of Fannie Ross, wife of Edmund G. Ross, by Loula Grace Erdman, was recently published by Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

Paul W. Gates is the author of a 460-page recently published work entitled *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815-1860*. Of special interest to Jayhawkers is Gates' discussion of the relation of public land policies to the settlement and development of new agricultural areas which included Kansas. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, were the publishers.

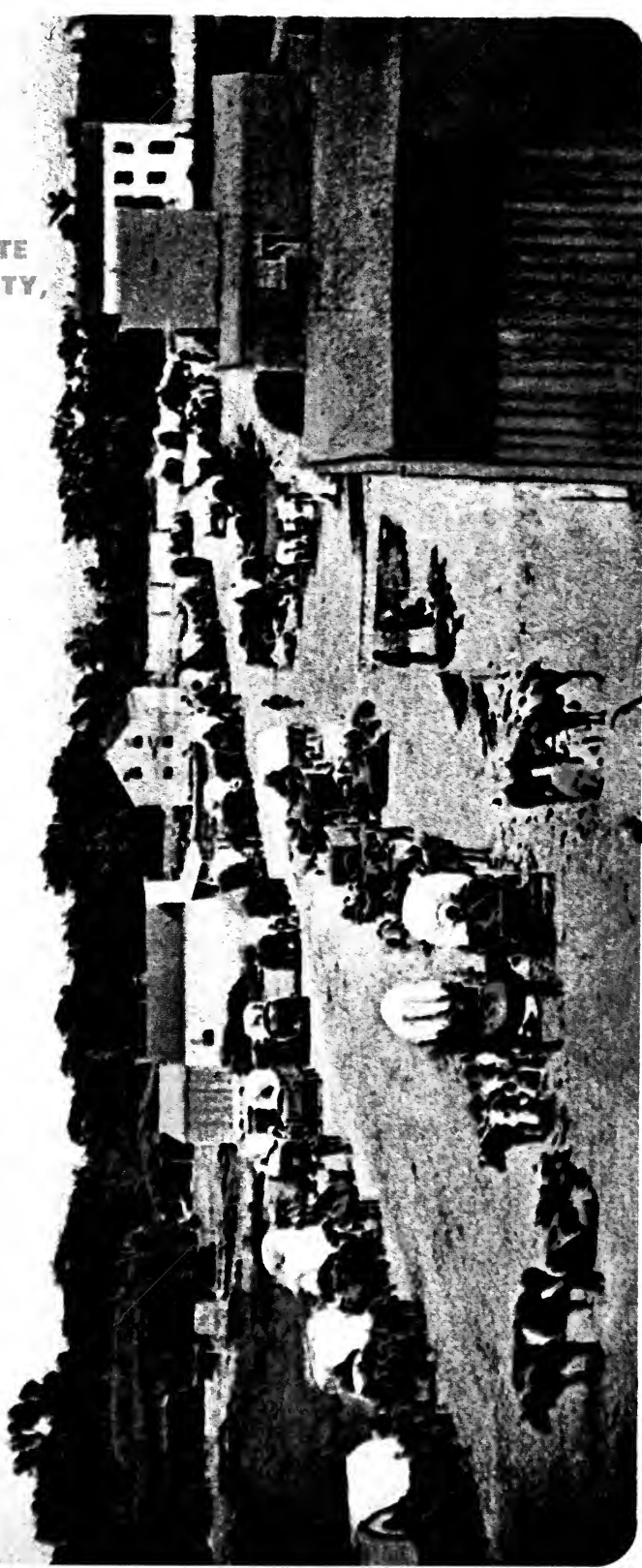


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Manhattan, Kans., Street Scene in the 60's



Manhattan street scene of the early 1860's. A black and white print was hand-tinted in Germany about 1910 to make a color post card. John Ripley, Topeka, provided the copy reproduced here.

1861—Kansas Centennial of Statehood—1961

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Ellsworth, 1869-1875: The Rise and Fall of a Kansas Cowtown

ROBERT DYKSTRA

THE Kansas cattle-market community or "cowtown" of the 1870's and 1880's has long enjoyed a reputation larger than life. For 90 years the popular imagination both in this country and abroad has fed on the image of townfuls of taut, hard-drinking men hung with Colt's six-shooters. The cowtown homicide rate is now a legendary statistic, and the combat in the cowtown street a classic component of the tradition of a primitive, violent American past.¹ Yet here and there an important cattle town has failed to receive individual attention either in folklore or popular history. Comparatively little, for example, has been written of Ellsworth. It remains known simply as one of the temporary centers suspended in the cattle-trade chronology between Abilene, first of the major Kansas cowtowns, and Caldwell, the last.

Possibly one of the reasons for this lack of attention is that early local historians declined to perpetuate the memory of Ellsworth as a great Texas cattle center. In fact, the first writers dismissed the cattle trade in the most derogatory terms. As an early Ellsworth county historian summarized for the Andreas-Cutler history of Kansas:

. . . the cattle trade commenced coming to Ellsworth, and with it came a new element into society, which, while making business somewhat lucrative,

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1. Most serious historians dealing with the cattle-market community, unfortunately, have blandly fallen in step with this portrayal, offering social and economic facts only as a backdrop for picturesque crime and punishment. The present-day concept of the Kansas cowtown, therefore, generally remains a crude hybrid of overdone folklore and underdone history. For examples of historians' quite uncritical acceptance of cowtown folklore see C. C. Rister, "Outlaws and Vigilantes of the Southern Plains, 1865-1885," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Lincoln, Neb., v. 19 (March, 1933), pp. 548, 549, and Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (2d ed.; New York, 1960), p. 678.

was rather detrimental to morality. . . . One season of such characters satisfied the people of Ellsworth that the evils of the cattle trade, or rather those that followed it, were more detrimental to the real interests of the place than it was benefitted by any advantages derived from it in point of increased trade, and when, in the following year the cattle men took their trade farther west, the citizens of Ellsworth were very much relieved, and felt greatly rejoiced.²

Besides asserting that Ellsworth came to abhor the cattle trade, this writer implicitly denies that Ellsworth citizens were at all divided on the cattle-trade question—that is, that while many opposed the trade others favored it, giving rise to the kind of split of community opinion, for example, that plagued the cattle-trading years of nearby Abilene.³ Recent writers have reinforced this picture of a somewhat bland, solely corporate response by Ellsworth to the trade.⁴ But in reality the story of Ellsworth as a cowtown is a dramatic study in the dynamics of frontier economic and social antagonisms, as expressed in the bitter, complex politics of community conflict.⁵

The earliest white inhabitants of Ellsworth county settled in the east-central and southeast portions of the county just prior to the Civil War. The war retarded additional immigration at that period, and in 1863 Indian raids caused the evacuation of existing settlers. At the war's end, however, settlement resumed under the protection of Fort Ellsworth and then of Fort Harker, both located on the Smoky Hill river in the center of the county.⁶

Along the Smoky Hill southeast of Fort Harker, several rural enterprisers of note settled in the rich bottomlands. In July of 1866 the Rev. Levi Sternberg arrived in Ellsworth county. Sternberg, who was to become one of the county's most respected citizens, was

2. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1277.

3. For a comprehensive treatment of cattle-trade conflict in Abilene and Dickinson county see Robert Dykstra, "Abilene and Ellsworth: Conflict and Community Power in Two Kansas Cowtowns" (master's thesis, State University of Iowa, 1959), pp. 10-81, and Robert Dykstra, "The Last Days of 'Texan' Abilene: A Study in Community Conflict on the Farmer's Frontier," *Agricultural History*, Champaign, Ill., v. 34 (July, 1960), pp. 107-119.

4. See, for examples, George Jelinek, *Ellsworth, Kansas, 1867-1947* (Salina [1947]), and Floyd Benjamin Streeter, "Ellsworth as a Texas Cattle Market," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, v. 4 (November, 1935), pp. 388-398, *passim*.

Although Streeter, the only professional historian to deal specifically with Ellsworth, seems at first glance to have written a great deal about the community's cattle-trade years, most of his work with the exception of the cited article deals with the Whitney-Pierce-Crawford killings of 1873 and their aftermath (see Footnote 96 below). A work of broader scope done under Streeter's direction is John F. Choitz, "Ellsworth, Kansas: The History of a Frontier Town, 1854-1885" (master's thesis, Fort Hays Kansas State College, 1941); this does not focus primarily on the cattle-trade period, however.

5. The term "community" is here used as synonymous with the sociologists' definition of "rural community," i.e., a village and its rural service area.—Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, *Rural Community Organization* (New York, 1939), p. 8.

6. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1274; [Charles J. Lyon,] *Compendious History of Ellsworth County, Kansas* (Ellsworth, 1879), pp. 24-30.

a native of upstate New York, now in his early 50's. A Lutheran minister and principal of a Lutheran college in Iowa, Sternberg was induced to emigrate to Ellsworth county by his eldest son, George, who as an officer stationed at Fort Harker was so impressed by the region that he filed on a quarter section of Smoky Hill bottomland south of the fort. Sternberg apparently had engaged in part-time farming along with his ministerial duties. He noted the agricultural possibilities of Ellsworth county, and took over his son's claim when the latter was transferred elsewhere. Sternberg's other sons soon joined him in the venture, filing adjoining claims, and the family got its start by dairying and gardening to supply the nearby fort. By 1869 Sternberg controlled a large acreage lying on both sides of the river, and his "Smoky Hill Dairy" was about to begin the production of butter on a large scale. By 1870 he estimated the value of his real estate at \$7,500—the third largest evaluation in the county—with his son Theodore, a lawyer, claiming another \$2,000 worth. Sternberg's local prestige no doubt culminated with his appointment as pastor of the First Presbyterian church of Ellsworth, but his state-wide reputation was as an agriculturist, and he served on one of the early boards of regents for Kansas State College.⁷

Sternberg's neighbor, David B. Long, also came to Ellsworth county in 1866. A native of Ohio, Long grew up on a farm, attended Oberlin College, taught school, and just before the war went into part-time business as a cheese merchandiser. A noncommissioned officer during the war, he re-enlisted at its close. While waiting at Fort Harker with his family for transportation to a new assignment at Fort Wallace, Long was urged by George Sternberg to file on a section of bottomland. Before moving on, therefore, he entered a claim, and when his enlistment expired in the spring of 1868 he returned to Ellsworth county. In June of that year he began to manufacture cheese, soon developing a thriving business. By 1869 his "Springdale Cheese Factory" was turning out 500 pounds of cheese per week. In 1873 he completed a two-story stone cheese factory operated by water power, and a year later was filling orders from as far away as Hutchinson. By 1874 his 800-acre establishment was exclusively a livestock and dairy farm. His 100 acres under cultivation provided feed for his 40-head dairy herd and 200 head

7. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, pp. 1274, 1278; Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37; Charles H. Sternberg, *The Life of a Fossil Hunter* (New York, 1909), pp. 2-6; *Times and Conservative*, Leavenworth, June 5, 1869; *Ellsworth Reporter*, June 20, 1872, May 1, 1873; "U. S. Census, 1870," Ellsworth county, [second section,] p. 5, archives division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

of beef cattle. Fencing protected 70 acres, and in winter Long carefully fed his livestock instead of turning it loose to forage as most did.⁸

Adjoining Long's and Sternberg's claims was the farm of Jacob C. Howard, who arrived in approximately 1868. A native of Massachusetts now in his early 50's, Howard came to Ellsworth county from Michigan. In 1869 he was reported buying dairy cattle and "fine horses and horned stock, and will soon have one of the best stock farms in the State." Two years later the local newspaper termed him a "country gentleman" with "one of the best locations for a stock and dairy farm in the country—and a larger herd of short horns than we expected to find in the county." By 1873 Howard owned a herd of 500 head, and was crossing thoroughbred Durham bulls and longhorned Texas heifers. Unlike Long, Howard let most of his stock run at large each winter.⁹

The last of the large Ellsworth county establishments of the period was the Powers ranch on the Smoky Hill in the southeast corner of the county, laid out in 1869 by three related Leavenworth businessmen, D. W., J. W., and D. B. Powers. By 1875 their ranch, grown to 2,540 acres, was one of the largest in the county, with over \$8,000 in improvements, including board and wire fencing of over 1,000 acres of pasture for blooded stock. Although probably most of the 600 acres of the establishment under cultivation was for raising forage, the owners in the winter did not feed the majority of their stock, Texas cattle, but turned them loose. The Powers brothers later established the first permanent bank in Ellsworth.¹⁰

In the meantime, Ellsworth itself was born. In the fall of 1866 several businessmen of eastern Kansas conceived the idea of founding a town west of Salina at a point near Fort Harker where it was expected the tracks of the railroad would come to a halt for a time, making the spot a shipping point for goods between the States and New Mexico.¹¹ In January, 1867, the townsite was platted just west of Fort Harker in roughly the center of the county on the north bank of the Smoky Hill. The tracks of the railroad

8. Adolph Roenigk, ed., *Pioneer History of Kansas* ([Lincoln, Kansas,] 1933), pp. 63, 64, 67; *A Biographical History of Central Kansas* (2 vols., New York, 1902), v. 2, pp. 1261, 1262; Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 50; *Times and Conservative*, Leavenworth, June 5, 1869; *Ellsworth Reporter*, February 13, May 1, 15, June 12, 1873, February 5, June 4, 1874, June 3, 1875. W. B. Livingston in *ibid.*, February 19, 1874, notes specifically that "I must say for Mr. Long, that he provides plenty of feed and tries to take care of his stock." For Long's philosophy on wintering see, also, "D. B. L." in *ibid.*, May 16, 1872.

9. *Times and Conservative*, Leavenworth, June 5, 1869; *Ellsworth Reporter*, December 14, 1871, March 27, April 24, May 1, 1873; "U. S. Census, 1870," Ellsworth county, [second section,] p. 4.

10. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1280; *Ellsworth Reporter*, November 7, 1872, May 8, 1873, April 16, 30, 1874, June 3, 1875.

11. John H. Edwards in *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, February 18, 1872.

pushed through to Ellsworth early in May, and the town began to boom. Fort Harker became the supply point for more westerly military posts, and Ellsworth became a vital link in the Santa Fe trade.¹²

Several who later became leaders in Ellsworth's economic and political life were charter members of the town's business community. Perry Hodgden, a native of Ohio, opened a dry goods store, took on a partner three years later, and afterwards opened a branch store outside the county. In addition to his store he held \$4,000 worth of real estate in 1870, most of it evidently townsite holdings.¹³ Ira W. Phelps, a native of New York who already had spent some years in the West, opened as a grocery jobber with \$2,000 worth of goods. In 1872 he was paying \$1,500 per month railroad freight alone, and two years later could boast of sales averaging \$100,000 per year.¹⁴

Arthur Larkin, also locating in Ellsworth in 1867, was the son of a Dublin coal merchant. Immigrating at the age of 16, he served over ten years in the army but spent the war in Leavenworth as a restaurant proprietor and freighter. He subsequently established the first hotel in Ellsworth, and in 1868 opened a general merchandising business. From 1871 to 1873 he and Z. Jackson were partners in this venture, first at Fort Harker and then in Ellsworth proper. In 1870 he held \$4,000 worth of real estate. With his extensive and various commercial enterprises and his real estate holdings, Larkin remained possibly the wealthiest member of the community throughout the 1870's.¹⁵ The last figure of note locating in this period was Z. Jackson. Jackson arrived in Ellsworth county after many years on the frontier as a businessman, politician, and soldier. In 1867 he began to supply Fort Harker with fresh produce, and farmed a claim until 1871, in the latter year going into a business in partnership with Larkin. After breaking with Larkin he obtained appointment as postmaster and opened his own general merchandising store in Ellsworth. He probably never attained an economic position to match that of Hodgden, Phelps,

12. Daniel W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 452; Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1276; Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

13. "U. S. Census, 1870," Ellsworth county, [first section,] p. 11; *Ellsworth Reporter*, December 14, 1871 ff. (advertisements of Ellsworth Town Company, P. Hodgden & Company, and T. J. Buckbee & Company), December 28, 1871, January 25, 1872, September 11, 1873.

14. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1280; "U. S. Census, 1870," Ellsworth county, [first section,] p. 9; *Ellsworth Reporter*, January 25, 1872, June 4, 1874.

15. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1279; *A Biographical History of Central Kansas*, v. 2, pp. 791, 792; "U. S. Census, 1870," Ellsworth county, [first section,] p. 10; *Ellsworth Reporter*, February 29, April 11, May 9, December 26, 1872, May 15, June 12, 1873.

or Larkin; however, he remained an articulate opinion leader throughout the county.¹⁶

Following the initial rush of settlers to Ellsworth in 1867 the new town and its rural hinterlands suffered a series of sharp setbacks in the space of a few months. First the Smoky Hill flooded the new townsite with four feet of water, forcing the community to relocate on higher ground and requiring a special act of the legislature to legalize transfer of titles from the old site to the new. Next hostile Cheyennes raided into the county. When most of the county's settlers were camped close about Fort Harker for protection from the Indians, Asiatic cholera broke out. Many died within and without the fort, and many of Ellsworth's citizens fled the area.¹⁷

The railroad then prepared to build west, and in a desperate move to retain the value of their town Ellsworth promoters obtained a charter for the "Ellsworth & Pacific Railroad Company" in January, 1868, then petitioned congress and the army to abandon support of the proposed extension of the Kansas Pacific tracks to Denver in favor of a route from Ellsworth to Santa Fe. Even with the signature of Gov. Samuel J. Crawford on its articles of incorporation, the E. & P. R. R. never got rolling. The tracks moved west from Ellsworth in 1868, toward Denver, not toward Santa Fe, and with them went Ellsworth's dreams of becoming a great railroad hub.¹⁸

A correspondent for the *Lawrence Tribune*, accompanying an excursion train over the newly laid track in June of that year, sent back a discouraging report:

One of the Agents of the [National] Land Company had already been sent up to Pond creek, or Fort Wallace, to lay out a town near that point. Thitherward the people of Hays and Ellsworth, also, are already looking, and many are making arrangements to move to that point, whenever the line of the road is definitely settled and the town laid out. It is their only hope. There will continue to be some little business at Ellsworth and Hays, as long as the forts remain there, but not enough to support over one fourth the present number of business houses. Business has been over done in these frontier towns, and a reaction, painful, but undoubtedly healthful, is taking place. At both places a few [wagon] trains are waiting for freight, and have been for several weeks. The contract for shipping a large number of pounds of Government freight has been let, but the freight does not arrive[.]

Ellsworth is the county seat of Ellsworth county, and although in a little

16. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1279; "U. S. Census, 1870," Ellsworth county, [second section,] p. 11; *Ellsworth Reporter*, February 29, 1872, April 17, June 26, 1873.

17. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, pp. 1276, 1277; Wilder, *op. cit.*, pp. 457, 459; *Laws of the State of Kansas*, 1869, pp. 261, 262.

18. *The Ellsworth & Pacific Railroad* (Leavenworth, [1868]), *passim*.

better looking country than farther west, it is by no means a farming coun[tr]y. A little land has been cultivated along the creeks, but with indifferent success, there not being enough rain to produce good crops, and there being not enough water for irrigation.

The railroad company have an engine house here, with four stalls, and also have a blacksmith shop. The trade of the fort, together with a share of the New Mexican trade, constitute about all the business, which is by no means large. Persons wishing to invest in real estate can do so in Ellsworth just now at greatly reduced rates. Houses which cost twelve and fifteen hundred dollars are awaiting purchasers at less than half those sums.¹⁹

In Ellsworth county that year crops were miserably poor, and in the fall the Indians returned, forcing settlers to congregate for defense at Fort Harker and beg army rations. Many rural settlers took their cue from the desertion of Ellsworth by its newspaper and many of its merchants, and simply left the county.²⁰

Not surprisingly, those who remained saw their salvation in the acquisition of the Texas cattle trade.

As early as 1867 a plan was afoot to establish a route from Indian territory to the vicinity of Ellsworth over which Texas cattle might be driven to the railroad; however, nothing came of this venture.²¹ In 1868, in the depths of the Ellsworth bust, the town's promoters and businessmen decided to make their influence felt where it would do the most good—at the next session of the state legislature. On March 2, 1869, therefore, a new legislative act was approved establishing a state highway from Fort Cobb, Indian territory, to Ellsworth for driving livestock. Texas herds brought in over this road were specifically exempted from the regulations and penalties of the 1867 "Spanish fever" statute.²² Ellsworth, it appeared, was soon to be in business as a cowtown.

The expected coming of the cattle trade spurred Ellsworth citizens to purge their town of lawlessness. On May 12, 1869, a mob lynched one Fitzpatrick, who was being held for murder. That night someone took a shot at Judge Westover, apparently in retaliation, and respectable tempers flared. "Having an assurance of the cattle trade," wrote Ira Phelps to the *Junction City Weekly Union*, "we are

19. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, June 19, 1868.

20. Roenigk, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 87. In April, 1868, P. H. Hubbell established a newspaper named the *Ellsworth Advocate*, which lasted for only six months.—Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *First Biennial Report* . . ., 1877-1878, p. 212.

21. Ralph P. Beiber, "Introduction" to Joseph G. McCoy's *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest* (Glendale, Calif., 1940), pp. 52, 53.

22. *Laws of the State of Kansas*, 1869, pp. 217, 218. The act of 1867 allowed summer driving of Texas cattle only into the underpopulated southwest quarter of Kansas; anyone bringing longhorns from the free zone northeastward had to guarantee that owners of domestic stock lost nearby as a result of contracting Spanish fever, commonly carried by Texas cattle, would be reimbursed.—*Ibid.*, 1867, pp. 263-267. This statute, of course, was universally ignored by drovers and buyers.

determined to have peace and order instead of rowdyism and bloodshed, if we have to 'fight it on this *line* all summer.'"²³

Whether the cattle trade would contribute much to peace and order remained to be seen, but William Sigerson & Company of St. Louis began constructing a stockyard with a capacity for 5,000 head and provided banking facilities to handle the finances of the trade. Circulars and posters were dispatched to all corners of Texas, and on May 31 agents left for that state to guide herds up the new state road. Businessmen's spirits soared. "It was supposed," wrote a correspondent, "that when the railroad was extended west of the town, Ellsworth would die, but instead of that she prospered." The town then contained several merchandising firms, four hotels, a drugstore, four taverns, a schoolhouse, and an Episcopal church.²⁴

But the cattle-shipping season was a failure, perhaps due in part to Indian raids early in the season which may have kept most Texans from driving that far west.²⁵ By September, in any event, when it should have been enjoying the height of its shipping activity, a passing correspondent described an Ellsworth once again in the doldrums:

It does not present a favorable appearance, but on the contrary it affords evidence of being in advance of the settlements of the country. Two or three years ago it had some importance as the temporary terminus of the railroad. When the road was built beyond it, it ceased to be of any consequence. Its old consequence will not be regained until the settlements have reached and passed it. . . .²⁶

Perhaps a few herds were lured to Ellsworth; at least William "Apache Bill" Semans, county sheriff, was shot and killed that fall by a Texas cowboy while trying to quell a disturbance in an Ellsworth dancehall.²⁷

Apparently not until the overflow season of 1871 did Ellsworth receive any substantial numbers of Texas cattle. It was 104 degrees in the shade on July 14, 1871, and citizens were angry because the new jail was located between the church and the schoolhouse. But on the uplands surrounding the town cattle to the extent of 30,000 head grazed, with more arriving every day.²⁸ Things were looking up at last. By the end of the year 35,000 head had been shipped over the rails of the Kansas Pacific, in spite of low prices, and great

23. Junction City Weekly Union, May 15, 1869.

24. Times and Conservative, Leavenworth, June 5, 1869.

25. "I. P." telegraphed from Ellsworth on June 4 that "The citizens here are ready for war to the knife."—Ibid, June 6, 1869. Such reports may have frightened off many drovers.

26. Junction City Weekly Union, September 25, 1869.

27. Kansas Daily Commonwealth, Topeka, November 24, 1869.

28. Ibid., July 16, 1871.

numbers were wintered in the county.²⁹ Early in 1872 Dickinson and Saline counties legally rejected the cattle trade, and as the next major village to their west, Ellsworth prepared to receive the bulk of the trade and its swarms of free-spending transients.³⁰

The year 1872 promised great things to many Ellsworth merchants. Mayer Goldsoll, for example, a Russian immigrant who had operated a general outfitting store in Ellsworth since 1867, already had tapped some of the cattlemen's trade in Abilene. Goldsoll boasted in the spring of 1872 the "largest stock in Western Kansas, of Fancy and Staple Groceries and Provisions, also Liquors, Cigars and Tobacco." In addition Goldsoll advertised clothing, footwear, blankets, luggage, jewelry, gold and silver watches, clocks, chains, solid and plated silverware, pistols, cutlery, accordians and other musical instruments, and toys. The tastes of the transients were not inexpensive. In two years the newspaper could say of Goldsoll that "jewelry makes but a small part of his business, and yet it is nothing unusual for him to sell \$1,000 worth after business hours." In the three summer months of 1873 Goldsoll had sales averaging \$30,000 per month, and his take for the entire year totaled \$150,000. By 1874 his "Old Reliable House" required five full-time employees, one for each department (jewelry, groceries, clothing and accounts) plus a general floorwalker. Goldsoll also maintained branch stores in Russell and Great Bend, Kan., and Denison, Tex., further to tap the cattle trade.³¹

Not only merchants benefited from the trade. A visitor of 1873 noted that "the popular sign 'Saloon,' was over nearly every other door."³² Although everyone in town was enjoying a heavy volume of sales, asserted another, "Whiskey selling seems to be the most profitable business."³³ The brothel district, located on an addition to the city a half-mile east of town, also did a brisk business, as did Ellsworth's gamblers. It was easy to rationalize the presence of organized sin in the town, since it more than paid its way. As a Topeka correspondent observed in 1873:

The liquor saloons are licensed and gambling houses and houses of prostitution are virtually licensed. Prostitutes and gamblers are made to pay monthly fines. The city realizes three hundred dollars per month from prostitution fines alone. The entire municipal expenses of the city are paid from licenses and

29. Streeter, "Ellsworth as a Texas Cattle Market," *loc. cit.*, p. 389; Streeter, *The Kaw: The Heart of a Nation* (New York, 1941), p. 135.

30. *Abilene Chronicle*, March 14, April 4, 1872.

31. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1277; "U. S. Census, 1870," Ellsworth county, [first section], p. 5; *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, July 1, 1873; *Ellsworth Reporter*, January 25, 1872 ff. (advertisement), July 17, 1873, May 21, 1874.

32. Toledo [Ohio?] *Blade*, quoted in *ibid.*, September 18, 1873.

33. "F. A. P." in *ibid.*, July 25, 1872.

finer; the authorities consider that as long as mankind is depraved and Texas cattle herders exist there will be a demand and necessity for prostitutes, and that as long as prostitutes are bound to dwell at Ellsworth it is better for the respectable portion of society to hold the prostitutes under the restraints of law. All of the vicious vocations are made to contribute to the maintenance of law and order, and better order than is enforced at Ellsworth cannot be found in any town of its size anywhere.³⁴

Toward the end of 1871 the eastern demand for Texas cattle slumped. As winter approached many Texas drovers sold out at low prices to resident farmers and stockmen, who then wintered the cattle. It was an ideal investment for someone desiring profit at little outlay, and it remained an Ellsworth county enterprise until 1875. The cattle were bought cheaply, then usually were marked and merely turned loose on the unsettled public domain to shift for themselves until spring, when they were rounded up and sold in town. More than 40,000 head were wintered in the county that season.³⁵ No doubt many of these were simply abandoned by Texans who could find no sale for them.

Unfortunately it was a very severe winter. Snow and sleet buried the grass and streams froze over. Droves of longhorns invaded settlers' claims to consume hay, strip fruit and forest trees, and drink from waterholes. On Ash creek, for example, a herd of 2,000 head began committing depredations in the middle of November, and settlers desiring damages had a hard time identifying the owners. In December two settlers, writing to the editor of the newly established *Ellsworth Reporter*, demanded that something be done to protect homesteaders.³⁶ At the same time a number of local stock raisers and those with interests in wintered stock met to organize the "Stock Men's Protective Association." Many harassed settlers apparently were harming the hungry longhorns. The association's purpose was to prosecute as a co-operative effort "all offenders against the property of the members of this association." D. W. Powers was elected president of the group, and Arthur Larkin vice-president. By December 22 its membership stood at around 30, each of whom paid a \$2 initiation fee and was taxed one penny per head owned.³⁷ When spring arrived most of the wintered stock were dead from hunger, thirst, and exposure, and great quantities of cowhides, horns, hooves, and bones were shipped east from the county.³⁸ With nothing left to protect, the stockmen's association also died.

34. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, July 1, 1873.

35. Streeter, *The Kaw: The Heart of a Nation*, p. 135.

36. "D. B." and "Cow Creek" in *Ellsworth Reporter*, December 28, 1871.

37. *Ibid.*, December 21, 1871, January 11, 25, 1872.

38. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1872.

The winter situation only aggravated many homesteaders' aversion to Texas cattle. Grazing about Ellsworth the previous summer, herds trampled standing crops on settlers' claims, most of which were unfenced because of the scarcity of wood and the expense of wire, and transmitted the dreaded Spanish fever to domestic stock. As early as February 29, an open letter from "Citizen" urged homesteaders to start organizing to protect themselves in the 1872 Texas cattle season. "Citizen" noted the previous summer's "disaster to our native stock." "Are we," he asked, "going to be perfectly passive, or if we have any feeling at all, simply vent it in words, without action, and let the . . . Texas cattle men have it all their own way?" He proposed a homesteaders' convention within two weeks "to adopt means to enforce drovers to observe the laws."³⁹

Five days earlier the governor of Kansas signed into law the 1872 "herd law" act which forced drovers to herd their cattle in place of requiring settlers to fence their claims for protection from loose stock. The new law gave county commissioners the power to impose herd laws at will.⁴⁰

In each county of less than 30,000, as was Ellsworth, the statutes provided for three governing commissioners elected to two-year terms. On meeting days these received \$3 per day, portal-to-portal. Upon any commissioner's resignation, the remaining commissioners and the county clerk appointed a replacement. The most demanding qualification was that "No person holding any state, county, township or city office . . . shall be eligible to the office of county commissioner."⁴¹

The powers given these boards in February, 1872, meant in effect that two commissioners sympathetic to the interests of their county's homesteaders—even though the latter should be a minority—was the only requirement for the passage of a county herd law, with its discouraging implications for resident livestock raisers and Texas cattlemen. Ellsworth county's three commissioners in the spring of 1872 had been elected the previous fall and were scheduled to serve through December, 1873. The board consisted of J. C. Howard, a stock raiser who let his cattle range free each winter, Leo Hertzig, a young immigrant tavernkeeper whose trade flourished during the cattle season, and Z. Jackson.⁴² The latter's

39. See, also, "J. W. I." in *ibid.*, March 7, 1872.

40. *Laws of the State of Kansas*, 1872, pp. 384, 385.

41. *Compiled Laws of Kansas*, 1879, pp. 273, 274.

42. For data on Hertzig see "U. S. Census, 1870," Ellsworth county, [first section], p. 1; *Ellsworth Reporter*, December 14, 1871, May 21, 1874.

sympathies on the question were vague. On one hand, he was a partner with Arthur Larkin in a general merchandising business that gained by the presence of the cattle trade. On the other hand, Jackson retained his farm even after going into business with Larkin. Many homesteaders possibly identified him as one of themselves. But whatever Jackson's sympathies, the other two commissioners were definitely anti-protection, and a herd law was not forthcoming.

On March 9, as called for by "Citizen," a large, enthusiastic convention of settlers met on Thompson creek and formed the "Farmers Mutual Protection Society of Empire Township." The Rev. Levi Sternberg and D. B. Long were chosen officers, and a subscription of about \$100 was raised. Sternberg gave the major address. He noted the incompatibility between farming and stock raising. One must go, he said, for the cattle interests required, as the newspaper paraphrased his words,

that farmers must leave their vocation, which is the life blood of every country or community, and the germ of civilization, and give this county into the hands of the herdsman, and make it a half civilized or barbarous [*sic*] country without schools or churches—and controlled by a few large stock men having many poor illiterate men dependent upon them for support.⁴³

A week later the group met again, with County Commissioners Howard and Jackson in attendance. The former gave the meeting an anti-urban flavor by commenting on unequal tax assessments and observing that "the farmers are generally termed 'country clodhoppers' by the Ellsworthites." In the spirit of compromise, however, Jackson declared that the Texas cattle trade would be acceptable in the county if not conflicting with the farming interests, but that "a balance sheet would show a greater loss to the community than gain." As for domestic stock raisers, he offered a resolution "that it is not the purpose of this society to oppose the Ellsworth Stock Association, but on the contrary to confer with them, and if possible so to harmonize the conflicting interests of both in such a manner as to be mutually beneficial." The motion carried and Jackson, Long, and one other were appointed to meet with the stockmen.⁴⁴

The members of both farmers' meetings shied away from any serious consideration of a county herd law, probably due much to the intervention of Howard and Jackson, assisted by such protec-

43. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1872. The organization originally was named the "Ellsworth County Farmers Protective Society." At the second meeting its name was changed as given, but it continued to be termed the "Farmers Protective Society of Empire Township" (as in *ibid.*, May 9, 1872).

44. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1872. The outcome of the liaison activity is not given in the newspaper.

tionist "moderates" as D. B. Long. Settler support for organized political action waned as the planting season arrived. On May 10 the membership finally gave major consideration to a herd law, but that was apparently its last meeting until fall.⁴⁵ The winter's agitation resulted in no herd law to disrupt stock-raising practices or discourage the urban trade in Texas cattle. Early in June the paper carried a letter by Theodore Sternberg, son of the man who had spoken so eloquently against cattle three months before. If the Texans were careful, cautioned the younger Sternberg, there could be no objection to their presence in Ellsworth county. Perry Hodgden, apparently speaking for the entire business community, curtly endorsed the note. "I concur in the above," he wrote. "It expresses my views to the letter."⁴⁶

Not until the end of August did the *Ellsworth Reporter*, committed as it was to a promotional policy, admit the presence of conflicting interests within the town. Although these conflicts appear at first to have little relation to the cattle trade, their significance appears in the development of broader rural-urban antagonisms which increasingly served as a basic ingredient of the cattle-trade controversy.

By 1872 two Illinois capitalists, Alfred Southwick and John Kuney, who were also the proprietors of Abilene, held the proprietorship of the Ellsworth townsite. Although these gentlemen were non-residents, many of the original businessmen of Ellsworth, such as Ira Phelps and Perry Hodgden, either were involved financially in the Ellsworth Town Company or had bought holdings from them.⁴⁷ For some time the town proprietors had reserved a block amid their holdings on which a permanent courthouse eventually would be erected. This block became informally known as the "courthouse square." Those holding properties adjacent to the square happily awaited the day when the new courthouse elevated surrounding land values.⁴⁸

On April 20, 1872, citizens voted bonds in the amount of \$12,000 for constructing a permanent courthouse. In a rare burst of criticism the previous December the *Reporter* had urged the town proprietors to sell "to laboring men who desire to build homes" and "refuse to sell to those who only buy to hold for a rise." This criticism apparently reflected a broad public sentiment adverse to the town

45. Only the intended meeting is noted.—*Ibid.*, May 9, 1872.

46. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1872.

47. See advertisement for Ellsworth Town Company in *ibid.*, December 14, 1871 ff.

48. See A. Larkin in *ibid.*, June 20, 1872.

company. After some confidential negotiations between the county commissioners and Arthur Larkin, the board on June 7 accepted Larkin's donation of two lots adjacent to his own properties as a site for the courthouse.⁴⁹

Repercussions followed. On June 10 a public protest meeting was staged, probably instigated by those with property interests adjacent to the now defunct "courthouse square" but attended by many, such as M. C. Davis, mayor and editor of the paper, who no doubt thought the old location more acceptable from a community-development viewpoint than the new downtown location. The meeting resulted in a petition signed by 50 persons protesting the commissioners' decision, which was presented to the board the following morning. At second gathering of citizens Jackson and Hertzog were on hand. Jackson defended the board's action, no doubt citing the board's resolution that a downtown courthouse could be sold as a business site when the time came to build a larger courthouse.⁵⁰

At the next meeting of the commissioners the board received five petitions carrying a total of 139 names which supported its decision. These names included those of M. Goldsoll, Jerome Beebe, George Relfe, Nick Lentz, Thomas Thomas, David Nagle, A. Schmidt, and other Ellsworth businessmen. D. B. Long, A. Essick, W. M. King, and other rural enterprisers also signed; in fact, the petitioners were perhaps 90 per cent rural residents. The board declared an intention to stick by its decision.⁵¹ In the newspaper spokesmen of each side labelled the other a selfish interest group.⁵² Since the board refused to reconsider, Ira Phelps, Perry Hodgden, Mayor Davis, and John L. Bell, another businessman, sued out a writ of injunction to keep the board from issuing bonds. The suit was dismissed, however, and the board retaliated with a suit to recover \$1,500 damages for wrongful suing of the injunction. Apparently this action subsequently was dropped, but may well have motivated Mayor Davis' resignation and return to Iowa soon after.⁵³

Group conflict entered the political sphere on August 24 at the Ellsworth precinct Republican convention called to select eight

49. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1275; *Ellsworth Reporter*, December 28, 1871.

50. *Ibid.*, June 13, 20, 1872.

51. *Ibid.*, June 20, 1872. In its minutes, printed in this issue, the board recognized petitions with a total of 139 names attached; for the same issue, however, Larkin submitted to the editor one petition with 160 names attached. Presumably the latter included all the signatures on the board's petitions. A systematic check of the 160 names against the 1870 census revealed only 40 probable correlations; however, the structure of Larkin's list indicates that only the first 15 to 18 were Ellsworth residents with the remaining 142 to 145 apparently rural residents.

52. A. Larkin and E. G. Minnick in *ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*, June 27, August 1, 29, 1872.

delegates to the G. O. P. county convention. A nominations committee appointed by the chair returned with eight nominees, including Perry Hodgden. A group of insurgents led by County Commissioner Jackson and S. Atwood, a lawyer only lately resident in Ellsworth, proposed an alternate slate of nominees. This slate included Atwood and four other comparative newcomers to Ellsworth and four who had signed petitions supporting the courthouse decision, as well as Commissioner Hertzig. In the voting the insurgent slate defeated the slate of "regulars," as they termed themselves, by a slight margin in each case. A second meeting was held that night by the defeated group, which denounced the insurgents as "Greeleyites" and approved much the same slate of delegates as they formerly proposed. The new editor of the *Reporter* observed that both factions were for Grant, and ascribed the fuss to petty jealousies.⁵⁴

The county convention four days later revealed the formation of a coalition between the insurgents and the rural wing of the local Republican party. The coalition resembled somewhat the rural-urban combination supporting the courthouse decision. D. B. Long, rural leader, was called to the chair, while an insurgent became secretary. The insurgent delegates from Ellsworth were accepted by the committee on credentials. Four pairs of delegates and alternates were selected to attend the state conventions in Topeka and Lawrence, each pair consisting of one insurgent and one rural member.⁵⁵

The insurgents struck again on October 5 at Ellsworth precinct's G. O. P. meeting to select delegates to the second county convention. Judging from the votes cast, about 150 persons attended the meeting, which adjourned to a restaurant for more room. Again an insurgent slate of nominees, including Hertzig and three other August 24 insurgent nominees, opposed a "regular" slate which included Hodgden. The insurgents won again, this time by a two-to-one margin. "The election last Saturday," observed the *Reporter*, "was the most exciting we ever witnessed. . . . The spirits of the successful party were high and it took a good many 'straights' and a good deal of water with extract of hop in it, to cool off the enthusiasm of the victors." The paper deplored, however, the expression of "so much bitterness between parties."⁵⁶

Three days later the insurgent-rural coalition dominated the

54. *Ibid.*, August 29, 1872.

55. *Ibid.*, September 5, 1872.

56. *Ibid.*, October 10, 1872.

the county convention called to select a slate of Republican candidates for county office and to select delegates to the district senatorial convention. In both cases, selections were balanced between rural members and insurgents.⁵⁷

On October 10 the district senatorial convention was held in Ellsworth. John H. Edwards, the strongest candidate, had two strikes against him in Ellsworth county. Edwards was until recently a resident of Ellsworth. One of the original promoters of the Ellsworth townsite, an early commissioner of the county, and the town's first provisional mayor, he also had been an important Ellsworth businessman. In 1870 he became the district's state representative, and now resided in Ellis county. He was vigorously supported by the older businessmen of Ellsworth, and hardly could be identified with the insurgents. On September 26 he spoke in Ellsworth, praising the Texas cattle trade as the county's greatest asset.⁵⁸ He thereby gained the opposition of the rural wing. In the convention the Ellsworth county delegation, led by D. B. Long, proposed the name of County Commissioner Jackson, both a ruralist of sorts and something of an insurgent, to oppose Edwards. But in the balloting Edwards gained the nomination.⁵⁹

Election day a month later held a surprise. Senatorial candidate Edwards, anathema to both farmers and insurgents, lost overwhelmingly in Ellsworth county, carrying only one precinct. But not one member of the insurgent-rural Republican ticket gained office. The reason is clear. Urban voters failed to support rural members of the slate and the country dwellers refused to vote for the urban insurgent candidates. For example, ruralist Paul Curlett, Republican candidate for state representative, carried nearly every rural precinct but captured a mere seven votes in Ellsworth. On the other hand, insurgent Thomas Thomas, G. O. P. candidate for clerk of the district court, carried Ellsworth but lost every single rural precinct. Opposed by a badly split Republican vote, a slate of Greeley Republicans carried the day.⁶⁰

The parties to this experiment in rural-urban co-operation had distrusted one another in the showdown. The fundamental, apparently unreconcilable rural-urban split was soon to achieve a profound expression in the politics of the cattle-trade controversy.

In August, 1872, at the height of Ellsworth's second great cattle-

57. *Ibid.*

58. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, pp. 1275, 1277; "U. S. Census, 1870," Ellsworth county, [first section,] p. 1; *Ellsworth Reporter*, August 8, 1872 ff. (card supporting Edwards' candidacy signed by Ellsworth businessmen), October 3, 1872, August 28, 1873.

59. *Ibid.*, October 17, 1872.

60. See election statistics in *ibid.*, November 14, 1872.

shipping season, the Ellsworth *Reporter* noted that "Some of our farmers have been run over by herds of Texas cattle." Rural anger was building up, but the paper observed that Ellsworth county farmers were still "acting fairly" toward the cattlemen.⁶¹

The old protection movement began rolling again the following month. Just two days after John H. Edwards' speech praising the cattle trade, settlers held a convention in Ellsworth to organize a county-wide protective association. This time the movement was initiated by a newcomer to Ellsworth county, W. M. King. King, an Iowan, first appeared the previous February, when he bought 1,440 acres of rural real estate and talked about building a sawmill. By the end of March he was settled in the county as a livestock breeder and agitator for sundry community projects. He soon made himself obnoxious to many other stockmen. In May he ran a sarcastic notice in the paper which criticized domestic cattlemen as being worse than the Texans in letting their stock run free to commit depredations and then disclaiming ownership when they did.⁶² A. Essick, a Presbyterian minister and like King a prosperous stock-raising farmer only recently come to the county, was another organizer of the group.⁶³ A resolution was adopted that the group petition the county commissioners for a herd law. The flavor of the meeting was reflected in the motto concluding the secretary's report: "*Protection we want. Protection we must have!*"⁶⁴

On October 12 the group, still an informal one, met again. The presentation of herd law petitions to the board of commissioners was postponed, and a third meeting was scheduled to consider forming a county agricultural association. This may have been a subtle attempt to redirect the group into less radical channels. The October 26 meeting apparently was postponed, or else broke up over the question of whether the group was to be a protective society or a neutral agricultural association.⁶⁵ In December the paper noted that Essick now believed in wintering Texas cattle, evidently in the standard way of turning it loose to forage, and the next spring he was specifically branded as an anti-protectionist. In 1873 Essick continued to call for an agricultural association, and was joined by the anti-protection stock raiser Commissioner Howard,

61. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1872.

62. *Ibid.*, February 22, 29, March 28, April 18, May 2, 1872. For examples of King's subsequent commercial ventures see *ibid.*, June 27, October 17, 1872.

63. Essick is not listed in the 1870 census.

64. *Ellsworth Reporter*, October 10, 1872.

65. *Ibid.*, October 17, 1872. The outcome of the October 26 meeting is not noted in the paper.

as well as Levi Sternberg. The latter, who had spoken so harshly of cattlemen less than a year previously, now was state president of the "Stock Growers Association of Kansas" and a big cattleman himself.⁶⁶

While the herd law agitation apparently was being redirected by the most influential of the county's stockmen, a rural-urban ideological tournament was fought in the columns of the newspaper. This clash was present in J. C. Howard's observation about "country clod-hoppers" in the spring of 1872 and in the mutual rural-urban distrust leading to the downfall of the Republican coalition the next fall. In January, 1873, the newspaper carried a letter from a farmer with the pseudonym "Home Interests" who called upon the county to obtain a flour mill, a project more important than the second railroad for which many Ellsworth businessmen were agitating. The writer especially complained about money fleeing the county through Ellsworth merchants who imported flour for urban consumers. In the next issue a writer disguised as "Go to Work" defended Ellsworth merchants, asserting in addition that the county's farmers, with few exceptions, were simply indolent complainers. "Home Interests" replied that "Go to Work" and his fellows were "dry goods loafers" who should get busy and do something about the shabby appearance of Ellsworth. His urban opponent replied immediately, abusing "Home Interests" and "his legions of thriftless, shiftless, do-nothing neighbors. . . ." "Home Interests" struck back in a long letter very critical of Ellsworth males, two-thirds of whom were described as loafing for a living or "just carrying on a little business as a cloak for their idleness." In a March issue "Go to Work," possibly at the editor's insistence, tried to placate his rural opponent, but the other's concluding argument in the same issue still pointed to the number of loafers on Ellsworth's Main street.⁶⁷

At the same time D. B. Long, rural leader, voiced objections of a different sort to Ellsworth's railroad project. He argued that the county's big landowning stockmen, like himself, would bear the tax burden for such public-subsidized projects. "This county," he asserted in the *Reporter*, "is a stock county, and not an *Agricultural county*. When you cripple the stock interest, you cripple the *true interest and wealth* of the county. . . ." Commissioner Jackson, spokesman for the proposed railroad, replied to Long that

66. *Ibid.*, December 19, 1872, February 13, March 6, May 1, June 12, 1873.

67. *Ibid.*, January 16, 23, 30, February 6, 13, March 6, 1873.

a second railroad would bring more settlers into the county, providing a broader tax base. He agreed that stock raising was the primary interest of the area but claimed that a second railroad would favor this interest by bringing "cheap fencing here to stop the clamor in the mouths of a few for the herd law. . . ." In March, however, Commissioner Howard proclaimed himself implacably against the project, and declared that as chairman of the board of commissioners he would block all efforts to bring the railroad to a public vote.⁶⁸ Thus the urban project was killed by the county's big rural landowners.

Prior to 1873 most anti-cattle agitation came from southeast of Ellsworth, where rural settlement was thickest. The year 1872, however, saw considerable settlement in the northwest corner of the county around the town of Wilson, laid out in the fall of 1871. In the elections of November, 1872, Wilson was the only precinct giving a majority to Edwards, the pro-cattle candidate for the state senate, the reason perhaps being that the town's promoters had temporary aspirations of the community's becoming a great cattle-trading center.⁶⁹ By 1873, however, the Wilson area was clearly a seat of an anti-cattle movement that sought not just herd law protection but total exclusion of the trade from Ellsworth county.

The 1867 Spanish fever act of the Kansas legislature fixed quarantine boundaries that legally excluded Texas cattle from the more settled portions of the state. The basis was fear by resident live-stock raisers of Spanish fever. In 1872 the legislature, acquiescing to the wishes of inhabitants, moved the line farther west to close more territory to the cattle trade. Successive legislatures, meeting in January and February of each year, threatened to shove the quarantine line—or "dead line," as it was termed—farther west.⁷⁰ Now, early in 1873, a combined meeting of residents of the Wilson area and homesteaders from nearby Russell county resolved to petition their representatives in the legislature "to so amend the act regulating the driving and grazing of Texas cattle in this State as to exclude from Ellsworth and Russell counties, through Texas herds or those liable to impart the Spanish fever."⁷¹ Although nothing came of this action, the region remained a center of exclusionist agitation.

68. *Ibid.*, January 23, 30, March 20, 1873.

69. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1280.

70. See summary of the quarantine-line legislation in Streeter, *The Kaw: The Heart of a Nation*, pp. 202-207.

71. *Ellsworth Reporter*, February 20, 1873.

In May, 1873, the newspaper predicted another great cattle season for Ellsworth, with prospects of 300,000 head proclaimed "a low estimate." A kind of slogan was tucked in among the news items—"Ellsworth county farmers will not fight the Texas Cattle."⁷² Variations on this theme seemed to promise that repetition would make it so.

The very next edition, however, brought a letter from a farmer who demanded a herd law and accused the county commissioners of deliberately favoring the big stockmen in not passing such a law.⁷³ At the same time, a few of the domestic cattle raisers were joining the farmers to view Texas cattle with disfavor. Among these was D. B. Long, a stockman who did not fear a protection law because he herded and fed his own stock each winter. Not so stockmen like Commissioner Howard, who feared Spanish fever each summer but who turned his stock loose each winter. A writer to the *Reporter* suggested that the commissioners impose a herd law in the spring, then lift it again in the fall, but the act of 1872 made no provision for repeal after a herd law declaration.⁷⁴ So Howard and his stock-raising constituents preferred no herd law at all.

At least one homesteader tried to do something that spring besides just protesting. Late in May he swore out a complaint on two Texas trail drivers who allowed their cattle to invade his claim. But without a herd law in force there were no grounds for prosecution. The case was dismissed at the request of County Attorney P. T. Pendleton.⁷⁵

In June a letter from J. W. Ingersoll bitterly attacked what he termed the county's anti-protection "rich men," those like the Rev. A. Essick who owned from 75 to 400 head. These stockmen, asserted Ingersoll, "care no more for the success of the poor man than for the life of a troublesome flea, . . . and it is just such men that make a herd law necessary." He observed that farmers should not have to trust the honor of cattlemen to reimburse damages committed by stock, but rather should have the protection of a herd law wherein the stockmen could trust the farmers to assess damages fairly. "The poor man," noted Ingersoll, "may not have as many dollars or cattle as the rich man, but on the average I am certain he has as much honor and is governed by as generous principles."

72. *Ibid.*, May 8, 1873.

73. "Farmer" in *ibid.*, May 15, 1873.

74. Edward P. Faris in *ibid.*, July 3, 1873.

75. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, June 4, 1873.

"The rights of the laboring men," he concluded, "must be protected by our laws and respected by capital. . . ." ⁷⁶

John S. Barnum, however, spoke the minds of those farmers like himself who had been converted from protectionism to an anti-protection view. His principal arguments were that a herd law would frighten away the trade in Texas cattle, leaving local farmers with greatly reduced numbers of consumers to supply. A herd law would also frighten away the big domestic stockmen who paid most of the taxes in the county. Anyway, claimed Barnum, Ellsworth county farmers would do better to become stock raisers themselves. ⁷⁷

Many new arrivals to the county agreed with Barnum's conclusion and dropped plans for homesteading in favor of stock raising. Winfield S. Faris and his brother William, for example, arrived in 1872 and took up claims on Clear creek. Soon, however, they became so involved in managing their small but growing herds, which they grazed on the public domain, that they allowed their claims to revert back to the government. ⁷⁸

Although the newspaper supplies no details, two apparently conflicting farmers' organizations were now operating, evidently representing this dichotomy of opinion regarding protection. One was the old "Farmers Protective Association of Empire Township," in which D. B. Long was active, which met as late as May 31 "to arrange for better protection from the ravages of Texas cattle." ⁷⁹ The other, the "Ellsworth Farmers' Independent Association," was active near Ellsworth and met June 14 and October 17 at the home of Thomas Thomas. ⁸⁰ This Republican insurgent of the previous year owned an 80-acre farm, but he was primarily a contractor. In 1873 Thomas was building the new Ellsworth schoolhouse, and it is unlikely he would have antagonized the city's residents by frightening the cattle trade away with talk of a county herd law. ⁸¹ The only other member of the group mentioned by the paper was W. E. Fosnot, a one-legged war veteran who came to Ellsworth county as a

76. *Ellsworth Reporter*, June 12, 1873. Ingersoll's rural class consciousness perhaps makes his personal data of interest. In 1870 he gave his age as 28, his birthplace as New York, his occupation as farmer, his dependents as a wife and two children. He estimated the value of his real estate holdings as \$200. He gave no estimate of his personal estate.—"U. S. Census, 1870," Ellsworth county, [second section,] p. 4.

77. *Ellsworth Reporter*, June 26, 1873.

78. *A Biographical History of Central Kansas*, v. 1, p. 630; *Ellsworth Messenger*, September 15, 1955.

79. *Ellsworth Reporter*, May 29, 1873.

80. *Ibid.*, June 12, October 9, 1873.

81. *Ibid.*, December 14, 1871 ff. (advertisement), August 7, September 18, 1873.

farmer about 1870 but who opened a watch-repair shop in Ellsworth in 1874.⁸² He also was an unlikely protectionist agitator.

As the cattle-buying season wore on, the *Ellsworth Reporter* attempted to protect the Texas cattle trade by offering local farmers advice, much of it condescending. "Farming or Stock-Raising?" asked one editorial, and the answer was both. For best returns, said the paper, farmers should raise crops, feed them to livestock, then sell the animals. The *Reporter* also urged settlers to raise truck produce for Ellsworth's consumer market. Another item observed that if the farmer used sound commercial practices "just as his careful brother merchants do, he would find a spirit of business working into all his habits, and progress and push would follow." In September the paper reprinted from the *Milwaukee (Wis.) Commercial* a long article emphasizing the lucrative returns from stock raising with Texas longhorns.⁸³

The same month the board of county commissioners made preparations for the election of new members. Z. Jackson had resigned in June to become the Ellsworth postmaster and his chair was temporarily filled by William Armstrong, a big stockman.⁸⁴ For the coming election the county was divided three ways by population to give one commissioner to the eastern half of the county, one to the west, and one to Ellsworth.⁸⁵ Since 1872 the question of a herd law had rested on the makeup of the board of commissioners. On October 11, 1873, 33 farmers of the eastern district met to select a candidate for commissioner who was favorable to a herd law. D. B. Long tried to inject a note of compromise into the meeting by proposing that the group ask for a herd law only for the summer months, but only one other besides himself was in a mood to compromise. Henry V. Faris, one of the county's original settlers, was selected as candidate to run against the anti-protection incumbent, J. C. Howard. On the same day the protectionists of the western district selected "Captain" L. Knox as their candidate. Knox had no opponent in that region.

Within the Ellsworth district voters were faced with a more complex situation. Not only did Ellsworth businessmen need an anti-protectionist to shield the cattle trade, but most also desired someone who would continue to oppose the old landed businessmen like Hodgden. The latter person was evidently behind the

82. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1873, November 19, 1874.

83. *Ibid.*, August 14, 28, September 18, 1873.

84. *Ibid.*, June 26, July 10, 1873. For a brief description of Armstrong see *ibid.*, December 11, 1873.

85. See description of districts in *ibid.*, October 2, 1873.

candidature of J. C. Veatch, a hotel proprietor who had been a vocal "regular" Republican the year before. Therefore, Leo Hertzig, although he had not intended to be a candidate, let it be known that "circumstances compel him to run for another term."⁸⁶

The newspaper meanwhile observed that "There are many farmers who have no stock but who hope to have some, that oppose a herd law, and there are some farmers who own good sized herds who favor the law."⁸⁷ The editor himself opposed protection, and almost the entire front page of an October issue was taken up by an anti-protection article composed by Henry Inman, an influential Ellsworth citizen, which was a masterpiece of deductive reasoning from the premise that the act of 1872 was "obnoxious to the very principles of justice and of right."⁸⁸ Then a week before the crucial election the paper carried a letter from "Anti-Herd Law" reminiscent of the views of "Go to Work" the previous winter. The writer, a stockman, wasted no compliments on protectionists. As he saw it,

We have all the wealth and respectability of the county on our side, and what does their side consist of? A few sore heads who couldn't get office on our side and have gone over so as to be first in position and honors, even if it is among vagabonds and paupers, and the majority are composed of poor worthless grubber[s] of the ground, who have a little truck patch, or a few acres of corn and no fence, or a mere pretense for a fence, so as to collect damages from their neighbors. . . . All that is necessary for the cattle men to do, is to hire all their poor neighbors a few days before election, and keep them away from the hungry office seekers, who try to make them believe that the herd law will benefit them, in order to get their votes.⁸⁹

The election itself was quiet. Anti-protectionist J. C. Howard defeated the herd law candidate in the eastern district to retain his position on the board. Captain Knox, the western district's herd law candidate, was unopposed. In Ellsworth, Hertzig retained his seat.⁹⁰ With the board still two-to-one against protection, the 1873 campaign for an Ellsworth county herd law ended.

The year 1872 had seen a great cattle-buying season in Ellsworth. By the late summer of 1873 it was apparent that the current season

86. *Ibid.*, October 16, 23, 30, 1873.

87. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1873. See in the same issue the rather intelligent protection arguments of "H. A."

88. *Ibid.*, October 16, 1873. Inman, a former army officer who prior to retirement had been stationed at Fort Harker, later became a nationally-known writer of popular Western nonfiction. Probably his best-known works were *The Old Santa Fe Trail* (New York, 1897), illustrated by Frederic Remington, and *The Great Salt Lake Trail* (New York, 1898), written in collaboration with William F. Cody.—*A Biographical History of Central Kansas*, v. 1, pp. 506, 507.

89. *Ellsworth Reporter*, October 30, 1873.

90. *Ibid.*, November 6, 13, 1873. Only preliminary election statistics were carried by the paper. Also losing in the elections was Perry Hodgden, candidate for state representative.

was far less successful. "There are a large number of cattle about Ellsworth, but as yet shipments are light," the *Reporter* admitted in September. "Drovers who can afford to, will hold their cattle until the market is better. Many cattle will probably be wintered here unless there should be a change in eastern prices for the better."⁹¹

There were those who, remembering the economic doldrums of the pre-cowtown Ellsworth, already were becoming fearful for the town's future as a cattle market. In mid-September the newspaper gave the prophets of doom a talking-to:

There are some people that need to be assured daily of the good prospect ahead. Some of these people live in Ellsworth, and we must say to them again this week, that "all is well." Ellsworth is all right and will keep right. It is more favorably located for becoming an important town than any other station on the [rail]road for a distance of four hundred miles. All that is necessary is for our citizens to keep on working, and building up the city. It is certain that Ellsworth will retain the Texas cattle trade as long as this county possesses such superior advantages and the drovers are welcome to come and are well treated while here. Ellsworth has been the busiest town in the State this summer, and now that the hurrying season is drawing to a close it does not look well to "get sick" as Alexander is said to have been, once upon a time, because there was not another world to conquer: after our business men have had an immense trade for six months they can afford to be satisfied during the other six months if they make no more than the business men in other towns are making.⁹²

Unfortunately, the day this brave article went to press the 1873 financial crisis struck Wall street. By the following week its repercussions were felt by Ellsworth as panic-stricken drovers threw the cattle they had been holding all summer onto the market. A total of 117 carloads of livestock left town September 25, and the current loading rate at the stockyard was estimated at 800 cars per week. "Long trains" of cattle still were being loaded daily a month later, but by the middle of November most of the excitement was over.⁹³ The season ended dismally. Ellsworth was the main reception point for Texas cattle in 1872; in 1873 she received only about 30 per cent of the cattle driven into Kansas. Only 30,540 of these were shipped east.⁹⁴ About 25,000 therefore were wintered in Ellsworth county, Commissioner Howard alone wintering 1,700 head.⁹⁵ Again settlers prepared for a season of stock depredations.

91. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1873.

92. *Ibid.*, September 18, 1873.

93. *Ibid.*, September 25, October 2, 16, 1873.

94. Streeter, "Ellsworth as a Texas Cattle Market," *loc. cit.*, pp. 395, 397.

95. *Ellsworth Reporter*, December 11, 1873. March 5, 1874.

By mid-November only a handful of Texans remained in town. Citizens no doubt saw them leave with mixed feelings this year. An unusual increase in violence in July and August had culminated in the fatal shooting by a Texan of Chauncey B. Whitney, businessman and county sheriff. A few days later the police retaliated by shooting Cad Pierce, a Texan. In September a troublesome ex-policeman had to be shot, and two months later a Texan avenged Cad Pierce by gunning Ed Crawford, his killer. The publicity resulting from this activity gave Ellsworth state-wide notoriety.⁹⁶ In addition, it diverted business to rival cowtowns. "The recent killings of Sheriff Whitney and Cad Pierce, at Ellsworth," wrote a correspondent from Great Bend, "has caused a large influx of cattle herders, buyers and others from that point, and business is much stimulated thereby."⁹⁷ It was a trying summer all around.

By the middle of February, 1874, the *Ellsworth Reporter* already was claiming optimistically that Ellsworth would obtain the bulk of the cattle trade in the state the coming season.⁹⁸ In the same month a farmer wrote to plead with the editor to cease inviting the Texans to return. He urged rural-urban co-operation in the matter. "Help us to build up the county," he implored, "and we will not let the town go down by any means."⁹⁹

The continuing separation of rural and urban interests was highlighted by the invasion of Ellsworth county by the Granger movement. On March 17, 1874, the county's first Grange was organized, with Captain Knox, the new county commissioner, as its master. The founding of the chapter was possibly inspired by the presence in the county of Edward P. Faris, who had been a charter member of the national organization.¹⁰⁰ With a certain uneasiness the *Reporter* claimed in June that Ellsworth county Grangers were happy, and mentioned pointedly that local farmers failed to get reduced rates for grain shipments only because of the small quantity raised.

No doubt it was not coincidence that six of Ellsworth's businessmen—including Arthur Larkin and Perry Hodgden—buried their

96. *Ibid.*, August 21, September 11, November 13, 1873. The September 4 issue of the *Reporter* was particularly critical of the *Leavenworth Commercial*, which had asserted that martial law was proclaimed in Ellsworth, that the Texans threatened to "burn and sack the town," and that citizens and police threatened to "shoot on sight" all Texans. "People who behave themselves are [as] safe here as in Leavenworth," replied the *Reporter*.

For the results of Floyd Benjamin Streeter's exhaustive research on this period of violence see his "Tragedies of a Cow Town," *The Aereend: A Kansas Quarterly*, Hays, v. 5 (Spring, Summer, 1934), pp. 81-96, 145-162; *Prairie Trails and Cow Towns* (Boston, 1936), pp. 115-142; *The Kaw: The Heart of a Nation*, pp. 138-148.

97. "Alpha" in *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, August 27, 1873.

98. *Ellsworth Reporter*, February 19, 1874.

99. "In Earnest" in *ibid.*, February 12, 1874.

100. *Ibid.*, February 12, 19, March 19, June 11, 1874.

differences and tried to promote a county agricultural society five days before a similar convention met to organize a county-wide Grange.¹⁰¹ But a drought that lasted from early June through July, which was followed by grasshoppers, claimed the Grangers' attention. Accompanying these catastrophes were prairie fires, with a particularly severe fire near Wilson the night of July 25, aggravated by an intense windstorm, which devastated the area.¹⁰² Faced with natural crises, local Grangers were preoccupied with planning co-operative firebreaks rather than co-operative merchandising, and proposing railroad legislation only to the extent of requiring locomotives to be equipped with spark-traps. A Grange leader like E. P. Faris might complain individually about "the politicians of the county who have personal ambition or purposes to serve," but no Grange-inspired radicalism seemed to threaten the status quo. By fall the county contained seven regional Granges and a county Grange, but the movement appeared solidly in control of prosperous stockmen like D. B. Long, John S. Barnum, and Levi Sternberg.¹⁰³

Yet the herd law question was bound to arise again, especially as 1874 saw a new influx of homesteaders. The eastern half of the county, noted the paper early in the year, was "settling up quite fast. . . ." ¹⁰⁴ In a letter of the same month D. B. Long pointed to the county's southern tier of townships, into which wheat farmers from adjacent Rice county were overflowing. Although a stockman himself, Long noted that the county badly needed a flour mill to accommodate these immigrants. He observed matter-of-factly that Ellsworth had only one or two seasons left as a cowtown, and that urban businessmen might as well admit it. "It is high time our attention was turned to something," he concluded, "that will be of permanent and lasting benefit to the county." ¹⁰⁵

In 1870 the population of Ellsworth county was 1,185. In 1873 the population stood at 2,868. In 1874 it was still only 3,273.¹⁰⁶ The county did not experience an immigration boom till after 1875. By that year the majority of its lands still lay vacant (*see* map p. 187). Ellsworth county homesteaders only slowly gained enough numbers to translate their desires into effective political action.

101. *Ibid.*, June 11, 18, July 30, 1874.

102. Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Francis J. Swehla, "Bohemians in Central Kansas," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Topeka, v. 13 (1913-1914), pp. 476-478; Ellsworth Reporter, July 30, August 6, 1874.

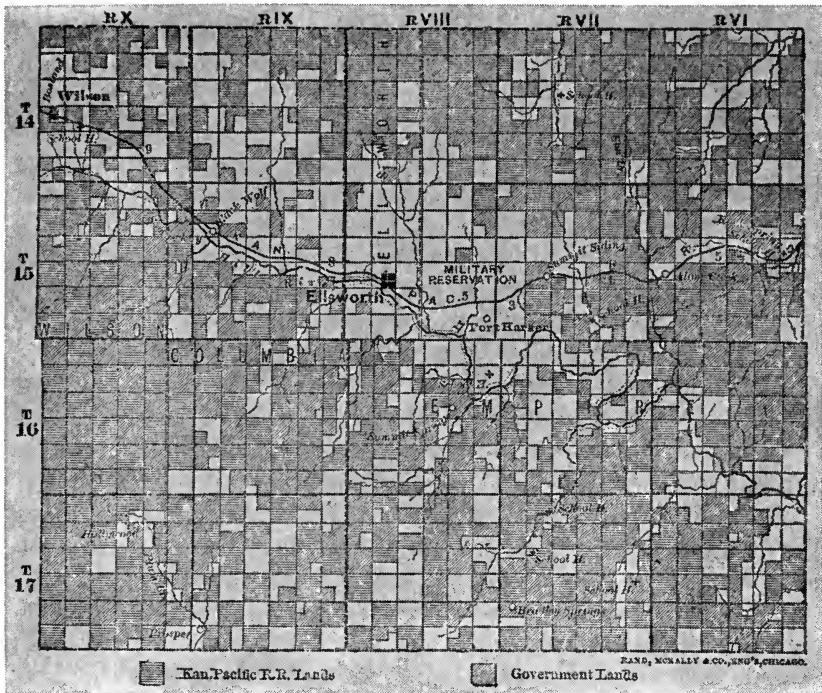
103. *Ibid.*, October 29, December 10, 1874, January 7, 1875. For Grange leadership *see* the Grange directory in *ibid.*, November 19, 1874 *ff.*, and article on the Grange anniversary celebration in *ibid.*, December 10, 1874.

104. *Ibid.*, February 5, 1874.

105. *Ibid.*, February 19, 1874.

106. Kansas State Board of Agriculture, [Second Annual] Report, 1873, p. 67; Third Annual Report, 1874, p. 142.

ELLSWORTH COUNTY, 1875



The shaded areas represent remaining lands unsettled. From the *Fourth Annual Report* (1875) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

The state legislature in the meantime forced upon Ellsworth county yet another variable in the cattle-trade question. On March 7 an act was approved which seemed tailor-made for local protectionists. In counties like Ellsworth, where the commissioners refused to exercise their power to impose herd laws, two-thirds of the legal voters now could require them to do so by petition.¹⁰⁷

Encouraged, but uncertain whether they could obtain enough signatures for a county herd law, a group of homesteaders began drumming up support for a "night herd law" in Empire township. Such a law, which required all stock in a given township to be herded or penned during the hours of darkness, needed only a petition from three-fifths of the electors of that township.¹⁰⁸ Probably the reason why such measures had not been attempted previously in Ellsworth county was that many officials considered the 1863

107. *Laws of the State of Kansas*, 1874, pp. 203, 204.

108. *General Statutes of the State of Kansas*, 1868, pp. 1001, 1002.

act on which such action was based to be voided through the passage of the 1872 herd law act.¹⁰⁹ Empire farmers, however, were desperate. The group presented its petition, only to have it declared five or six names short of the requisite number.¹¹⁰

Undaunted, Empire farmers met again on April 25 to consider a county herd law under the new provisions. Near Wilson, at the opposite end of the county, homesteaders also spoke emphatically of a herd law. From that area came an effort to organize a county-wide protection movement.¹¹¹

Ellsworth businessmen ignored all rural agitation and went ahead with plans to make Ellsworth the leading cattle market of the 1874 season, raising money to employ an agent to descend the trail and divert herds from Wichita and other cowtown competitors. By the end of May 42,572 longhorns were in the county, with another 17,800 getting close. John Mueller already had sold 100 pairs of cowboy boots and Ira Phelps put on four employees in his grocery store.¹¹²

West of Ellsworth a group of settlers led by wealthy W. M. King met and resolved to prosecute any drover bringing his herd across the Smoky Hill river in their vicinity.¹¹³ But the really bad news came in June when the *Reporter's* editor talked at length with various Texans. These informed him that Ellsworth might expect only about 60,000 head that season, or just two-fifths the total driven. Thereafter the trade would peter out anyway as railroads pushed into Texas itself and the state was finally drained of surplus cattle.¹¹⁴ On top of this, cattle were selling at depression prices. Drover Sol West, for example, remained in Ellsworth all summer in an effort to make profitable sales, but returned to Texas in the fall with a net gain of just \$1.50.¹¹⁵ Only 18,500 head were shipped east from Ellsworth, 12,000 less than the year before.¹¹⁶ The cattle season of 1874 was a depressing failure.

109. Apparently the act of 1868 in part providing for night herd laws was in practice repealed—although still on the books as late as 1879. *Compiled Laws of Kansas*, 1879, p. 921, Footnote 1, states: "On examination of this chapter ['Stock'], it will be found that many of the provisions of the general statutes have been superseded by subsequent legislation, for which see §§ 82 *et seq.* [herd law act of 1872], this chapter. The law of 1868 is nowhere repealed specifically, and parts of it only by implication; hence, we print the whole, calling attention to this fact." Appearing opposite the first section of Article 1 (night herd law act of 1868), p. 921, is the following marginal gloss: "See §§ 82 *et seq.* this chapter; also see §§ 91 *et seq.* [herd law act of 1874] this chapter; wherever there is any conflict or where they cover the same ground, these sections supersede the provisions of this and following sections of the general statutes."

110. *Ellsworth Reporter*, March 19, 26, April 16, 1874.

111. *Ibid.*, March 12, April 16, 1874; A. O. Gibbs in *ibid.*, March 26, 1874.

112. *Ibid.*, April 23, May 28, 1874.

113. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1874.

114. *Ibid.*, June 11, 1874.

115. J. Marvin Hunter, ed., *The Trail Drivers of Texas* (2d ed. rev.; Nashville, 1925), pp. 128, 129.

116. Streeter, "Ellsworth as a Texas Cattle Market," *loc. cit.*, p. 398.

Fall saw the anti-cattle movement regain momentum. Late in the summer Captain Knox, the protectionist county commissioner from the western district, resigned from office. His successor was to be picked in the November elections. The Rev. John Jellison of Wilson, a protectionist, was put forth by the homesteaders of that area. Jellison faced no opposition. "We all know what we want," wrote a spokesman, "and let us be in earnest to get it. We want a herd law twelve months in the year; we want the dead line moved from where it now is far enough west so that we shall not be troubled with Texas cattle crossing our country."¹¹⁷

Elsewhere farmers' sentiments were becoming more and more protectionist, if not exclusionist, as continuing poor prices for long-horns negated the profits in wintering. G. A. Atwood, formerly editor of the *Ellsworth Reporter*, was now candidate for state representative, and had to explain away his previous anti-protection stand. To accomplish this he declared himself for a herd law, but a better one than provided in the act of 1874. "Let the impracticable law of last winter be remodeled," he wrote, "so that the two great interests, farming and stock-raising, may both prosper, and our county will increase in wealth and population." Having neatly straddled the issue, Atwood was elected.¹¹⁸

The new editor of the *Reporter*, Henry Inman, also tried to be accommodating. In October, 1873, Inman had composed anti-protection propaganda for the *Reporter*. Now, in December of 1874, he noted that the herd law movement "is assuming a shape in this county that promises protection to our much abused farmers, at last."¹¹⁹ Even the Ellsworth business community, doubtless frightened by the growing exclusion sentiment in the county, were giving way on the herd law. As Inman exclaimed:

At last a majority of the people of Ellsworth county, including our leading merchants, have opened their eyes to the fact, that the basis of our wealth, and prosperity, lies in the proper advancement of our agricultural interests. . . . In a word, a new era is to dawn upon Ellsworth county, we are to become revolutionized in a measure, and the grandest feature in the changes that are to take place, is that, town and country—farmer and merchant, are firmly supporting each other in this matter. . . . The *Bete Noir* that has been the means of estranging the two classes in advancing the real interests of the county is the "Herd Law" question. . . . With a judicious herd law there need be no conflict of interests. . . . Let us have a herd law by all means!¹²⁰

On January 28, 1875, the protectionists publicly warned the

117. W. T. Levitt and A. A. Jellison in *Ellsworth Reporter*, October 29, 1874.

118. *Ibid.*, October 29, November 9, 1874.

119. *Ibid.*, December 3, 1874.

120. *Ibid.*, December 10, 1874.

board of county commissioners they were petitioning for a herd law. The board received the petitions on March 10, but postponed consideration. On March 23 the board finally imposed a herd law to go into effect May 1.¹²¹ The protectionists had triumphed.

Conflict in Ellsworth county was far from over, however. Despite the crippling herd law Ellsworth's businessmen intended to promote the town as a Texas cattle market for yet another season. The *Reporter* protested that homesteaders should not bite the urban hands that signed their herd law petitions, but farmers in the Wilson area prepared to continue agitating for total exclusion of the trade. On February 15 the settlers of Wilson township met with counterparts from Russell county to resolve that their representatives in the legislature be "formally instructed" to press for removal of the quarantine line farther west. A week later they met again to form the "Farmer's Protective Union," "to enforce the laws, and protect ourselves against the encroachments of herds of stock of every kind."¹²²

In the meantime Ellsworth prepared for the cattle drive. Perry Hodgden and T. J. Buckbee took over management of the stockyard, and the *Reporter* published the entire 1874 herd law act so that incoming drovers would be careful to comply with its every provision. By the middle of May herds were arriving in the county and J. C. Brown, especially hired as a guide, was attempting to steer them clear of the Wilson vicinity. Late in May the *Reporter* revealed that T. J. Buckbee owned the only land on the Arkansas river over which the herds could pass on their way to Ellsworth county, all other property owners along the stream refusing to let them cross.¹²³

This observation was virtually a notice that the Ellsworth cattle trade was dying hard, but dying all the same. Thereafter the *Reporter's* optimism dwindled to a pathetic silence on the matter. Finally, in August, a rather obscurely placed editorial formally announced the end of Ellsworth as a cowtown:

FALL TRADE.

We predict an excellent trade in Ellsworth this fall, and the logic of the thing is, that all the money to be spent will remain among ourselves. We are happy in the fact that the days of the Texas trade is [*sic*] numbered among the things that were. Of all the hundreds of thousands of dollars that changed hands during the years of that erratic traffic, we fail to see where it has benefited one man in the county whose determination it was to make his home

121. *Ibid.*, January 28, February 11, 18, 25, March 25, 1875.

122. *Ibid.*, January 28, February 25, March 11, 1875.

123. *Ibid.*, April 8, 15, 22, May 20, 27, 1875.

among us. We have a herd law, and we have proved the richness of our soil, and our wonderful pastoral possibilities beyond a peradventure, and all that remains for us to do is to encourage a healthful immigration, devote our energies to wool growing, graded stock, and small grain, and we shall soon find ourselves second to no county in the state in wealth and importance.¹²⁴

The four years' conflict in Ellsworth county had been essentially a clash between an alliance of urban businessmen and a portion of the rural settlers against the rest of the rural settlers. A serious division thus was apparent in the latter group, between those who primarily farmed and those who undertook stock raising. Many of the stock raisers were not much removed from homesteaders, but most seem to have been comparatively wealthy. Homesteaders wanted a county herd law to protect their unfenced crops from loose Texan and domestic cattle; the stockmen, large or small, opposed a herd law because it would seriously cripple their mode of operation. In the countryside, therefore, the herd law was the issue rather than the Texas cattle trade as such. The split in the rural settler group was finally reflected in a kind of class consciousness that identified "poor" farmers and "rich" stockmen, as best expressed in the letter of J. W. Ingersoll.

An outstanding feature of Ellsworth county conflict was the emergence of a mutual distrust and contempt between rural and urban residents. This seemed to burst out at the least provocation. Obviously aggravating this rural-urban split was the excessive "urban-ness" of Ellsworth, with its economy oriented toward a highly cosmopolitan cattle industry rather than local agriculture. To a ruralist, all the distasteful accouterments of urban society were present in Ellsworth—drunkenness, gambling, prostitution, excessive crime, and idleness. The failure of the rural-urban political coalition in the 1872 elections exposed the depths of this cleavage. The *Reporter* in late 1874 saw the healing of this as the most valuable benefit of resolving the herd law question.

Other sources of conflict in Ellsworth county apparently had little or nothing to do with the existence of the Texas cattle trade. Two cliques of businessmen fought over the location of the courthouse, and even though one clique captured a good deal of rural support in this conflict it apparently was isolated from the cattle issue. A certain amount of anti-cattle agitation also had other origins perhaps. The opposition to Texas cattle in Wilson may really have been a challenge by that community of Ellsworth's dominance within the county. The brother and spokesman of John Jellison, exclusionist county commissioner from Wilson, for example,

124. *Ibid.*, August 5, 1875.

was Acy A. Jellison, soon to be the leading businessman, largest landowner, and dominant civic leader of Wilson.¹²⁵ In addition, many of the homesteaders of the Wilson area possibly turned to the exclusion movement in frustration after being hit peculiarly hard with drought, grasshoppers, and prairie fires.¹²⁶

Did leaders play significant parts in the movement to restrict the cattle trade? Although Arthur Larkin and other Ellsworth merchants might be termed leaders, no urban businessman apparently ever became a vocal anti-cattle agitator. D. B. Long, a big stockman who herded and fed his cattle each winter, might have proved an effective leader for the movement in Ellsworth county. But he remained only a critic of the status quo, never an agitator. His own economic interests were never threatened by either the existence of the cattle trade or the proposed herd laws, and his criticisms were based mainly on principles rather than on felt needs. W. M. King provided some leadership, but this wealthy newcomer probably was too indiscriminately contentious to be an effective organizer of the opposition. The Jellison brothers undoubtedly provided leadership in the Wilson area by 1874, but a county-wide leader never appeared.

In the final analysis, the anti-cattle homesteaders won without significant leadership for two reasons. First, the Kansas legislature finally provided an easy means for obtaining a herd law against the wishes of entrenched interests. Second, urban businessmen realized by late 1874 that the cattle trade was inevitably to leave Ellsworth. They grasped the necessity of winning back the rural settlers on whom their businesses would depend in the not-too-distant future. They also hoped to eke out at least one more cattle season by stifling the exclusion movement. They saw the herd law as a compromise measure giving the majority of rural elements satisfaction and yet keeping the cattle trade in the county.

But Ellsworth's cattle trade died in the summer of 1875. It was already being attracted to more convenient points by that year, and was no doubt as discouraged by the settling up of the country south of Ellsworth county as by the latter's new herd law. In any event, if the birth of Ellsworth's cattle trade is a study in corporate community effort, its death was at least partially the result of vicious community conflict. In such terms can be described in short the rise and fall of Ellsworth as a cowtown.

125. Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Ellsworth Times, June 14, 1879; Ellsworth Reporter, March 18, 1880; Wilson World, July 15, 1948.

126. The majority of the state aid received by Ellsworth county for the relief of its destitute following the agricultural disasters of 1874 went to settlers in the vicinity of Wilson.—Ellsworth Reporter, January 7, 1875.



Cyrus Kurtz Holliday
(1826-1900)



Mary Jones Holliday
(1834-1908)

The Cyrus Hollidays about the time of their marriage in Meadville, Pa., June 11, 1854. Daguerreotypes courtesy of Katherine Kellam Burpee and Louise Kellam Smithies.

Quotations from letters which newly arrived Cyrus K. Holliday, one of the founders of Topeka and of the Santa Fe railroad, wrote his young wife Mary, whom he temporarily left back East while he sought new opportunities in the West—

From Lawrence, November 18, 1854:

I am perfectly delighted with the Country. You may tell those who inquire that my idea of the country is simply this—that God might have made a better country than Kansas but so far as my knowledge extends he certainly never did. I am bound to make it my home if I can at all succeed in making suitable business arrangements. . . .

From Topeka ("‘Up the River,’ K. T.," he wrote, for the five-day-old city had not yet been named), December 10, 1854:

A more lovely country I certainly never saw—and yet it looks worse now than at any other season. I am told by those who know that in the spring and early summer when the grass and shrubbery and flowers appear it is beautiful beyond conception. So I think it must be. And in a few years when civilization by its magic influence shall have transformed this glorious country from what it now is to the brilliant destiny awaiting it, the sun in all his course will visit no land more truly lovely and desirable than this. Here, Mary, with God's kind permission, we will make our home. . . .

The Early Career of C. K. Holliday

A FOUNDER OF TOPEKA AND OF THE SANTA FE RAILROAD

FREDERICK F. SEELY

CYRUS KURTZ HOLLIDAY'S roots lay deep in Pennsylvania. The Holliday family, early pioneers of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian stock, about 1760 had settled the area of Blair county now called Hollidaysburg and had had a rugged time doing it, for several members of the family had been killed in Indian raids.¹ It was here that Holliday's father, David, was born. In 1809 David Holliday went east to Franklin county and married a Mary Kennedy; soon thereafter he took a post as accountant in the great Carlisle Iron Works, located at Boiling Springs five miles south of town.²

Here, near Carlisle, Cyrus Kurtz Holliday was born April 3, 1826, the youngest of seven children. After the death of David Holliday about 1830, his widow followed a married daughter to Massillon, Ohio, about 1837, taking her three youngest children with her, and she remained in Ohio until she joined C. K. Holliday and his brother George in Topeka, where she died in 1859.

Young Holliday's early years in Ohio remain obscure; it is likely that he was living in the vicinity of Wooster, where his brother David Hayes Holliday had settled,³ and he gave Wooster, Ohio, as his home address when he registered at Allegheny College in the fall of 1848.

Holliday's choice of Allegheny College, 140 miles northeast of Wooster, may have been determined by several factors. The College of Wooster was not then in existence, and in the late 1840's Allegheny was enjoying a fresh burst of vitality and expansion. In 1847 Pres. Homer J. Clark had retired in ill health, and a former professor had been called back as president, John W. Barker. Barker's qualities as a great teacher and his inspiring energy seemed to fire the college into new life. Furthermore, the Methodist church had strengthened its support of the institution and Allegheny was being recommended by preachers, circuit riders, and teachers through the states lying to the south and west. The new "perpetual scholarships" had yielded \$60,000 in cash and were already bring-

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1. *A History of Blair County, Pennsylvania*, eds., Tarring S. Davis and Lucile Shenk (2 vols., Harrisburg, 1931), v. 1, p. 32.

2. C. K. Holliday, "Family Memoranda," ms., 1897.

3. "Wayne County Deed Record," v. 62, p. 143.

ing scores of new students to the campus. The college was ready to advance into one of the greatest decades in its history, the 1850's.⁴

A total of 226 new students entered Allegheny that year of 1848, though the majority of these were enrolled in the preparatory department. The total enrollment in the four college classes was slightly over 100, and a faculty of five was responsible for their instruction.

In those years Allegheny's entrance requirements included a reading knowledge of Latin and basic groundwork in Greek. If a boy lacked these important tools to a classical education, he might obtain them by attending what was then called the preparatory department before he was formally admitted to college. Holliday entered college directly, so obviously he had already begun his classical education before coming to Meadville. Although records are not to be found, there were several small academies or preparatory schools in the Wooster area in the decade of the 1840's; one or two were in the town of Wooster itself, and two or three others were located in nearby settlements. Undoubtedly at one of these Holliday prepared for college, possibly teaching at intervals in the common schools in order to save enough money for college, for he was 22 years old when he registered as a freshman at Allegheny.

When he made the journey from Wooster to Meadville in the fall of 1848, young Holliday was evidently accompanied by a young man named William B. Allison, later a distinguished senator from Iowa, coauthor of the Bland-Allison act, and in 1896 a candidate for the Republican nomination for president, which ultimately fell to his fellow-Alleghenian, William McKinley. Allison gave his home address as Ashland county (formerly a part of Wayne county), Ohio, and during their freshman year the two young men roomed and boarded themselves together.⁵

The college at that time, located in a community of 2,500, was situated on a sparsely wooded hill a little distance from the town, with fields enclosing it, and a rail fence surrounding the college property itself. In 1850 a new plank walk was extended up the hill to the college. Bentley Hall, erected in 1822, was the only college building, but by the late 1840's it was proving inadequate for the rapidly growing student body, and in 1851, Holliday's junior year, President Barker undertook the erection of Ruter Hall, which was used for a chapel, library, and recitation hall.

4. Ernest Ashton Smith, *Allegheny—A Century of Education, 1815-1915* (Meadville, Pa., 1916), pp. 131, 139, 140.

5. Leland L. Sage, *William Boyd Allison* (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, 1956), p. 6.

The geographical distribution of students at this time is worthy of note. Of the 22 men in Holliday's class, 1852, 11 came from Pennsylvania, five from Ohio, four from New York state, one from Vermont, and one from Mississippi. Many of these classmates, as well as others of his college contemporaries, were later to make distinguished names for themselves, and their achievements are testimony of the kind of education which the college then furnished, as well as a measure of the intellectual climate which helped to mature and develop men like Holliday. A few were: Judge N. E. Worthington '54, of the U. S. Labor Commission; Ben F. Martin '54, congressman from West Virginia; Albert Long '52, missionary to Bulgaria and vice-president of Robert College; Judge Christopher Heydrick '52, of the superior court of Pennsylvania; Thomas Wilson '52, chief justice of Minnesota; Ephraim Miller '55, dean of the University of Kansas; James Marvin '51, chancellor of the University of Kansas; and James A. Gary '55, postmaster general under McKinley.

Holliday's undergraduate life seems to have been divided between his academic work and his activities with the Allegheny Literary Society, one of the two active organizations which flourished on the campus before they were displaced by Greek letter fraternities. The minute books of the society reveal that Holliday joined the Allegheny Literary Society in April, 1849, and remained an active member until his graduation.⁶ His Ohio friend and roommate, Allison, was admitted to membership at the same time, although he left college the following summer. In the fall of his senior year Holliday was elected speaker (the equivalent of president) of the group, and toward the end of that year he was active in its financial affairs, for he served as chairman of at least three committees, one of which was formed in 1852 to consider the practicability of establishing a literary paper in Meadville, a project which apparently did not materialize.

But if he handled the society's funds, he also contributed to them in the form of fines, which were promptly imposed upon members for any impropriety of conduct. On various occasions he was fined 6¼ cents for leaning his head against the wall, one shilling for leaving the hall without permission, one shilling for wearing boots in the hall instead of the required slippers, and 6¼ cents for improper posture during the meeting. He seems not to have been guilty of one of the most common offenses: spitting on the carpet.

At this time Allegheny was operating on a three-term plan with a six-weeks' vacation during the summer.⁷ The curriculum, char-

6. College archives, Reis library, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.

7. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

acteristic of almost all colleges in this era, was based solidly upon the classics, and Latin and Greek were studied during all four years. Mathematics and logic accompanied the classics, and during one's senior year the fare was varied somewhat by the inclusion of some astronomy, mineralogy, political economy, and international law. This was the course of study, with little flexibility permitted, which Holliday pursued.

All five men who presided over the curriculum were Methodist clergymen, but many religious denominations were represented in the student body. Although the college took pride in being non-sectarian, it was quick to defend orthodoxy when under attack by the Unitarian forces of the Meadville Theological School, recently founded on the town's opposite hill. Probably to bait the faculty, in the spring of 1851 the Allegheny Literary Society extended an invitation to the president of the Unitarian school to give the annual commencement address at the college. It was C. K. Holliday who introduced the resolution. The Allegheny faculty and trustees swung into action at once, not only blocking the plan, but temporarily closing down the impudent society. Holliday and a fellow member offered to resign from the society, but their resignations were rejected.⁸

Although there may have been split feelings on the matter of religion, the Meadville area was vigorous in its antislavery sentiment. Sparked by the New England Abolitionist connections of the Unitarian Theological School and supported by the strong Whig and Free-Soil sentiment in the northwestern corner of the state, as well as the religious attitude of the college, Meadville had long been ranked as an implacable foe of slavery. Undoubtedly the years which Holliday spent in this atmosphere confirmed him in the strong Free-State position which he was later to take in Kansas.

Holliday's graduation exercises, of a class numbering 22 men, were held on June 30, 1852, in the Methodist Episcopal church in Meadville. The ceremonies began soon after nine in the morning and, with a brief intermission for lunch, concluded shortly before five that afternoon.⁹ Holliday's standing in his class is not revealed, but in one of the obituaries published in a Topeka paper at his death, usually a time for superlatives, we find the statement, "he was graduated with highest honors." The minute books of the Allegheny Literary Society reveal that he was elected valedictorian of that group.¹⁰

8. Allegheny Literary Society minute book, June 12, 1851.

9. *Crawford Democrat*, Meadville, Pa., July 13, 1852.

10. February 28, 1852.

At the age of 26 then, Holliday had won his A. B. degree, and possessed a sound foundation not only in the classics, but in parliamentary procedure and debate, gained from the exacting formal exercises of the literary society.

Sometime in the months following his graduation from college Holliday became associated with the George W. Howard Company, a firm of contractors engaged in grading railroad rights of way. George Howard was then a resident of Meadville and was allied in this business with his brothers Sebra and William. Charles Howard, a Detroit broker, was also involved in their activities. The exact nature of Holliday's association with these men is not clear, but it is evident that he was a copartner in their enterprises, for he is so described in the testimony of a hearing in which the Howard company brought action against Crawford county in the controversy concerning payment for work done for the Pittsburgh and Erie Branch railroad.¹¹ It was this alliance with the Howard brothers which introduced Holliday into railroad building and initiated him into the difficulties with which he was later to be faced when organizing the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad in Kansas.

It appears that his acquaintance with George W. Howard began soon after his graduation from college. This is established by a photostated scrap of paper in a collection of Holliday letters and papers preserved by the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka. It is a signed agreement, framed in impressively legal language, between George W. Howard and C. K. Holliday, dated November 25, 1852. By its terms Holliday agreed to tutor the two eldest Howard children and to hear a certain number of recitations each day, in return for which he would be boarded at the Howard home for the reduced rate of 87½ cents per week. It was stipulated, however, that this amount did not include lights or fuel.

The undertaking upon which the Howard firm now embarked, though promising at first, proved ill-fated.

The Pittsburgh & Erie Railroad Company had been chartered in 1845 to run a line from the port of Erie to Pittsburgh, but the company had been unable to obtain adequate stock subscriptions and little work had been done. In the summer of 1852, while Holliday was graduating from college, the company made an overture to the people of Meadville to build a connecting line between New York state and Ohio under the branch powers of its charter, but little action was taken until the following summer. In August, 1853, the

11. Plaintiff's testimony in *G. W. Howard v. Crawford county* before D. M. Farrelly, commissioner (August, 1857, n. d., n. p.), p. 62.

commissioners of Crawford county and the grand jury recommended, subject to an expression of public opinion, a subscription of \$200,000, to be issued in bonds, toward the construction of the road.¹² The proposal was overwhelmingly approved, and the Howard company's estimate for the construction work was accepted.¹³ Ground was officially broken August 20, 1853, for a line which would run southwest of Meadville toward the Ohio border.

It is certain that Holliday was working with the Howards before this date, as the testimony of one of Howard's laborers, a Philip Mulligan, in the action against Crawford county referred to above, states that in July, 1853, Holliday was with Howard in Ohio, where the firm had contracted for another railroad construction job.¹⁴

Opposition to the project arose, however; money was scarce, and work faltered, although the Howard brothers and Holliday continued the task of grading, and constructing the embankments. In the summer of 1854 a dispute arose concerning the amount of payment due for the work. The Howards had received \$12,000 of county bonds, \$1,500 in cash, and \$2,150 in stock, but claimed that much more was due.¹⁵ The funds of the Pittsburgh and Erie branch company had been exhausted, so the Howards ceased work on September 24, 1854, and the contract was formally declared abandoned on November 1.¹⁶

As compensation for his work with the Howards, Holliday seems to have been paid in part by stock in the railroad and perhaps in Crawford county bonds. James Marshall in his history of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad states that at the termination of the contract he possessed the sum of \$20,000, which he used to finance his ventures in Kansas.¹⁷ Writing from Topeka in September, 1855, to his wife in Meadville, he instructed her to sell "one of those Bonds."¹⁸ If he was here referring to the Crawford county bonds, he was either fortunate or shrewd in disposing of them before they were annulled by the Pennsylvania supreme court in 1858.

Later in Topeka, Holliday was admitted to the Kansas bar on

12. William Reynolds, *History of the Atlantic & Great Western Railway* (unpublished ms., Reis library, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.), pp. 3-5.

13. *Crawford Democrat*, August 9, 1853.

14. Plaintiff's testimony, p. 71.

15. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

16. There ensued a long and tangled series of suits and countersuits involving the Howard company, the Pittsburgh and Erie Railroad Company, and Crawford county. The county's bonds were eventually declared invalid. The controversy was not settled until May, 1891, when the Howards obtained a judgment of \$15,000 after 36 years in the Pennsylvania courts.—*Ibid.*

17. James Marshall, *Santa Fe, the Railroad That Built an Empire* (N. Y., 1945), p. 24.

18. Lela Barnes, ed., "Letters of Cyrus Kurtz Holliday, 1854-1859," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 6, p. 267.

January 18, 1862,¹⁹ and he was engaged in law practice with Thomas G. Thornton. It is possible that he read law while still in Meadville, but no positive evidence of this appears, and the Prothonotary's records do not show that he was ever a member of the Crawford county bar.

During Holliday's senior year in college, on January 7, 1852, he was initiated into Crawford Lodge No. 234 of the Masonic Order,²⁰ and soon after his establishment in Kansas he was instrumental in instituting Topeka Lodge No. 17.²¹

Holliday's marriage occurred on June 11, 1854, immediately following the Sunday evening service in the Methodist Episcopal church, with the Rev. Dr. John Barker, president of the college, officiating.²² The bride was Mary Jones, age 20, fourth child of James and Susan Jones, long-time residents of Meadville. If the faint handwriting in the U. S. census records of 1850 may be read correctly, her father was a dairyman.²³

It was soon after his marriage that affairs between the Howard company and the Pittsburgh & Erie Branch railroad reached a critical point. The unlikelihood that the road would be completed and the difficulty of obtaining payment from the railroad company undoubtedly moved Holliday to consider other opportunities, and Kansas, in that summer of 1854, promised to be an exciting and profitable adventure.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill was finally passed by congress in May, 1854, and President Pierce signed it on May 30. Throughout the nation debate ran high as to whether Kansas would be eventually listed in the column of the free or the slave states. A month after Holliday's marriage, the *Crawford Democrat*²⁴ printed the full text of the bill and editorially urged that every reader familiarize himself with the provisions of this vital act. Excitement in Meadville was intense. Throughout the summer each issue of both local newspapers carried news about Kansas, and in August a mass convention was called in Meadville to oppose the extension of slavery and to resist the encroachments made on free territory.²⁵ In the village of

19. *Kansas Reports*, v. 140, p. lxi.

20. For this information I am indebted to John H. Pendleton, secretary of Crawford Lodge No. 234.

21. *Topeka Daily Capital*, March 31, 1900.

22. *Crawford Democrat*, June 13, 1854.

23. The certainty of identification of her father could be questioned when examining William Reynolds' manuscript, "Reminiscences of Early Citizens," written in 1900, p. 26, where Reynolds states that a Peter Jones, who died in November, 1857, had a daughter who married C. K. Holliday. When Reynolds wrote this, however, he was at an advanced age and it is likely that he confused Peter Jones with James Jones. The census records reveal that Peter Jones' family could not have been that of which Mary was a member.

24. July 18, 1854.

25. *Crawford Journal*, Meadville, Pa., August 22, 1854.

Conneautville, 20 miles northwest, a company of emigrants known as the Western Pennsylvania Kansas Company was organizing and departed by canal and riverboat for Kansas in October.²⁶ Holliday determined to investigate the opportunities in the new land.

The journey from Meadville out to Kansas territory in 1854 was still a long and trying adventure. Holliday's letters to his wife²⁷ and one long letter directed to and published January 30, 1855, in the *Crawford Democrat* furnish rather complete information concerning his journey out to Kansas and his early efforts to establish himself in the new territory.

Mary accompanied him to Erie on October 30, 1854; there the farewell took place, probably a very anxious one, for she was pregnant with their first child, Lillie, who was to be born the following March. Holliday traveled by train to Cleveland, then to Chicago, to St. Louis, and finally by riverboat to Kansas City, a crude frontier town of 500, where he arrived on November 7 after nine days of travel, though he broke the journey at Cleveland and again at Chicago. It was 1,219 miles as Holliday reckoned it; the total cost of his transportation he reported as \$31.25. He was accompanied by his brother-in-law, A. P. Ingraham, husband of Matilda Jones, but Ingraham remained only two weeks in the new country and returned to Meadville to conduct a stationery and "Yankee notions" store.

In Kansas City, Holliday rested a few days and was perhaps impeded by the weather, for he wrote that rain, snow, and cold made his stay there very disagreeable. Next he moved west about 40 miles by stagecoach to the frontier village of Lawrence. From here, on Christmas day, he composed a long letter to his Meadville friend, James E. McFarland, editor of the *Crawford Democrat*, and which was duly published at the end of January. Two weeks later he wrote a second letter which almost glows with his enthusiasm for Kansas.²⁸ The mild climate, the richness of the soil, the abundance of water, and the great variety of crops which could easily be raised in the new land were the aspects which most inspired him.

"The Creator," he declared, "*might* have made a better country than the Kansas; but so far as my knowledge extends, he certainly *never did*."

Here was to be his future home!

26. *Crawford Democrat*, November 7, 1854.

27. Barnes, ed., *loc. cit.*, pp. 241-244.

28. *Crawford Democrat*, February 20, 1855.

Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals

Compiled by LOUISE BARRY

PART TWO, 1763-1803

1763

By the treaty of Paris, February 10, France ceded to Great Britain her territory east of the Mississippi (except the Isle d'Orleans); and confirmed the 1762 cession of Louisiana west of the Mississippi (and the Isle d'Orleans) to Spain.

1764

St. Louis was founded in February. Auguste Chouteau (then 14) headed the work party which began the settlement (on a site chosen in 1763 by Pierre LaCledé Liguist, on behalf of Maxent, LaCledé and Company of New Orleans, operating under a French grant of 1762).

1766

Antonio de Ulloa arrived in New Orleans on March 5 as the first Spanish governor of Louisiana.

1769

Louis Saint-Ange de Bellerive, commandant at St. Louis, reporting (May 2) to the Spanish on the Indian tribes who came to receive presents in the District of Illinois, named the Missouris, Little Osages, Big Osages, Kansa, Otoes, and Panimahas from the district of the Missouri river.

Ref: Louis Houck's *The Spanish Regime in Missouri* (Chicago, 1909), v. 1, pp. 44, 45; A. P. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark* (St. Louis, 1952), v. 1, p. 70.

Capt. Francisco Riu's report (October 29) revealed what knowledge the Spanish, from their St. Louis headquarters, had been able to gather about their recently acquired Missouri country. He wrote:

. . . From the mouth of the Misuri to that of the River of the Big Osages, there is a distance of 80 leagues. The latter river goes to the tribe called by the same name, which is some 70 leagues from the mouth.

From the mouth of the above-named river to the tribe of the Panimahas, is a distance, as is asserted by the voyageurs, of 170 leagues. That is the most distant tribe to which the traders penetrate. From the above-mentioned tribe to that of the Ayetan [Comanche], one goes overland, and it is estimated

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to be a voyage of 6 or 8 days. From the tribe of the Ayetan to Nuevo Mejico, the same ones calculate 6 or 8 days.

Captain Riu particularly noted the large contribution of the Kansa Indians to the fur trade. Their country, he stated, "abounds in castors [beaver]."

Ref: Houck's *Spanish Regime* . . . , v. 1, pp. 62-64; Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 70.

1770

Pedro Piernas, arriving at St. Louis on May 20, took formal charge as the first Spanish (lieutenant) governor of upper Louisiana. (From 1770 to 1804 the Spanish controlled the Missouri river trade.)

Ref: Louis Houck's *A History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), v. 1, p. 298.

The Comanches (successors on the Plains to the power and prestige formerly held by the Padoucas), were described by Athanase de Mezieres (lieutenant governor at Natchitoches) in a report dated October 29:

The Comanché are scattered from the great Missuris River to the neighborhood of the frontier presidios of New Spain. They are a people so numerous and so haughty that when asked their number, they make no difficulty of comparing it to that of the stars. They are so skillful in horsemanship that they have no equal; so daring that they never ask for or grant truces; and in the possession of such a territory that, finding in it an abundance of pasturage for their horses and an incredible number of cattle [buffalo] which furnish them raiment, food, and shelter, they only just fall short of possessing all of the conveniences of the earth, and have no need to covet the trade pursued by the rest of the Indians whom they call, on this account, slaves of the Europeans, and whom they despise.

[They] . . . are obliged to follow [the buffalo herds] . . . into the more temperate country of the south [when winter arrives], whence the extreme heat of the summer again drives them along with the herds towards the cold regions. From these perpetual comings and goings it arises that the Comanches, relying upon one another, made proud by their great number, and led by their propensity to steal, let few seasons pass without committing the most bloody outrages against the inhabitants of New and Old Mexico.

De Mezieres concluded that "since their reduction will be one of the most costly and difficult that may be planned in this America" it would be good policy to encourage "to some extent, those who are interested in the destruction of so proud and cruel an enemy."

Ref: H. E. Bolton's *Athanase de Mézières* . . . (Cleveland, 1914), v. 1, pp. 218, 219.

1772

Writing from the Great Osage village [in present Vernon county, Mo.], Rouquiere (one of several traders there), in a June 14 letter, described Osage depredations on the lower Arkansas and Red rivers (three Frenchmen killed and two young men taken captive). He also stated that a band of Osages had left the village in early April to make war on the Black Pawnees, and returned with two French scalps. The victims, slain near the Paniouassa village, had been mistaken for the enemy (so the Indians claimed). But Rouquiere added: "As for us, not a single trader up to now has any cause for complaint in the village. We have traded at our will and without any difficulty."

Ref: Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., *Annual Report* . . . *American Historical Association*, 1945, v. 2, pp. 202, 203.

1775

Pedro Piernas (lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana) reported (from St. Louis, May 19) on the ". . . nations with which we are accustomed to trade in pelts in the dependency of the Missouri River." He listed the Mahas, Panis Maha, Panis, Hotos, Cance [Kansa], Little Osages, Missouris, *Republic*, and Great Osages. (*Notable is the reference to the Pawnee Republic Indians, of whom no earlier specific mention has been found.*) Giving values of goods traded in pounds of furs, he estimated the Kansa trade at 7,500 pounds; that of the Pawnee Republic at 3,000; the Panis at 1,200; the Panis Maha at 1,800; the Little Osages at 7,200; the Great Osages at 15,000. In 1775 trade with the latter two nations was "forbidden" (evidently to punish them for depredations committed); and after both the Kansa and Pawnee Republic entries Piernas wrote "not able to enter," but gave no explanation.

Ref: *Ibid.*, p. 228.

1777

In June, or early July, five of a reconnoitering party of seven Osages were killed by a large band of Panis Piquies [Wichitas] somewhere near the Arkansas river [in present Oklahoma?]. To avenge the murders, the Osages in force returned to that area, and on the Arkansas river bank met "the man named Layones with two trappers" whom they killed and robbed. This occurred between July 15 and 18. Later in the year it was reported that the Osages were continuing "their thefts and murders along that river."

Ref: Houck's *Spanish Regime* . . . , v. 1, pp. 149, 150.

Francisco Cruzat (lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana) in a report (St. Louis, November 1) on the year's fur trade on the Missouri, indicated that the official traders among the Kansa had been Antonio Hubert and Luis Lacroix, who obtained 150 packs of tanned deerskin, one of otter, seven of beaver, and three of buckskin. The trade of the Republica [Pawnee Republic] Indians had gone to Eugenio Pouree, but "the fur of the Republica tribe has not been able to be brought down, as the river of the Canzes has no water."

Cruzat stated that Auguste Chouteau, Sylvestre Labbadie, and three others had traded among the Big Osages. (Also listed were the traders among the Little Osages, Missouris, Mahas, Panis, and Otoes; and the fur statistics for each.) He commented that "the Panis Mahas tribe, where a trader is usually sent, has again become incorporated with the tribe of the Panis Piques [Wichitas], who are settled in the territory of Nachitoches, who [the Panis Mahas] are threatened by the Sioux tribe, who are situated on the banks of Misisipy. . . ."

Ref: *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 140, 183; Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 70.

In a comprehensive report on the upper Missouri river Indians with whom the Spanish traded, Francisco Cruzat (from St. Louis, on November 15) wrote of the "Cances" Indians:

This tribe is composed of 350 warriors. The name of the principal chief . . . is El Comy [perhaps Le Commis? in French—the earliest-located name of a Kansa chief]. They are 150 leagues from this village, and are located on the banks of the Misury river itself, at a distance of some 50 leagues from the tribe of the Misuris. Their occupation has always been, and is, that of the hunt; for although they generally plant a small quantity of maize, it does not, as a general rule, suffice for their necessary support. As a general thing, this tribe is hostile to the tribes of the said Misury river, named the Panis and La Republica [Pawnees]. For this reason they generally cause a great deal of harm to the traders who are sent to those tribes, for they do not allow those traders to ascend the river in order that those tribes may be supplied with guns and ammunition. This is the only harm experienced from this tribe. However, we have heard that they were thinking this year of making peace. This tribe has always been hostile to all those of the Misisipy. From the work of the hunt in which they are engaged, there results the profits of the trade which are made in the furs; for every year that trade produces 180 or 200 packs.

Cruzat stated that "La Republica" Pawnees numbered 350 to 400 warriors. Their principal chief was Escatape. They were located about 110 leagues up the Kansas (from its mouth), and were distant 40 or 50 leagues by land from the Kansa village. Their occupa-

tion was hunting. They were hostile to the Kansa and the Big Osages.

The Big Osages numbered 800 warriors. Their principal chief was Cleromon [Clermont]. They lived on a Missouri tributary [*i. e.*, the Osage] 180 leagues from St. Louis by water, and about 110 overland [in present Vernon county, Mo.]. They were hostile to the tribes of "La Republica, the Hotos [Otoes], the Alkanzos [Arkansas], the Panis, the Piquies [Wichitas], and the tribes living on the Misissipy in the English district." They were hunters and accumulated from 500 to 550 packs of deerskins annually.

Cruzat's report also covered the Little Osages, the Missouris, the Otoes, the Pawnees, the Mahas, the Iowas, and the Sioux. The latter two tribes, he stated, traded with persons from "the English district." The Otoes, Pawnees, and Mahas were all enemies of the Kansa; and the Iowas were "hostile to the tribes of the Misury River."

Ref: Houck's *Spanish Regime* . . . , v. 1, pp. 141-145; Bolton in his *Athanas de Mézières* . . . , v. 2, p. 26, noted that Houck "supplied punctuation and made two tribes out of the Panis Piquies, or Wichita."

1780

In November Lieutenant Governor Cruzat (writing from St. Louis to his superior officer), referred to "the necessity which I have of using the Little Osages, with our other allied nations, to repress and punish the Kansas nation. As your Lordship knows, the last mentioned has already committed some murders on the Missouri River, assassinating and burning seven hunters who were hunting on that river. . . ."

Ref: Kinnaird, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 394, 395.

1785

In New Orleans Esteban Rodriguez Miro (governor-general of Louisiana) made a report (dated December 12) which included the following statements:

The Cancés is 108 leagues from the mouth of the Missouri, on its right bank. In high water one can ascend it to the village of the Republic or Panis [Pawnee Republic]. . . .

The Cancés have their villages about 140 leagues from the mouth of the Missouri on a very high cliff about two *avanzadas* from the shore of that river. They must have 200 warriors and are unquestionably the best hunters on the Missouri. They maintain peace with the Little Osages and with the Missouris, and make war on the Panis in order to obtain horses. Their hunting land is up the River de Cancés as far as the River de Nimaha. . . .

The Panis are found about 27 leagues from the Chato [Platte] River, and consist of 400 men capable of bearing arms. Their hunting grounds are on the tongue of land between their river and the Chato and extend from their village to the River of San Francisco de Arcanzás [the Arkansas].

The Indians of the Panis Republic, called Paniguacey or Eyes of the Partridge, live on the River Cancés about 130 leagues from its mouth, and consist of 220 men capable of bearing arms. . . .

The Padós [Padoucas—Plains Apaches] were in former times the most numerous nation on the continent, but the wars which other nations have made against them have destroyed them to such an extent that at present they form only four small groups, who go wandering from place to place continually which saves them from the fury of the other nations. They number about 350 men, very skillful with the arrow and in running. . . .

The Laytanés or wandering Apaches [*i. e.*, Comanches, not Apaches] . . . inhabit the borders of New Mexico. . . . They dominate all the neighboring tribes, and although divided into several war parties . . . they all live in perfect friendship.

Of the Arkansas river Miro wrote:

. . . we find the river of San Francisco de Arcanzás on the western bank [of the Mississippi]. . . . Twelve leagues up this river is the fort of Carlos III [Arkansas Post], between which and the Mississippi at various distances is found the nation of the Arkansas divided into three villages. . . . about 100 leagues above, live the Little Osages, who are the only nation I know in this place bordering on the Kingdom of New Spain. [In mid-1785, a band of the Little Osages had left the Missouri and settled on the upper St. Francis river.]

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 120, 121, 123, 125-127; Kinnaird, *op. cit.*, v. 3, pp. 160, 162, 164, 165, 166, 170-173. Miro's report quoted from Nasatir, with a few changes supplied from Kinnaird.

1786

Writing from New Orleans, August 1, Governor Miro told of steps taken to punish the Osage Indians for an outbreak of depredations. "My prohibition against carrying goods farther than the fort of Arkansas [Arkansas Post]," he stated, "may cause the Osages to molest the white hunters who are established on the upper part of the said river [in present Oklahoma, and possibly some in Kansas] to the number of some 200."

Ref: Kinnaird, *op. cit.*, v. 3, pp. 182-184.

Jacobo Du Breuil (brevet lieutenant colonel of infantry), commandant at Arkansas Post [or, fort of Carlos III], in a report (December 16) on the rivers of his district, wrote of the Arkansas:

. . . its source [is] near the kingdom of New Mexico, according to the report of the hunters who have navigated it for more than 400 leagues, and it empties into the Mississippi at a point 250 leagues from the capital [New

Orleans]. It abounds in fish such as the catfish, the *pargo*, seatrout, carp, *armado*, herring, eel, and turtle of two varieties. The Arkansas has several branches in which there are salt beds that give in summer a slightly salty taste to the water. The territory watered by this river has a natural growth of poplars, willows, oaks, cypress, walnut, pecans, elms, etc.

Ref: Kinnaird, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 193.

1790-1791

Auguste Chouteau was granted part of the trade of the Kansa in 1790. In pursuit of that commerce Cadet [Pierre] Chouteau spent the winter of 1790-1791 among the Kansa, and reported in St. Louis in the spring that they had not traded all their furs with him because Mississippi river Indians (representing English traders) had taken part of the pelts despite all he could do. Chouteau also stated that about the first of March some 90 Big Osages with all their chiefs and head men had come where he was camping *on the Kansas river* to ask why traders had been prohibited from visiting their villages. Angered when told it was punishment for depredations on the Arkansas (where they had been killing and plundering), some of the Osages began to blame the trader, and had to be restrained by chiefs of both nations from taking his merchandise.

[In 1785 the Kansa were reported as still living on the Missouri river; but in 1790-1791 Chouteau spent the winter with them on the Kansas; and in 1792 Pierre Vial was in the Kansa village on the Kansas. The evidence is persuasive, but not conclusive, that these Indians left their Missouri river village between 1785 and 1790. Referring to this move, but not dating it, U. S. Commr. H. L. Ellsworth, in 1833, wrote: ". . . the evidence is satisfactory that the Otoes attacked the Kansas at their old village on the Missouri near Independence creek—drove them from their village and took possession. The Kansas never afterward occupied that ground but pitched their tents 60 or 80 miles distant on the Kansas River. . . ."]

[The village which Chouteau and Vial visited was, presumably, the site about two miles east of present Manhattan in what is now Pottawatomie county; or, as it could have been described in 1794: on the Kansas river, two miles east of the mouth of the Big Blue. (During the 1903 flood, the Big Blue cut a new channel near its mouth and since then has flowed into the Kansas some four miles east of Manhattan rather than at the town site.)]

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 135, 143, 144; Ellsworth's letter quoted from Off. of Ind. Aff. Records, Gr. 75, Treaty File in Nat. Archives, as given in Waldo R. Wedel's *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology* (Washington, 1959), pp. 37, 38.

1792

Pierre Vial, a Frenchman in the employ of the New Mexican governor, set out from Santa Fe on May 21, with two young Spaniards, and some pack horses, under orders to open a line of com-

munication between the Spanish settlements of New Mexico and those of upper Louisiana.

They went by way of Pecos; then set a course first eastward and later to the northeast. On May 29 they reached the Colorado [Canadian] river and followed down it into present Oklahoma. On June 22 they turned northeast to look for the Napeste [Arkansas]. Vial's diary entry of June 27 stated: "We journeyed through spacious lands and reached the above-mentioned Napeste River. We camped for the night on its shore. . . ." [They were in present Kansas still to the southwest of the great bend of the Arkansas]. Vial thought they had traveled about 140 leagues up to that point.

On June 29 they followed down the river "which flowed east northeast." In the late afternoon [perhaps near Great Bend] they found a hunting camp of Kansa Indians on the opposite bank. The Kansa gave them ill treatment—stripped them of clothing, and took possession of their horses and belongings. The Vial party remained in the Indians' Arkansas river camp till mid-August when the Kansa started back to their village. Vial estimated they traveled "about 50 leagues going through level plains" in the ten days it took to reach their destination. The village, he wrote, "is located on the River of the Kances" [presumably the site two miles east of present Manhattan—See preceding entry].

On September 11 a licensed French trader who came to the village in a pirogue loaded with goods, supplied Vial and his companions with clothes, a gun, and other items. On September 16 the explorers went down the Kansas in a boat with three traders who were returning to St. Louis, and reached that place on October 6.

Ref: Houck's *Spanish Regime* . . . , v. 1, pp. 350-358; *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 6 (June, 1928), p. 212; A. B. Hulbert's *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail* (c1933), pp. 43-54.

1793

In the spring a band of Iowa Indians went to a camp of the Kansa to buy horses. While the Kansa warriors were out hunting (in order to feed their guests) the Iowas "killed, and took prisoner forty-eight women and children, and carried off all the horses." The result was renewed warfare between two nations which had long been enemies.

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 185.



Kansa Indians Sketched by George Catlin, Probably in 1831.

From left to right: Sho-me-kas-see (The Wolf), head chief; Wa-hon-ga-she (No Fool); Chesh-oo-hong-a-ha (The Man of Good Sense); Mesch-o-shin-ga (The Little White Bear). In front are the chief's wife and child. Sketch courtesy of the New York Public Library.

No traders were permitted to go up the Missouri during the year "on account of the war which was ordered declared on the Osages" (to punish them for depredations in Spanish Louisiana).

Ref: *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 530.

In the summer Pierre Vial, his two companions of 1792, and four other young men left St. Louis bound for Santa Fe. Abandoning the plan to try a direct overland route (because of hostile Osages) they went up the Missouri in the pirogue of some traders as far as the mouth of the "Chico Nimahá" (near present Nemaha, Neb., apparently), reaching that place on August 24. There they remained through September 11—until expected Pawnee guides arrived.

On September 12 they set out with the Indians (who were of the Republic band). From Vial's journal their route across present Kansas can be fairly well determined. "We took the road through a large plain, route to the southwest," he wrote on the first day. Proceeding in the same direction and then turning more to the west on September 15, they came on the evening of the 17th to "a little stream [the Big Blue?] which enters the River of the Cances." Next day their route again lay "through good prairie land," and they camped on "an arm [the Republican, evidently] of the River of the Cances." On the 19th they noted as they traveled, a "hill of great height which the Indians call Blue Hill." Their camp that night was on "a little stream [Chapman creek?] which enters into that of the Cances." Still crossing good land and on the same course as for several days past, they arrived in mid-afternoon of September 20 at the Pawnee Republic village. (They had been met around noon and escorted by the chief "Sarisere" and several of his warriors.) According to Vial's calculations, during the nine days' journey from the "Chico Nimaha" they had traveled 49 leagues (about 125? miles). The village, on a river [the Smoky Hill, probably in the vicinity of present Abilene], contained some 300 warriors.

These Pawnees maintained friendly relations with the Spanish, but were at war with the Osages, the "Tahuagases" [Taouaiazes—Pani Piques—Wichitas] and the Comanches. Their allies were three other Pawnee villages on the River Chato [the Platte], also the "Majalos" and the Kansa.

Vial and his companions remained in the Pawnee Republic village till October 3. They bought ten horses. On October 4, after presenting gifts to their hosts, they started for Santa Fe with seven Pawnee guides. Ten days later the party reached the Rio Napeste [Arkansas], apparently west of present Dodge City. (By Vial's calculations they traveled $68\frac{1}{2}$ leagues [about 175² miles] from the Indian village before reaching the Arkansas.) Continuing on a southwesterly course to the Canadian, their homeward route took them by way of Pecos to Santa Fe on November 15.

[Early references to the Pawnee Republic Indians (*see* 1777 and 1785) did not specify on which fork of the Kansas they lived. A study of Vial's journal leaves little doubt that in 1793 they were, at least temporarily, on the Smoky Hill—somewhat east of the Solomon's mouth. Jean B. Truteau (*see* 1794) indicated the Indians' presence in that area when he wrote (in 1796) that the Republican nation was on the southwestern branch of the Kansas river, near its source. But Antoine Soulard (*see* 1795) located them on his map on the Kansas tributary which we call the Republican and which he plainly labeled "R. de la Republica Pani." Victor Collot (*see* 1796) in the text of his book stated they were on the southwest branch of the Kansas; but on his map placed them on the Republican fork (though he did not give it a name).]

Ref: *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 9 (June, 1931), pp. 195-208 (for Vall's journal); Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 383-385 (for Truteau); Bolton's *Athanase de Mézières*, v. 1, pp. 246, 250, 294-296 (for the Taouaiazes); Wedel's . . . *Kansas Archeology*, pp. 59, 60 (for additional data on Pawnee Republic villages).

1794

Early in May, at a meeting in St. Louis, arrangements were made for the year's Missouri fur trade. Four persons (Benito Vasquez, Bernal Sarpy, Laurent Durocher, and the lieutenant governor, Zenon Trudeau) were to have equal shares of the Kansa trade. Auguste Chouteau was allotted the Pawnee Republic Indians. The Grand Osages' trade was divided into 12 shares (Cerré, Robidoux, Pierre Chouteau, Papin, and Clamorgan were five of the allottees), and the Little Osages' traders (of whom there were four) included Roy and Pratte.

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 210, 211; Kinnaird, *op. cit.*, v. 4, p. 279.

At St. Louis, on May 12, an organization "La Compagnie de Commerce pour la Decouverte des Nations du haut du Missouri" (better known as the "Missouri Company") was formed for the purpose of exploring and trading on the upper Missouri. Among its members were Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, Jean Papin, Benito Vasquez, Gregoire Sarpy, Jacinto St. Cyr, Joseph Robidoux, Gabriel

Cerre, Antoine Roy, and Jacques Clamorgan (who was director of the company).

Ref: Houck's *Spanish Regime* . . . , v. 2, pp. 173-178; Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 217, 218.

The "Missouri Company" sent Jean Baptiste Truteau (a 45-year-old, Montreal-born, St. Louis school teacher) as head of its first upper-Missouri expedition. Truteau, in a well-loaded pirogue, manned by eight oarsmen, set out from St. Louis on June 7, and reached the mouth of the Kansas on July 12, stopping briefly there (it appears) to see a trader named Quenneville. "La riviere des cansas," he noted in his journal, was navigable for about 100 leagues in the springtime; it abounded in beavers, otters, and other fur-bearing animals. The village of the Kansa, whose men were good hunters and warriors, was 80 leagues [by water?] upstream; and ten leagues beyond began the country of the Pawnee Republic.

On July 14 Truteau and party camped on the Isles des Parques [about opposite present Leavenworth]. Next day, at 12 leagues above the mouth of the Kansas, they came to the first *old* village of the Kansas [Salt creek valley, Leavenworth co.]. On July 21 (after being delayed by a prolonged rainstorm) they reached the second *old* Kansa village [the "Village of 24" at present Doniphan] at 12 leagues above the first. By the following evening they had ascended as far as the great bend of the Missouri, near present St. Joseph, Mo. Between the Kansas and the Platte, wrote Truteau, there were three rivers (the Great Nemaha, Little Nemaha, and the Nishnabotna) which were navigable for a short distance and only in the springtime.

(Truteau's intended destination was the Mandan villages where he was to establish a fort and trading agency, but he got only as far as the Aricara country. His description (dated 1796) and information on the upper Missouri was used by French travelers Collot (1796) and Perrin du Lac (1802).)

Ref: Truteau's journal in *American Historical Review*, Lancaster, Pa., v. 19 (January, 1914), pp. 299-333; Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 86-93, 257-263, and pp. 262, 267, for item on "Quenneville"—whose name suggests a connection with the French-Canadian A. B. Canville who established a trading post for the Osages in present Neosho county in 1844. But Annie H. Abel in her *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition* . . . (Norman, Okla., 1939), p. 60, offers other identifications for the name. See, also, Stella M. Drumm's editorial note on Francois Quenneville in John C. Luttig's *Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition* . . . (St. Louis, 1920), p. 60.

1794-1795

Osage-Spanish relations improved greatly following the establishment in 1794-1795 of a small fort in the Osages' country. Short-lived Fort Carondelet [in Blue Mound? tp., Vernon co., Mo.] was built

by the Chouteaus (Auguste and Pierre) in return for a six-year monopoly (1794-1800) of the Big and Little Osages' trade. Commandant Pierre Chouteau took his family there in 1795; and a few other persons, in addition to militia troops were residents for a time. Osage depredations dwindled due to the influence of the Chouteaus, who enjoyed the complete confidence of the Indians.

(But in 1802 the Chouteaus lost the Osage trading rights to Manuel Lisa and others, and all trace of Fort Carondelet quickly disappeared. Pike and Wilkinson found only a "superior growth of vegetation" at the site in 1806.)

Ref: Houck's *Spanish Regime* . . ., v. 2, pp. 100-110; Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 214, 320, 321, 326, v. 2, pp. 530, 584; *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, Mo., v. 35, pp. 92-95; Louis Houck's *A History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), v. 2, p. 252; Z. M. Pike's August 17, 1806, entry in the various editions of his *An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi*. . . .

Antoine Soulard's maps were, so far as known, the first to show the Big Blue (tributary of the Kansas) by name; and to indicate the location of Fort Carondelet [in present Vernon co., Mo.]. There was, originally, a 1794 map, sketched expressly for Truteau's use on his "Missouri Company" expedition. But the 1795 versions (French and Spanish) are the only ones now known to exist.

On the French map, entitled "Idée Topographique des Hauts du Mississipi et du Missouri," the Big Blue was labeled "R. Eau bleue" ("R. Agua azul" on the Spanish map) meaning "Blue water." The Kansas appeared as "R. de les Cans," and the Republican fork as "R. de la Republica Pani." The Kansa village (represented by four "dots"—perhaps to indicate 400 warriors?) was shown as on the north bank of the Kansas, east of the junction of the Big Blue. The Republican Pawnees' village (represented by three "dots") was on the north bank of the branch of the Kansas named for them, at some distance upstream.

(Soulard, surveyor of Upper Louisiana and St. Louis resident, according to his own statement, had once ascended the Missouri about 500 leagues.)

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, between pp. 46, 47 (for French map), v. 2, p. 760; Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (San Francisco, 1957), v. 1, pp. 157, 158, and facing p. 158 (for Spanish map, which, curiously, was misdated "1785").

1795

Benito and Quenache de Rouin, traders returning from the Kansa village, were robbed and "soundly thrashed with blows of sticks" by a party of some 160 Iowas, who carried off two of their hired men. Zenon Trudeau's report of the incident (St. Louis, March 4) stated: "They left Benito, as well as the other on the seventh of the month of January at the entrance of the Kansas river, without

arms, food, or clothing. . . ." The two captives were ransomed by English traders and returned to St. Louis.

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 316, 318.

In April the "Missouri Company" sent a man named Lecuyer with a large, well-loaded pirogue, and oarsmen, on a journey to the upper Missouri. This second expedition of the St. Louis company was pillaged by the Ponca Indians. Few details of its fate are known. Lecuyer was later blamed for the disaster.

Ref: Houck's *Spanish Regime* . . . , v. 2, pp. 176, 178, 187, 190.

When a distribution of medals to chiefs of the Missouri river tribes was proposed, Zenon Trudeau (lieutenant-governor of Spanish Illinois) suggested (May 30) that large medals should go to Kansa chiefs Kayguechinga (or Le Petit Chef) and Jhahoangage (or Les grands Chevaux); and small ones to Kueehagachin (or Le Batard) and Whachanguia (or Le Geur qui brule).

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 326, 327.

Zenon Trudeau reported (from St. Louis, July 4) that Pedro [Pierre] Vial and four companions, earlier in the year had traveled from Santa Fe to the Pawnee Republic village "on the bank of the Kansas River" and spent 15 days there. He was on an official mission for the Spanish to effect peace between the Pawnee Republic Indians and the Laytanés [Comanches]. Traders from the St. Louis area who were in the village at the time said that he accomplished his purpose (and delivered a medal, a complete suit of clothes, and other gifts to the Pawnee chief). Vial had taken the traders to meet the Comanches, and wished to take them on to New Mexico, but they refused. He was reported to have made the journey from Santa Fe to the Pawnees in eight days.

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 329, 330.

The "Missouri Company's" third expedition was headed by Spanish citizen (but Scottish-born) James MacKay. With 33 men and four merchandise-laden pirogues he set out from St. Louis in late August on a journey which was intended to open up commerce in the unknown parts of the upper Missouri, and to attempt explorations as far as the Pacific. The boats, making slow progress, probably passed along the Kansas bank of the Missouri in the latter part of September. By October 14 (on which date MacKay began to keep a journal) the expedition had reached only as far as the Otoe village (about a mile below the Platte's mouth). Continuing

to the Maha village some distance above, MacKay built a trading fort where he spent the winter. But he sent his lieutenant, the Welshman John Evans, to explore farther upstream.

MacKay compiled a table of distances "ascending from the Missouri's mouth" (dated 1797) which included the following information:

The "beautiful" Kansas river (at 100½ leagues) was "navigable for canoes for more than 60 leagues at all times; but not for more than 20 leagues for large boats" in times of low waters. The Kansa lived 80 leagues up their river. On the Missouri, the "First old village of the Kansas nation" (at 112½ leagues) was "situated upon the bare hills"; and the "Second old village of the Kansas" (at 119½ leagues) was "upon the south bank," and "about a league lower and on the same side" was an iron mine.

Wolf river (at 136½ leagues) was a small river. The "River of the Great Nemahas" (at 141½ leagues) was "navigable some leagues for pirogues." On that river the boats passed that carried on commerce with the Pawnee Republic nation, whose village was on a branch of the Kansas river. The "River of the Little Nemahas" (at 150½ leagues) was a small river. The Platte (at 171½ leagues) was "as large as the Missouri but so shallow and the course so rapid" that navigation was very difficult for any boat, except during spring-time high waters.

Ref: Houck's *Spanish Regime* . . . , v. 2, pp. 181-192; and for MacKay's table: *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 10 (March, 1924), pp. 432-441, or Nasatir, *op cit.*, v. 2, pp. 485-489.

1796

Victor Collot (former French general) toured Louisiana in 1796 on an information-collecting expedition for his government. The data he gathered on the Missouri river (beyond the Osage tributary) however, was derived, not from personal observation, but from traders (Truteau principally) whom he met at St. Louis. Collot died in Paris in 1805. His manuscript, together with maps and sketches (including a "Map of the Missouri" probably drawn in 1796), was not published until 1826. An English edition of *Voyage in Amerique Septentrionale* appeared in the same year. Collot wrote of the Kansas:

The river des Cans . . . is navigable an hundred leagues for barks and barges of every kind; it runs through very fertile lands, flat, well wooded, and intersected by rich meadows; but the country, such as we have already described, does not extend farther than one or two leagues from the banks. In

ascending this river fifty leagues, we find a fortified point, on which is situated the great village of the Cans. The branch which runs to the West is called the River of White Water; on that of the south-west the Indian nation called Republican is established [a statement contradictory to his map location, as noted below].

Elsewhere in his work the "Cans" Indians were said to be "On the river Cans, where it divides, 60 leagues from its mouth." On his "Map of the Missouri" (1796?) Collot showed the "Can" just below the junction of the "Blue Water" with the "R. Cans." Farther upstream, on the *upper* of two forks (neither named) of the Kansas was the Republican village. The lower fork was shown to have a "S. W. Branch." But the "River of White Water" (referred to above) did not appear on the map.

Ref: Victor Collot's *A Journey in North America* (1924 reprint), v. 1, pp. 279, 310, and Plate 29 (in volume of maps and sketches); Wheat, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 160, and map facing p. 160; Abel's *Tabeau's Narrative*, pp. 14, 15.

1796-1797

Fur trader Francisco Derouin [Francis Dorion?], arriving from the Platte, reported at St. Louis (on May 14, 1797) that the Kansa and Otoe Indians had spent the winter sending war parties against each other, and several had been killed. (The Otoe village was at the mouth of the Platte.)

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 516, 517.

1798

Zenon Trudeau, the lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana, reported (from St. Louis, January 15):

The Kancé tribe has its village located on the banks of the river of that name. They number about 400 men, and are all better hunters than the Osages, and at the least as great rogues as they. This tribe would have an easy entrance to the river of Akanzas [the Arkansas] if it were not for the Osages who prevent them, and certainly they would commit more acts of piracy and roguery than these latter. This is the only tribe whose trade is not exclusive. It is usually divided into six equal parts, each one valued at the sum of eight hundred pesos. These six parts are distributed by lot among all the merchants of San Luis and Santa Genoveva. Those which have drawn the lot one year are excluded from it the next year, and until all have shared in this advantage. From this tribe 180 packs of furs are obtained annually.

Ref: Houck's *Spanish Regime* . . . , v. 2, p. 252.

1800

Gregoire Sarpy and [J. P.?] Cabanne, who had been traders among the Kansa for two years, suggested (in a letter, April 26) to Spanish authorities that if they were given the trade of the neighbor-

ing Panis also, they could probably mediate a peace treaty between the two nations "for a long time enemies and always at war. . . ." The conflict affected the hunting and trade of both. (Sarpy was among the Kansa again in 1801.)

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 592, 614-616.

On October 1, by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, Napoleon secured Louisiana from Spain. The territory ceded was to be the same which Spain had received from France 37 years earlier.

1802

Francois Marie Perrin du Lac (young French writer) came to the United States in 1801 with a particular desire to visit the upper Missouri and its Indians. Chapter 24 of his *Voyages dans les Deux Louisianes* (published in Paris, 1805) described that part of his travels. (He supplemented his own observations of the region by using material from Truteau's 1796 description.) Also in the volume was his *Carte du Missouri* (1802)—a map more accurate for that country than any published earlier.

Perrin du Lac and ten others (one perhaps Truteau), set out from St. Louis on May 18, 1802, to trade up the Missouri. When they reached the mouth of the Kansas they turned their boat up its channel to the Kansa village [presumably the site two miles east of present Manhattan—see 1790-1791]. For 12 days [in June?] they traded and feasted among the Kansa, who, wrote Perrin du Lac, "are tall, handsome, vigorous, and brave . . . active and good hunters, and trade is carried on with them by the Whites without danger. . . ."

On returning to the mouth of the Kansas (navigable, he stated, at all seasons for 500 miles), the traders cached their furs, and proceeded once again up the Missouri. They found the first *old* village of the Kansa 35 miles upstream, and the second *old* village 22 miles beyond.

Continuing to the Platte they ascended it to the Great Panis village where they spent eight days. "We were better received by the Great Panis than we had been by the Kanzas," wrote Perrin du Lac. "They were at war with the nation called Republicans, and had only a small number of fire-arms, without any powder. We supplied them with some in exchange for . . . skins. . . . The Great Panis are not so tall as the Kanzas. They are active, and good

hunters. . . . Their manners very closely resemble those of the Kaneses."

After visiting the Mahas and Poncas, the traders continued as far up the Missouri as the White river (where there was a Cheyenne village). On August 26 they started downstream. Stopping at the mouth of the Kansas to pick up their cached furs, they saw a party of Sioux approaching and re-embarked hastily, leaving the less valuable pelts behind. They had "hardly gained the opposite shore" when they were "saluted with a discharge of musketry; but night coming on, the savages abandoned their pursuit." On September 20 they reached St. Louis.

Perrin du Lac's map of the Missouri showed the "R. des Kancés" (with the "Village des Kancés"); its tributary the Blue ("R. de l'Eau bleue"); and its Republican fork ("Fourche des Republiques") with the "Village des Republiques" located well above the 39th parallel. Also shown were the two "Ancien" villages of the Kansa on the Missouri.

[An enlarged section of Perrin du Lac's map is reproduced *facing* p. 209.]

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 706-712; F. M. Perrin du Lac's *Travels* . . . (1807 English ed.); Wheat, *op. cit.*, v. 1, map *facing* p. 159.

About 1802

As the Lewis and Clark expedition traveled up the Missouri in the summer of 1804, a site several miles below the mouth of Wolf river [in present Doniphan county] was pointed out to the explorers as the former location of a French "settlement." William Clark's journal entry on July 9 stated:

. . . at Six Miles passed the mouth of Creek on the L. S. [leeward, or Kansas side] called Monter's [*Montain's*] Creek, about *two* miles above is some Cabins where our Bowman & Several frenchmen Camp^d. two years ago. . . .

And Sgt. Charles Floyd wrote in his journal on July 9:

. . . Passed a prairie on the South Side where several French familyes had settled and made Corn Some Years ago Stayed two years the Indians Came Freckentley to See them and was verry frendley. . . .

Ref: Reuben G. Thwaites' *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1904), v. 1, p. 72.

1802-1803

The Great and Little Osage trade, in 1802, was granted for five years to Manuel Lisa and his partners Gregoire Sarpy, Charles Sanguinet, and Francois M. Benoit. (The new four-year contract

Auguste Chouteau had received from the Spanish in 1801 for the exclusive Osage trade was thus cancelled.) In 1803 Lisa acquired Sarpy's and Sanguinet's shares.

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 591, 592.

Cashesegra's band of Great Osages and some of the Little Osages (including many of the best hunters) removed from the Osage river [in present Vernon co., Mo.] in 1802 or 1803, to the lower Verdigris [in northern Oklahoma, some 60 miles above the Arkansas-Verdigris junction]. Pierre Chouteau induced them to move in order to regain part of the trade he had lost to Manuel Lisa.

[Lt. James B. Wilkinson, of Pike's 1806 expedition, reported that Cashesegra (Big Track) was the nominal leader, but Clermont was the "greatest warrior and most influential man" among them.]

Ref: *Ibid.*, pp. 539, 592, 680, 688; Lt. J. B. Wilkinson's report, April 6, 1807, Appendix to the various editions of Z. M. Pike's *Expeditions* . . .; Stella M. Drumm's editorial note in John C. Luttig's *Journal* . . ., p. 50.

With two companions, James Purcell (once of Bardstown, Ky.) trapped on the Osage headwaters in 1802. They were perhaps in what is now east central Kansas when some Kansa stole their horses. Purcell and his friends cached their furs and pursued the thieves into the Kansa village. The "mad Americans" (so called by the Indians) got all but one horse back, only to lose the animals again, when near the Osage river, to unknown robbers. Later their makeshift canoe overturned and the trappers' furs were lost near the mouth of the Osage. His companions then continued homeward, but Purcell joined a trader going up the Missouri to the Mandan country. After trapping and trading with the Padoucas and Kiowas, he arrived in the upper South Platte area. (While in present Colorado he made perhaps the first gold discovery by the whites there.) In June, 1805, he reached Santa Fe and remained for 19 years. Capt. Z. M. Pike who met "Pursley" there in 1807 recorded some of his adventures.

Ref: Z. M. Pike's . . . *Expeditions* . . ., Appendix to pt. III, pp. 16, 17; H. M. Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1935), v. 2, pp. 492, 493.

1803

In January President Jefferson sent a confidential message to congress urging the establishment of Indian trading houses on the United States frontier. Also, he proposed that an exploring party be sent "to trace the Missouri to its source, to cross the Highlands,

and follow the best water communication which offered itself from thence to the Pacific Ocean." Congress approved and voted \$2,500 "for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the United States." Jefferson chose Meriwether Lewis to head the expedition, and Lewis suggested William Clark as coleader.

Ref: W. P. Webb's *The Great Plains* (Boston and New York, 1936), p. 143; L. R. Hafen and C. C. Rister's *Western America* (New York, 1941), pp. 174, 175.

Napoleon sold Louisiana (acquired just three years earlier from Spain) to the United States on April 30. Formal transfer ceremonies took place on December 20, at New Orleans.

(Part Three Will Appear in the Autumn, 1961, Issue.)

Some Notes on Kansas Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters—*Continued*

NYLE H. MILLER AND JOSEPH W. SNELL

MASTERSON, EDWARD J.

(1852-1878)

ED MASTERSON, the oldest of the famous Masterson brothers, became a member of the Dodge City police force June 5, 1877. He made his first arrest, that of Bobby Gill, on June 6.¹

It is not certain whether Ed Masterson was originally appointed assistant marshal or merely policeman. On June 9, 1877, the Dodge City *Times* said: "Ed. Masterson has been appointed Assistant Marshal of this city. He is not very large, but there are not many men who would be anxious to tackle him a second time. He makes a good officer." Elsewhere in that same issue and again on June 16, the paper referred to him as policeman. On the latter date the *Times* said: "The new policemen, Ed Masterson and Joe Mason, are covering themselves with glory, and their prompt and efficient action cannot be too highly commended."

By July 3, at least, Ed Masterson had been named assistant marshal to serve under Marshal L. E. Deger and over Policeman Joe Mason. Deger, Masterson, and Mason each earned \$75.00 a month.²

Ed Masterson was instrumental in easing the trouble between Marshal Deger and Mayor James H. Kelley when the two broke into open conflict on July 20. This story was reported in the section on Deger.

By this time followers of these sketches doubtless have become accustomed to the frequent eruptions of lurid journalese so characteristic of several of the cowtown editors. Therefore, this account of a session of the Dodge City police court, as described by the *Times*, August 11, 1877, should measure up to the expectations of even the most sanguine:

THE JUDGE AND THE C--S.

"The Marshal will preserve strict order," said the Judge. "Any person caught throwing turnips, cigar stumps, beets, or old quids of tobacco at this Court, will be immediately arranged before this bar of Justice." Then Joe [Policeman J. W. Mason] looked savagely at the mob in attendance, hitched

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NOTE: These articles on Kansas cowtown officers and gun fighters, with additional information and an index, are expected to be reprinted and offered for sale under one cover, upon completion of the series in the *Quarterly*.

his ivory handle a little to the left and adjusted his moustache. "Trot out the wicked and unfortunate, and let the cotillion commence," said his Honor.

City vs. James Martin.—But just then a complaint not on file had to be attended to, and Reverent John Walsh, of Las Animas, took the Throne of Justice, while the Judge stepped over to Hoover's [George M. Hoover, purveyor of wines, liquors and cigars!]. "You are here for horse stealing," says Walsh. "I can clean out the d----d court," says Martin. Then the City Attorney [E. F. Colborn] was banged into a pigeon hole in the desk, the table upset, the windows kicked out and the railing broke down. When order was restored Joe's thumb was "some chawed," Assistant Marshal Masterson's nose sliced a trifle, and the rantankerous originator of all this, James Martin, Esq., was bleeding from a half dozen cuts on the head, inflicted by Masterson's revolver. Then Walsh was deposed and Judge [D. M.] Frost took his seat, chewing burnt coffee, as his habit, for his complexion. The evidence was brief and pointed. "Again," said the Judge, as he rested his alabaster brow on his left paw, "do you appear within this sacred realm, of which I, and only I, am high muck-i-muck. You have disturbed the quiet of our lovely village. Why, instead of letting the demon of passion fever your brain into this fray, did you not shake hands and call it all a mistake. Then the lion and the lamb would have lain down together and white-robed peace would have fanned you with her silvery wings and elevated your thoughts to the good and pure by her smiles of approbation; but no, you went to chawing and clawing and pulling hair. It is \$10.00 and costs, Mr. Martin."

"Make way for the witnesses," says Joe, as he winks at the two c---s that comes to the front, and plants one on each side of Mr. [W. N.] Morphy, who appears for defendant—"A thorn between two roses." It was the City vs. Monroe Henderson, all being "n----s" except the City Attorney and Mr. Morphy. The prosecuting witness, Miss Carrie, looked "the last rose of summer all faded and gone" to ----. Her best heart's blood (pumped from her nose) was freely bespattering the light folds which but feebly hid her palpitating bosom. Her starboard eye was closed, and a lump like a burnt bisquit ornamented her forehead. The evidence showed that the idol of her affections, a certain moke named Baris, had first busted her eye, loosened her ribs and kicked the stuffing generally out of Miss Carrie. That Carrie then got on the war path, procured a hollow ground razor, flung tin cans at defendant, and used such naughty, naughty language as made the Judge breathe a silent prayer, and caused Walsh to take the open air in horror. But the fact still remained that defendant had "pasted" her one on the nose. The City Attorney dwelt upon the heinousness of a strong giant man smiting a frail woman. Mr. Morphy, for defendant, told two or three good stories, bragged on the Court, winked at the witnesses and thought he had a good case, but the marble jaws of justice snapped with adamantine firmness, and it was \$5.00 and costs. Appeal taken.

It was Carrie's turn next to taste the bitter draughts brewed in our Police Court. She plead "Guilty, your Honor, just to carrying that razor in my hand. 'Deed, your Honor, I never had it under my clothes at all." Carrie received an eighteen dollar moral lecture and a fine of \$5.00 and costs, and Court stood adjourned.

In all of the above excentricities, and during the exciting scenes that broke

into the stillness of "that hour of nights black arch the key stane" at divers evenings of the week, the city was not wanting in an efficient peace officer, and as a coincidence worthy of mention, assistant marshal Edward Masterson seemed to be always on time to quell the disturbance, and to bear away to that home of the friendless (the dog house) the noisy disturbers of the peace. Mr. Masterson has made a remarkable record during the month as the docket of the Police Court will bear testimony.

The *Times* editor was still in a playful mood when, on August 18, 1877, he reported:

Mr. Evans, of Quindaro, Mr. Webster, of Wyandotte, Mr. Evarts, of Ann Arbor, and Messrs. [M. W.] Sutton, [D. M.] Frost and Ed. Masterson, of this city, held a moonlight picnic at Fort Dodge Thursday evening. Their conveyance was a four horse ambulance, decked with bunting and drawn by four horses. They sang songs, acted charades, held moot court, the evening's exercises closing with prayer by the deacon and a song called "put me in my little bed," all the musicians joining in the chorus.

On September 3, 1877, Masterson, with Marshal Deger and a citizen named Anderson pursued and captured a horse thief. This *Times* article was included in the section on L. E. Deger.

About September 15, Ed Masterson was reported to have discouraged a couple of the boys from fisticuffs:

Stonewall Jackson and Kinch Riley disagreed this week as to the proper mode of dividing certain "winnins," amounting to the enormous sum of \$2.00. After discussing the matter fully they concluded to resort to the dog method of deciding quarrels, and prepared to fight. But just as they were about to begin Ed. Masterson informed them that the most peaceable place to fight was down on the reservation, owing to the stringency of the city laws. The fightists went down to the reservation, followed by a large crowd, but when they got face to face on the battle field their courage weakened and neither would strike the first blow. Thus a good item was spoiled.³

Ed's younger brother, Bat, who had been under sheriff during the summer and who was now also on the city police force, helped the assistant marshal attempt to arrest A. C. Jackson, a fun-loving Texas cowboy, on September 25. The story of Jackson's escape may be found in the section on Bat Masterson.

Late in September Ed Masterson was involved in another unsuccessful pursuit. This time the lawman was after the culprits who had robbed the Union Pacific at Big Springs, Neb., on September 18, 1877. The article reporting the attempt was included in the section on C. E. Bassett.

On October 2, 1877, the police force was reduced so that only Marshal Deger and Assistant Marshal Ed Masterson remained.⁴ On November 5 half of the police force was put out of commission

when the assistant marshal was shot by Bob Shaw. This gun play was described in the *Dodge City Times* of November 10:

FRONTIER FUN.

FRANK SHAW TRIES TO REMEDY HIS GRIEVANCES WITH A REVOLVER,
AND GETS LEFT.

A DEPUTY MARSHAL'S PLUCK.

Last Monday afternoon one of those little episodes which serve to vary the monotony of frontier existence occurred at the Lone Star dance hall, during which four men came out some the worse for wear; but none, with one exception, being seriously hurt.

Bob Shaw, the man who started the amusement, accused Texas Dick, alias Moore, of having robbed him of forty dollars, and when the two met in the Lone Star the ball was opened.

Somebody, foreseeing possible trouble, and probable gore, started out in search of Assistant City Marshal Ed. Masterson, and finding him hurried the officer to the scene of the impending conflict.

When Masterson entered the door he descried Shaw by the bar with a huge pistol in his hand and a hogshead of blood in his eye, ready to relieve Texas Dick of his existence in this world and send him to those shades where troubles come not and six shooters are not known.

Not wishing to hurt Shaw, but anxious to quiet matters and quell the disturbance officer Masterson first ordered him to give up his gun. Shaw refused to deliver and told Masterson to keep away from him, and after saying this he again proceeded to try to kill Texas Dick. Officer Masterson then gently tapped the belligerent Shaw upon the back of the head with the butt of his shooting iron, merely to convince him of the vanities of this frail world and to teach him that all isn't lovely even when the goose does hang anti-tudilum. The aforesaid reminder upon the back of the head, however, failed to have the desired effect, and instead of dropping, as any man of fine sensibilities would have done, Shaw turned his battery upon the officer and let him have it in the right breast, the ball striking a rib and passing around came out under the right shoulder blade, paralyzing his right arm so that it was useless, so far as handling a pistol was concerned. Masterson fell, but grasping his pistol in his left hand he returned the fire giving it to Shaw in the left arm and the left leg, rendering him hors du combat.

During the melee Texas Dick was shot in the right groin, making a painful and dangerous, though not necessarily a fatal wound, while Frank Buskirk, who, impelled by a curiosity he could not control, was looking in at the door upon the matinee, received a reminiscence in the left arm, which had the effect of starting him out to hunt a surgeon. Nobody was killed, but for a time it looked as though the undertaker and the coroner would have something to do. The nerve and pluck displayed by officer Masterson reflects credit both upon himself and the city, which has reason to congratulate itself upon the fact that it has a guardian who shirks no responsibility and who hesitates not to place himself in danger when duty requires.

On another page the paper reported: "Assistant City Marshal Ed. Masterson, who was shot last Monday while attempting to make an arrest, has so far recovered as to be up and around. To-

morrow evening he will start to Wichita to spend a week or two visiting his parents."

The shootout caused Bob Shaw to forsake the West for his native Georgia:

Mr. Bob Shaw, whom we noticed last week in connection with the shooting scrape, in which Officer Masterson was wounded, had so far recovered as to be able to start for his home in Georgia a few days ago. Shaw is not a desperado as would seem from this incident. Parties who have known him say he never was known to make a six-shooter play before this. Dr. Galland, under whose medical treatment he so rapidly recovered, has a high regard for him. Mr. Shaw's family are highly respectable people, and he has concluded to quit the far west and go back to live under the parental roof.⁵

Masterson made a rapid recovery from his wound and about November 19 returned to Dodge City. The *Times*, November 24, 1877, reported: "Assistant Marshal Masterson returned from Wichita the first of the week. He is recovering from the wound received in the recent shooting affray, and will soon be able to resume his duties as an officer." On page four the *Times* said: "Ed. Masterson's wife has returned, she came from Hays on a horse."

At the December 4, 1877, meeting of the city council of Dodge City Larry Deger was discharged as city marshal and Ed Masterson promoted to the position. The *Times*, December 8, reported the council's actions:

On motion of John Newton the office of City Marshal was declared vacant, the Mayor thereupon appointed Edward J. Masterson to the said Marshalship, which appointment the Council confirmed.

The petition of D. M. Frost, F. C. Zimmermann, S. Keller, P. G. Reynolds and others protesting against the removal of L. E. Deger was upon motion laid upon the table. . . .

The following bills were presented and allowed: Edward J. Masterson salary as assistant Marshal and medical treatment of wounds received in the arrest of Shaw, \$93.00. . . .

Editorially the *Times* had this to say of the change:

City Marshal Edward Masterson receives the congratulations of his many friends without a show of exultation. Notwithstanding the fact that considerable feeling was manifested against the removal of Mr. Deger, no one accuses Mr. Masterson of seeking the position. In fact he preferred to retain his old position as Assistant, which gave him the same salary and engendered less responsibilities. As an officer his reputation is made, and it is a good one. . . .

Charles E. Bassett, sheriff of Ford county, was named assistant to Masterson.⁶

The arrest of an army deserter netted the marshal spending money in January. The *Times*, January 19, 1878, reported: "Marshal

Masterson, Monday last, arrested a deserter by the name of A. J. Brusten, who was delivered to the commanding officer at the Fort. Ed. will receive \$30 for this neat work."

Horse thieves, deserters, and drunken cowboys were not the only trouble makers with whom the city marshal had to contend. The *Ford County Globe*, January 29, 1878, reported a less exciting type of delinquency:

Several of our over grown-babies emulated themselves, at the theatre last week, by throwing beans at some of the colored people present. If they have no respect for the colored population, they ought to have for themselves.

Marshal Masterson stopped some nonsense at the theater, Saturday night, by calling out the names of the participants, and telling them to stop. Correct Edward, repeat the dose.

In February "Marshal Masterson and Adam Jackson attended a court-martial at the Fort this week," and "Marshal Masterson took advantage of the pleasant weather and dried his lime kiln [city jail] blankets last Tuesday."

As an opposition paper the recently established *Ford County Globe* felt constrained to criticize the police force:

THE FESTIVE REVOLVER.

Some of the "boys" in direct violation of City Ordinances, carry firearms on our streets, without being called to account for the same. They do it in such an open manner, that it don't seem possible that our City officers are ignorant of this fact.

There must be some reason for it. What is it? Is it because they belong to the "gang," or because they intend to harm none but anti-gang men? An honest man attending to his own business, doesn't require the constant companionship of a six-shooter, to make him feel easy and safe. We think there is something rotten with a man's conscience when he parades the streets with an exposed six-shooter, knowing that he is violating law with impunity, simply because he is a friend of the marshal or policeman. We understand that Mayor Kelley has instructed the police force to rigidly enforce the ordinance against the carrying of firearms, for which he deserves great credit.⁸

However, the *Globe* was capable of encouragement as well as criticism. On March 12, 1878, it said: "Some of our officers displayed great courage, and justice, in raising h-ll in the south side dance hall, last Sunday." But criticism still received more type space:

We have heard more complaint during the past few days about parties being "held up" and robbed, on our streets, than ever before. How long is this thing to continue? We have one more policeman on the force now than ever before at this season of the year. It therefore seems strange that midnight robberies should be more prevalent than ever before. There is

something wrong somewhere, and the people are beginning to feel that there is no legal remedy. We would like to see the town smell worse of dead highway robbers than hell does of sinners.

If there is any place in this country that needs the attention of our officers of the law, its the robbers roost across the dead line.

Also on March 12 the *Globe* printed this pathetic story:

Thursday last, a poor bare-footed girl, came tramping into Dodge; with a year-old babe in her arms. Her garments were tattered and torn, her babe naked; and her story such as would ring tears from the heart of a stone, it ran thus: "I have since I was five years old, been living with my uncle Mr. Smith, who now resides on the Pawnee, about thirty-five miles north of Dodge. My uncle has since my earliest recollections ill treated and abused me, he has always kept me isolated from other society than that of himself and family. About nine months ago I gave birth to a child, my uncle was the father of the child; he having by coercion seduced me; on the day before my arrival in Dodge, my uncle was absent from home, I took my babe in my arms; and started for Dodge. I am afraid of my uncle, because he threatened to kill me if I ever ran away from him."

On Saturday morning, the uncle arrived in Dodge searching for the girl. He says that the girl's story from beginning to end is false, and stated that she stole from him when leaving his house, \$180, which was done up in a newspaper, and placed under the floor for safe keeping.

The Police arrested Mr. Smith, on a charge of disturbing the peace, but on promise of his leaving the girl alone in her glory, and departing from Dodge at once, he was permitted to go.

The sympathy of our people are decidedly with the girl, who is a buxom young woman, aged seventeen. Strong talk was made on the streets against Smith, "tar and feathers," "black-snake whips" and "cold water baths," were among the remedies advocated for his application. He, however, made good his departure, and all is now quiet on the "Rackensack," so far as the Smith family is concerned.

On March 15, 1878, Ed Masterson teamed with Bassett and brother Bat, who by then was sheriff of Ford county, to capture two train robbers. The articles reporting this will be found in the section on W. B. Masterson. Ed went along with the prisoners to Emporia where they were taken for safety's sake. He returned on March 17: "City Marshal Masterson returned home last Sunday morning, after conducting the two train robbers to Emporia, where they were safely lodged in jail. At all the stations along the road crowds assembled to see the robbers."⁹

Things began to get lively as spring came on. "Our police force were kept jumping till three o'clock yesterday morning, corralling disturbers of the peace. The result was a full calaboose of soldiers for Police court yesterday," said the *Globe*, March 26, 1878. The

Times, March 30, reported: "A prize fight was indulged in by two pugilists in the outskirts of the city this week. Three rounds were fought when both pugilists weakened and fled at sight of the City Marshal. The one-armed slugger received a slight scratch under his left blinker. Victory, in dispute." And on April 6 the *Times* stated: "A tall man with a hooked nose was placed in the calaboose yesterday by Marshal Masterson. Having nothing else to do he amused himself cremating the blankets."

Masterson wanted to put Dodge's vagrants to work on the city streets. The Dodge City *Times*, March 30, 1878, reported his intentions:

UTILIZING TRAMPS.

City Marshal Masterson contemplates organizing a tramp brigade for the purpose of clearing the streets and alleys of the filth and rubbish that has been accumulating for a year or so. There are about thirty tramps now sojourning among us, all of whom have no visible means of support and are liable to arrest under the vagrant act.

On April 9, 1878, calamity struck the cowtown. Twenty-six-year-old Marshal Edward J. Masterson was shot and killed while trying to disarm a cowboy in accordance with city ordinance. The *Ford County Globe*, in its somberly black-lined edition of April 16, 1878, reported:

SAD NEWS.

MARSHAL MASTERSON HURRIED HENCE BY A MURDERER'S HAND. A PUBLIC CALAMITY.

On the evening of the 9th inst., at 10 o'clock P. M., six pistol shots "rang out," on the night, on the south side of the R. R. track in Dodge City. Hurrying to the spot to ascertain the cause and result of the shooting, we found them to be as follows: A party of six "cow-boys" who had arrived in town in the evening, had been enjoying themselves with dancing and drinking, some of them evidently getting too much liquor for their own and the City's good. Marshal Masterson and Policeman [Nat] Haywood, being the custodians of the public peace of the City, were present, prepared to prevent any disturbance or trouble among the boys. One of the boys named Jack Wagner, becoming more intoxicated than the others, got to be very noisy. About this time the City Marshal observed that he was carrying a six-shooter, contrary to a City Ordinance, and proceeded to disarm him, which he accomplished without much trouble, and turned the pistol over to Wagner's Boss, A. M. Walker.

The dance went on and all appeared to be peace and harmony. The Marshal stepped out the front door to the side-walk where he again met Wagner, and saw that Wagner was again in possession of his pistol. He at once attempted to take it from him, a scuffle ensued, a general rush was made from inside the Hall to the sidewalk; Policeman Haywood stepped forward to assist the Marshal, but just as he did so, two other "cow men" drew their

pistols upon him and held him in position. One of them snapped a pistol in his face, which fortunately missed fire.

About this time a pistol was discharged, and Marshal Masterson was shot through the abdomen.

Five shots followed in quick succession. A general rush was made from the scene, and all was over.

Wagner being shot ran into [A. J.] Peacock's saloon and fell upon the floor, where he remained until carried away by his friends. He was fatally shot through the abdomen. He died on the evening of the 10th, and was buried on the hill near town at 4 P. M., on the eleventh.

Walker, the Boss herder, ran through Peacock's Saloon, and fell some distance in the rear of the saloon, from whence he was carried by his friends to a room over Wright, Beverly & Co's store, where he now lies in a very precarious condition, shot once through the left lung and twice through the right arm.

Marshal Masterson walked across the street and entering [George M.] Hoover's saloon, in the agonies of death he said to George Hinkle, "George, I'm shot;" and sank on the floor. His clothes were still on fire from the discharge of the pistol, which had been placed against the right side of his abdomen and "turned loose." Making a hole large enough for the introduction of the whole pistol. The ball passed completely through him, leaving him no possible chance for life. He was carried to his brother's room, where in half an hour he died.

Everyone in the City knew Ed. Masterson and liked him. They liked him as a boy, they liked him as a man, and they liked him as an officer.

Promptly at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 10th every business house in the City closed its doors which remained so until 6 o'clock, P. M. Crape draped almost every door in the City. Never before was such honor shown in Dodge, either to the living or dead.

The Dodge City Fire Company, of which Edward J. Masterson was a much respected member, took charge of the remains, and refused to permit any of the friends or relations of deceased to sustain any of the funeral expenses. Every vehicle in the City was employed for the use of the funeral attendants. Funeral services were had at the Fireman's Parlor, where the ladies discoursed appropriate music, and the Rev. O. W. Wright delivered a sermon. The funeral procession started from town at 3 o'clock P. M. and was formed as follows: The City Council in a body; next, came the hearse containing deceased; next Sheriff [Bat] Masterson, the only living relative of the deceased who could be present at the funeral, because of the family residing in the Southern part of the State and not having time to get here to attend; next, came the Fire Company, sixty strong, uniformed and in mourning; next, came buggies and wagons containing ladies and gentlemen; then came many horsemen. The procession marched to the Military Cemetery, at Fort Dodge, where the last sad rites were performed to one of the best and most generous men that God ever fashioned. Rev. O. W. Wright performing the burial services.

Four "cow boys" were arrested as accessories to the murder of our Marshal, but all were after the fullest and most complete investigation discharged by Judge R. G. Cook, as it was established that they were to blame only for being in bad company.

Wagner when dying said that he shot Marshal Masterson, and there is now but little doubt in the minds of any but that it was he who killed our Marshal.

Our Fire Company met in their new parlor, on the evening of the 12th inst., for the purpose of paying their respects in an appropriate manner to the memory of their deceased brother. After due consideration, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted, and spread upon the Journal:

WHEREAS, One of the most beloved of our number, Brother Edward J. Masterson, has been called from us by the voice of Death. Sadly, and with hearts filled with deep sorrow do we mourn the loss of our brother. Now that he is no more we vividly call to mind his many noble and generous qualities. In the bosom of man the Creator never caused a more true and brotherly heart to beat; ever ready to perform a kind act, he bore malice toward none and held the firm friendship of all. We feel that his death is a calamity that can never be repaired. His place among us cannot be filled. Long will we cherish him in memory as one who was near and dear to us all. And be it

RESOLVED, That as a mark of our high esteem and universal respect for our deceased brother, our place of meeting and our fire implements be draped in mourning, and that we wear a badge of crape for thirty days from the date of his death. This we do in honor of the dead. Also

RESOLVED, That we extend our heart felt sympathy to the afflicted relatives of our deceased brother and instruct the Secretary of this Company to forward copies of the foregoing preamble and resolution to their address. And to furnish both City papers with a copy thereof for publication.

The Dodge City *Times*, April 13, 1878, also carried a story and an editorial about the murder on its front page:

THE PISTOL.

MURDER OF EDWARD J. MASTERSON CITY MARSHAL.

THE ASSAILANTS SHOT—ONE OF THEM DEAD.

DODGE CITY IN MOURNING.

On Tuesday evening, about 10 o'clock, Edward J. Masterson, Marshal of Dodge City, was murdered by Jack Wagner and Alf Walker, two cattle drivers from near Hays City. The two cow boys were under the influence of bad whisky and were carrying revolvers. Early in the evening Marshal Masterson disarmed Wagner; later Marshal Masterson and Deputy Marshal Nat Haywood tried the second time to disarm Wagner. While in the act Masterson was shot in the abdomen. Walker in the meantime snapped a pistol in the face of Officer Haywood. Masterson fired four shots, one of them striking Wagner in the bowels from the left side. Walker was struck three times, one shot in the lungs and his right arm horribly shattered with the other shots.

The shooting occurred on the south side of the Railroad track. Marshal Masterson coolly walked over to the business side of the street, a distance of about 200 yards, and upon reaching the sidewalk he fell exhausted. He was taken to his room where he died about 40 minutes afterwards.

Wagner and Walker were removed to Mr. Lane's room, where the former died at about 7 o'clock Wednesday evening. Walker is lying dangerously wounded, with no hopes of his recovery.

Some of the flying shots grazed the faces of one of our citizens and a cattle man. The shots were fired almost simultaneously, and the wonder is expressed that more death and destruction did not ensue, as a large crowd surrounded the scene of the shooting.

The officers were brave and cool though both were at a disadvantage, as neither desired to kill the whisky crazed assailants.

The death of Marshal Masterson caused great feeling in Dodge City. The business houses were draped in mourning, and business on Wednesday generally suspended.

Elsewhere we give the expression of sympathy and ceremonies following this terrible tragedy.

THE MURDER.

An Officer has been stricken down in the discharge of his duty. The deep feeling of gloom that pervades this community over this sad affair, leaves us opportunities for calm reflection and judgment. A life that periled itself, that others might enjoy safety from the assassin's bludgeon, while in the discharge of duty, has been slain in cold blood. The avenging hand though too struck back that the penalty might be swift and unerring.

The loss of Edward J. Masterson, the late murdered City Marshal, has cast a gloom through which is felt the realizing sense of buckling on the armor unto death. The general sympathy and respect for the deceased is deep and heartfelt. As an officer he was vigilant, courageous and conscientious of the important trust in his hands. As we knew him he was kind, civil and steadfast—combined with those qualities that make a brave man, the true friend and good citizen.

While we commend the good qualities that possessed our deceased friend, and deplore the tragic end that so summarily disposed him—and through our sorrows and reverence for the departed, let us go forth girdled with common fraternity for our bodily protection; armed with resoluteness and courage; and guided solely in the axiom: Self-preservation is the first law of human nature.

A frontier life stimulates all the qualities of manhood—the true, the good and the bad. The reckless denizen of the plains is at the mercy of an outraged people. As we see the draped doors, the solemn faces, and the cold, quiet air of remorse, we see depicted that steady determination to give no quarter to the ruthless invader of our lives, peace and prosperity. While we give utterance to our feelings in kindly sentiment, we shall find no mawkish sentimentality in guarding the future conduct of those whose utter disregard of their own lives jeopardize those whose lives are worth living for.

We can forget the animosities engendered through the ordinary courses of life, that we may doubly arm ourselves, by strengthening the picket lines, and filling to the maximum the ranks of the reserves.

There will be no slow work in protecting the lives of this people against cold-blooded assassination.

On an inside page of the same issue the *Times* ran Masterson's obituary:

EDWARD J. MASTERTSON.

DIED—In this city, on Tuesday, April 9th, in the 26th year of his age, Edward J. Masterson, City Marshal.

The subject of this sketch was born in Henryville, Canada East, on September 22d, 1852, and removed to Wichita, Kansas with his parents in 1869, where he continued to reside until attaining his majority when he left his home and became one of the first inhabitants of this city.

In May 1876 [June 5, 1877] he accepted the appointment of Assistant Marshal, and in the December following [December 4, 1877], having displayed marked adaptability for the position, he was promoted to the Marshalship, in the discharge of the duties of which he continued until his unfortunate death.

Possessed of a geniality of temperament, a kindness of heart and a richness of personal bravery, he had many warm friends and admirers.

As an officer he followed the dictation of duty, striving at all times for its honest and complete discharge and gaining for himself the dignity and respect that of necessity followed from his determined intrepidity.

He died in the service he performed so well, and has added one other to the list of those who, living, were so many representatives, each of his day and generation, but who dead, belong to all time, and whose voices ring down the ages in solemn protest against the reign of violence and blood.

The city council passed a resolution of respect and sympathy:

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL.

Now on this 10th day of April, 1878, at the City of Dodge City comes D. D. Colley, C. M. Beeson, James Anderson, Walter Straeter and John Newton Councilmen thereof, and, whereas the Mayor of said city being absent, and there being no President of the Council; on motion of John Newton D. D. Colley was chosen acting President of the Council; and on motion of James Anderson D. D. Colley was elected President of the Council.

The following resolutions were presented by C. M. Beeson and unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, Edward J. Masterson, Marshal of the City of Dodge City, was on the night of April 9th, 1878, killed in the lawful discharge of his duties, be it

RESOLVED by the Council of the City of Dodge City, that in his death the city has lost an officer who was not afraid to do his duty, and who never shrank from its faithful performance; a worthy servant and an upright citizen.

RESOLVED that we offer our heartfelt sympathy to his many friends both here and abroad; and that these resolutions be spread upon the journal of these proceedings; and that the Clerk be directed to forward a copy of the same when printed to his parents at Wichita.

D. D. COLLEY, Pres't. of the Council.

E. F. Colborn, City Clerk.¹⁰

The April 13, 1878, edition of the *Times* was filled with items of interest concerning the shooting:

Marshal Masterson lived about forty minutes after he was shot and died surrounded by many of his warmest friends. He remained conscious to the last and passed away apparently without pain or dread.

When prepared for burial his remains were visited by many of our most worthy ladies. His face was that of one who had been called away in the midst of his slumber.

The parents of Marshal Masterson reside near Wichita.

INCIDENTS OF THE SHOOTING.

After Wagner was shot he rushed into the saloon and fell to the floor in an almost senseless condition. Walker, upon receiving his wound, ran out back of the saloon and fell to the ground. The excitement was so great and the place where the shooting occurred (out on the sidewalk) being dark, no one hardly knew what was the matter until after the firing ceased. Marshal Masterson talked but very little after he was shot.

SUPPOSED ACCOMPLICES.

An hour after the shooting warrants were issued and Sheriff Masterson arrested the four associates who accompanied Walker and Wagner into the city. They were examined Wednesday and Thursday before Justice Cook, a large number of witnesses were sworn but no evidence was brought out of sufficient strength to convict them as accomplices in the killing of Marshal Masterson, and they were released. Their names were John Hungate, Thomas Highlander, Thomas Roads and John Reece. The examination was ably and thoroughly conducted by County Attorney Sutton, assisted by his partner Mr. Colborn. Messrs. [H. E.] Gryden, [D. M.] Frost and [W. N.] Morphy defended the prisoners. Although there was a crowd of people standing within a few feet of the shooting when it occurred, not one of them saw the affair from beginning to end.

JOHN WAGNER.

Mr. John Wagner, who received his death wound at the time Masterson was killed, died on Wednesday evening about sundown. He was 27 years old and about the average size, blue eyes and light complexion. Before he arrived in town he informed some of the men with him that he had been lost from his mother for eight years. Some time ago he received a fall from his horse, which it is thought rendered him partially insane. He was buried Thursday evening on the hill west of the city.

ALFRED WALKER, who was shot at the time of the killing of Marshal Masterson, is still lying very low at Mr. Lane's rooms. There is a prospect of his recovery.

Bat Masterson and his friend, Attorney M. W. Sutton, spent several days with the Masterson family in Sedgwick county. The *Times*, April 20, 1878, said:

County Attorney Sutton and Sheriff Masterson arrived home from Wichita last Wednesday morning. The Sheriff spent several days with his parents and brothers and sisters, who received the news of the death of Edward—who was

the eldest son, and greatly beloved—with great grief; they have the sympathy of this entire community.

The Dodge City *Times* kept the town informed of Walker's progress. On April 20, 1878, it reported: "Alfred Walker, who was wounded at the time of the shooting of Marshal Masterson, is still in a critical condition, but will probably recover if mortification can be prevented," and on June 1:

Alfred Walker, who has been confined to his bed ever since the unfortunate shooting scrape last April, was removed to Kansas City last Friday, where he is still under medical treatment. We learn that his father, who accompanied him, took suddenly ill this week and died at Fort Scott. He had left his son at Kansas City and started for his home in Texas when something like cramp seized him and the result was fatal. He was a highly respectable old gentleman and had many friends among those who knew him.

A year after Ed Masterson was killed Dodge City had obtained a respectable cemetery of its own and the body of the slain marshal was brought back "home." The *Times*, April 19, 1879, reported:

The body of Ed. Masterson, the city marshal, who was murdered in this city a year ago, was removed from the Fort Dodge Cemetery, Monday, and placed in Prairie Grove Cemetery. A monument will be erected over his grave. The disinterment was conducted by P. L. Beatty, the Dodge City Fire Department foreman.¹¹

1. Dodge City *Times*, June 9, 1877. 2. *Ibid.*, July 7, August 11, September 8, October 6, November 10, December 8, 1877; January 5, February 9, March 9, April 6, May 11, 1878. 3. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1877. 4. *Ibid.*, October 6, 1877. 5. *Ibid.*, November 17, 1877. 6. *Ibid.*, December 15, 1877. 7. *Ibid.*, February 9, 23, 1878. 8. March 5, 1878. 9. Dodge City *Times*, March 23, 1878. 10. *Ibid.*, April 13, 1878. 11. Prairie Grove cemetery later was converted into a residential section and the bodies were for the most part removed to Maple Grove cemetery. Local residents of Dodge City say (1960) that the body of Edward J. Masterson was not identified when the move was made, and further that Bat Masterson, then a New York newspaperman, had tried to locate Ed's grave so that a monument could be erected but it could not be found.

MASTERSON, JAMES P.

(1855-1895)

James Masterson, third in age of the Masterson brothers, was also the third member of the family to serve on the Dodge City police force. Jim was not a newcomer to Dodge when he was appointed. He had been in the town at least as early as October, 1877. In February, 1878, he was in Dodge again, back from a long buffalo hunt. The Dodge City *Times*, February 23, 1878, mentioned his return: "Jim Masterson, brother of Bat and Ed, returned from a buffalo hunt this week. He had been absent nearly four months."

The younger Masterson was hired as a policeman in early June, 1878; his first salary payment indicating June 1 to be the exact date of his appointment.¹ The local newspapers, however, did not report

his employment until June 11, when the *Ford County Globe* stated that "Policeman Trask has resigned and Jim Masterson has taken his place on the force." In any event, within two months of the death of Jim's brother Ed, city marshal of Dodge, another Masterson was wearing a badge.

The Dodge City police department in the summer of 1878 consisted of Marshal Charles E. Bassett, Assistant Marshal Wyatt Earp, Policeman John Brown, and Policeman Jim Masterson. The marshal's salary was \$100 while all the others earned \$75 a month.²

The first activity in which Jim Masterson is reported to have participated occurred in the early morning of July 26, 1878. There is an even chance that it was Jim Masterson and not Wyatt Earp who shot George Hoy that night. Both of the officers emptied their pistols at the fleeing cowboy making it impossible to state positively which fired the bullet that dropped the herder. The *Times* article reporting the scrape has been reprinted in the section on Wyatt Earp. The *Globe*, July 30, 1878, said:

SHOOTING AFFRAY.

On Friday morning about three o'clock two Texas boys, having saddled their horses and started for camp, passed down Bridge street by the Comique Hall. As they arrived at the rear end they commenced shooting into the hall, firing about five or six shots, all of which passed across the stage or into the ceiling of the room. At the time the shooting commenced there were at least 150 people in the house all enjoying themselves immensely. Fortunately no one was, as usual, in the boxes of the Theater, everybody being down on the dancing floor, and owing to this fact no person inside the house was hurt, because the balls all passed too high to hit anyone on this floor. A general scamper was made by the crowd, some getting under the stage, others running out the front door, and behind the bar; in the language of the bard, "such a gittin up stairs never was seed."

Our police force was promptly on hand, and they, together with several citizens, turned their pistols loose in the direction of the flying horsemen, who by this time had nearly reached the bridge.

In the morning the fruit was gathered in and consisted of Geo. Hoyt [most newspaper articles reported his name as Hoy] with his arm broken in two places. He, it appears, was one of the horsemen who did the first shooting, and was wounded by one of the many bullets fired after him, while fleeing from the disturbed peace of the community which at that time was "up on its ear." He claims not to have done any shooting; be that as it may he was in bad company and has learned a lesson "he wont forget soon." We learn from Dr. T. L. McCarty, his physician, that amputation will not be necessary.

Hoyt died from his wound on August 21, 1878.³

John Brown was relieved from the police force on August 6, 1878, leaving Bassett, Earp, and Masterson,⁴ all of whom may have been involved in this Dodge City episode:

Another shooting affair occurred on the "south side" Saturday night. It appears that one of the cow boys, becoming intoxicated and quarrelsome, undertook to take possession of the bar in the Comique. To this the bar keeper objected and a row ensued. Our policemen interfered and had some difficulty in handling their man. Several cattle men then engaged in the broil and in the excitement some of them were bruised on the head with six shooters. Several shots were accidentally fired which created general confusion among the crowd of persons present. We are glad to chronicle the fact that none were seriously hurt and nobody shot. We however cannot help but regret the too ready use of pistols in all rows of such character and would like to see a greater spirit of harmony exist between our officers and cattle men so that snarling cayotes and killers could make their own fights without interesting or dragging good men into them.⁵

Officer Jim Masterson, along with Assistant Marshal Earp, was on duty the night Dora Hand was shot. Though the two were soon at the scene the killer escaped. The story of Dora Hand's death is included in the section on Bat Masterson.

On December 3, 1878, the city council of Dodge City, probably in keeping with the fact that the end of the year's cattle season had arrived, reduced the expenses of the police force from \$250 to \$200 a month. The salaries of Earp and Jim Masterson were cut to \$50 while Bassett's remained at \$100.⁶

Jim Masterson was concurrently a deputy sheriff of Ford county, serving under his brother Sheriff Bat Masterson. A *Times* article, January 11, 1879, which commended his efficiency in that position, was printed in the section on C. E. Bassett.

As a deputy sheriff Jim aided Bat in guarding seven Cheyenne prisoners which the sheriff brought from Fort Leavenworth to stand trial for certain atrocities they were alleged to have committed in September, 1878, during the last Indian raid in Kansas. The complete story of the Cheyenne prisoners will be covered in the section on Bat Masterson.

During Jim Masterson's absence at Leavenworth J. J. Webb filled his position on the police force.⁷

On April 9, 1879, the city council, in anticipation of the coming cattle season, raised the salaries of the assistant marshal and the policeman, effective April 12, to \$100 a month each. In addition an officer was allowed \$2 for each arrest he made.⁸

Jim took a week's vacation in May. The *Times*, May 10, 1879, reported: "Officer James Masterson spent a week at his home, near Wichita."

One day in May Masterson and Earp faced down seven drovers in order to collect a bill for a colored man. The *Times* article cover-

ing this has been included in the section on Wyatt Earp.

Another shooting scrape between cowboys and police rent the air on the night of June 9, 1879:

THE WORK OF THE PISTOL.

Last night the police undertook to disarm a squad of cow boys who had neglected to lay aside their six-shooters upon arriving in the city. The cow boys protested and war was declared. Several shots were fired, and one of the cow boys was wounded in the leg. The balance of the cow boys made their escape.⁹

Much of the wild life in Dodge had its locale in that portion of the city south of the Santa Fe tracks. The editor of the *Ford County Globe*, June 24, 1879, described a typical "good time" in that place:

A HIGH OLD LONESOME.

The boys and girls across the dead line had a high old time last Friday. They sang and danced, and fought and bit, and cut and had a good time generally, making music for the entire settlement. Our reporter summed up five knock downs, three broken heads, two cuts and several incidental bruises. Unfortunately none of the injuries will prove fatal.

Apparently the police often considered such goings on routine and did not interfere.

Although a Las Vegas, N. M., correspondent of the *Globe*, October 28, 1879, reported that Jim Masterson was in that town on October 16 the salary record of the policeman did not indicate an absence from duty in Dodge City.¹⁰

Wyatt Earp left Dodge City early in September, 1879, and about the first of November Marshal Bassett also resigned. On November 4 Policeman Jim Masterson was promoted to the chief marshalship. Neil Brown was named assistant marshal and the two earned \$100 a month each.¹¹

Dodge City police activities did not make the newspapers during the winter of 1879-1880. On May 8, 1880, the Dodge City *Times* mentioned that both Masterson and Brown had been reappointed to their respective positions by the newly elected council at a meeting held on May 4. Their salaries remained at \$100.

The tenth United States census was enumerated in Dodge as of June 22, 1880. Jim Masterson's name appeared on page 19 of the Dodge City section. He was listed as being 24 years old, employed as city marshal, and living with one Minnie Roberts, a 16-year-old concubine.

Things remained quiet in Dodge all during the cattle season of 1880. Not one incident involving the city marshal was reported by the papers for the remainder of the year. Apparently the town

was so tranquil that the city fathers thought \$100 a month was too much salary for services received so on October 5, 1880, a reduction was ordered. From November 1, 1880, Marshal Masterson and Assistant Marshal Neil Brown each received \$50 a month salary.¹²

At last, on January 4, 1881, the quiet of Dodge was broken, not by drunken cowboys, hot headed gamblers or vociferous dance-hall girls but rather, because of a home triangle situation. The *Times*, January 8, 1881, reported:

A SHOOTING SCRAPE.

The still air of Tuesday evening, about 8 o'clock, was broken by the report of pistol shots; and it is well to add the affair created little or no excitement. J. Q. Stultz is a painter by trade, and eighteen months ago, with his wife, domiciled under the same roof with A. H. Snyder, a carpenter. There was a family rupture, Stultz leaving for Nebraska, and Mrs. Stultz for Illinois. They both returned to this county some weeks ago, Mrs. Stultz instituting suit for divorce. The wife came into town Tuesday, and her appearance brought both Snyder and Stultz to her stopping place. Words brought out pistols, both men firing, when the injured and enraged Stultz chased Snyder up the street east of the signal office; and while the trembling form of Snyder lay prostrate on the ground the outraged and indignant Stultz fired several shots over the disturber of his family relations. No shot took effect but Snyder had a close call, the powder blackened his face. Both men were arrested.

As the causes which led to this trouble will probably be shown at the present term of the District Court we forbear making further comment.

The police and Mayor Kelley staged their own show on March 30, according to the *Globe* of April 5, 1881:

The agent of the Adams Express Co., at this place, Mr. Ruby, was taken out to the railroad water tank last Wednesday, and drenched with water by Mayor [James H.] Kelley and his policemen, for writing an article to an Iowa newspaper reflecting discredibly upon said officials.

Mayor Kelley and the entire city council (W. C. Shinn, W. H. Harris, C. S. Hungerford, Mike Sutton, and T. J. Draper) were defeated for re-election on April 4, 1881. The defeat cost Masterson and Brown their jobs for within two days the new administration declared their positions vacant and proceeded to appoint new police officers.¹³

A few days after he had been discharged from the police force Jim Masterson became involved in a slight shooting scrape with bartender Al Updegraff. Masterson, along with A. J. Peacock, owned the Lady Gay saloon where Updegraff plied his trade. Peacock had sided with Updegraff in a controversy concerning one of Jim's friends and ultimately Al and Jim took ineffective pot shots at each other.

Either Jim or a friend is said to have telegraphed Bat Masterson, who was then in the Southwest, to come to his brother's aid. The former sheriff of Ford county arrived in Dodge City a few minutes before noon, April 16, 1881, and immediately went gunning for Peacock and Updegraff. A lively Front street battle ensued in which Updegraff and several noted buildings were perforated. Bat was arrested and fined \$8 for disturbing the peace. He was told, however, to leave the town and and return no more. The complete story will be told in the section on Bat Masterson.

As a postscript to the affair the *Dodge City Times*, April 21, 1881, said: "Jim Masterson and Charley Ronan [who was also involved in the incident] have gone west to grow up with the country."

Jim Masterson returned to Dodge sometime later. In January, 1889, he was one of the Dodgeites involved in the Gray county seat war. This action will be included in the section on William M. Tilghman.

1. *Dodge City Times*, July 6, 1878. 2. *Ibid.*, July 6, August 10, September 7, October 5, December 7, 1878. 3. *Ibid.*, August 24, 1878; *Ford County Globe*, August 27, 1878. 4. *Dodge City Times*, August 10, 1878. 5. *Ford County Globe*, August 20, 1878. 6. *Dodge City Times*, December 7, 1878; January 11, April 12, 1879; *Ford County Globe*, April 15, 1879. 7. *Ford County Globe*, February 17, 1879. 8. *Ibid.*, April 15; *Dodge City Times*, April 12, May 10, June 7, July 12, August 9, September 6, October 11, November 15, 1879. 9. *Ford County Globe*, June 10, 1879. 10. *Dodge City Times*, November 15, 1879. 11. *Ibid.*, November 15, 1879; January 17, February 14, March 6, April 10, May 8, July 10, August 7, September 11, October 9, 1880; *Ford County Globe*, November 18, 1879. 12. *Dodge City Times*, October 9, December 11, 1880; April 14, 1881. 13. *Ibid.*, April 7, 1881.

MASTERSON, WILLIAM BARCLAY

(1853-1921)

Available Dodge City history of William Barclay "Bat" Masterson begins with his enumeration in the second Kansas state census. On March 1, 1875, Bat was listed as being 24 years old, a teamster who had been born in Kansas but who had moved to this state from Illinois. Obviously the census was in error. Most historians agree that Bat was born on November 24, 1853, and in Illinois, not Kansas. The family moved to Sedgwick county about 1870.

What Bat did between March, 1875, and April, 1877, cannot be traced because of the lack of contemporary information. On April 28, 1877, however, the *Dodge City Times* reported a Masterson (who was probably Bat but who could have been brothers Ed or Jim) as owning a saloon:

Dodge City is bracing herself up for the cattle trade. Places of refreshment are being gorgeously arrayed in new coats of paint and other ornaments to beguile the festive cow boy. Masterson & Springer's place can scarcely be

recognized since the bar has been moved and operated upon by Mr. Weaver's brush. The graining is finely executed. Charley Lawson's orchestra are mounted on a platform enclosed by and tastefully ornamented with bunting.

On May 6, 1877, the *Times* reported that the city council had, on May 1, approved certain saloon licenses. Masterson's name appeared again:

Petitions properly signed and recommending the following parties as suitable persons to engage in the keeping of dram shops were presented and accepted: Garis & Tilghman, McGinty & Deger, Dunham & Dawson, Beeson & Harris, Springer & Masterson, A. J. Peacock, Beatty & Kelley, G. M. Hoover, Rule & Smith, Cox & Boyd, Langton & Newton, H. J. Fringer, H. B. Bell, Colley & Manion, Chambers & Foster, Henry Sturm.

The first definite identification of Bat Masterson in available local newspapers concerned some trouble he had with the Dodge City police force. On June 6, 1877, he tried to prevent the arrest of Bobby Gill (Robert Gilmore), a persistent and ubiquitous cowtown character. The *Times*, June 9, described Bat's attempt:

THE GANG CORRALED.

THE OPENING OF THE CATTLE TRADE CELEBRATED IN THE DOG HOUSE.

Bobby Gill done it again. Last Wednesday was a lively day for Dodge. Two hundred cattle men in the city; the gang in good shape for business; merchants happy, and money flooding the city, is a condition of affairs that could not continue in Dodge very long without an eruption, and that is the way it was last Wednesday. Robert Gilmore was making a talk for himself in a rather emphatic manner, to which Marshal Deger took exceptions, and started for the dog house with him. Bobby walked very leisurely—so much so that Larry felt it necessary to administer a few paternal kicks in the rear. This act was soon interrupted by Bat Masterson, who wound his arm affectionately around the Marshal's neck and let the prisoner escape. Deger then grappled with Bat, at the same time calling upon the bystanders to take the offender's gun and assist in the arrest. Joe Mason appeared upon the scene at this critical moment and took the gun. But Masterson would not surrender yet, and came near getting hold of a pistol from among several which were strewed around over the sidewalk, but half a dozen Texas men came to the Marshal's aid and gave him a chance to draw his gun and beat Bat over the head until blood flew upon Joe Mason so that he kicked, and ward off the blows with his arm. Bat Masterson seemed possessed of extraordinary strength, and every inch of the way was closely contested, but the city dungeon was reached at last, and in he went. If he had got hold of his gun before going in there would have been a general killing. . . .

Ed. Masterson accomplished his first official act in the arrest of Bobby Gilmore the same afternoon.

Next day Judge [D. M.] Frost administered the penalty of the law by assessing twenty-five and costs to Bat . . . and five to Bobby.

The boys are all at liberty now.

James H. Kelley, then mayor of the town, returned some of Bat's money. The *Times*, July 7, 1877, said: "The Mayor, with the consent of the Council, remitted the fine of \$10.00 assessed against the defendant in the case of city vs. W. B. Masterson."

During the summer of 1877 Bat served as under sheriff of Ford county, his superior being Charles E. Bassett, sheriff. On August 2 the county officers pursued one William Samples who had just killed Enos Mosley up on the Saw Log. The *Times*, August 4, 1877, reported their failure:

Sheriff Bassett, Under-sheriff Masterson, Al. Updegraff [with whom Bat was to have a near fatal altercation in just four years] and one of the herders started out soon after the news came to town, and spent two days scouring the country in search of Samples but failed to get trace of him.

Samples, however, was finished off next day by cowboy friends of Mosley.

There is little doubt that a degree of enmity existed between Bat and Larry Deger, especially since the affair in June when Deger had given Bat a pistol whipping. It seems probable, then, that this was the reason Bat used his authority as under sheriff to force Deger to resign as deputy sheriff, a job he held concurrently with the position of city marshal. The *Times*, August 4, 1877, simply stated: "Marshal Deger resigned his position of Deputy Sheriff this week, at the request of Under Sheriff Masterson."

In early August Bat visited John "Red" Clarke at his ranch on the Cimarron river.¹ In September he arrested a horse thief. The *Times*, September 8, 1877, stated: "Under Sheriff Masterson arrested a man this evening who had stole a horse near Granada last week and sold him to a man near Offerle. The prisoner 'put up' and was released."

Nine days later, September 17, Bat was instrumental in preventing bloodshed which might have resulted through mistaken identity. The protagonists, of all people, were a Dodge City policeman and the sheriff of Edwards county, neither of whom recognized the other. Let the Dodge City *Times*, September 22, 1877, tell the involved story:

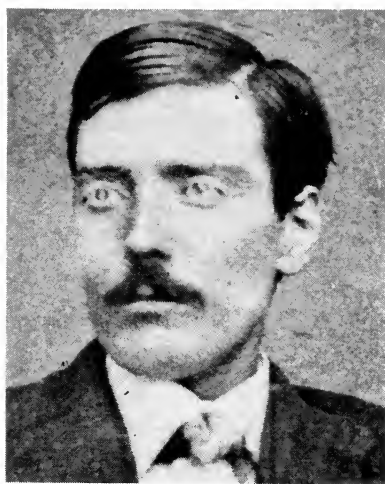
SWINDLERS.

THEY COME FROM KINSLEY AND TRY TO SWINDLE THE
GOOD PEOPLE OF DODGE.

Last Monday three men came up from near Kinsley with a wagon and team. They stopped at Rath & Co's. store and ordered a supply of provisions, saying they were going out hunting. Having no gun, they wanted to trade a gold watch and chain to Mr. Wright for a gun in his store. Mr. Wright, in the goodness of his nature, told them all right, he would take the watch just to



William B. "Bat" Masterson, sheriff of Ford county, 1878-1880, as he appeared during his Dodge City days.



Edward J. Masterson, Bat's older brother who, as a Dodge City marshal, was killed by drunken cowboys on April 9, 1878.



James P. Masterson, city marshal of Dodge, 1879-1881, and a principal in the Peacock-Updegraff-Masterson difficulty of April, 1881.



Rowdy Joe Lowe, the notorious Wichita dance hall proprietor (see pp. 98-109). Photo courtesy Frontier Book Co., Ruidoso, N. Mex.

DELMONICO HOTEL.

DODGE CITY, KAN.

GUESTS WITHOUT BAGGAGE
ARE REQUIRED
TO PAY IN ADVANCE

{ All Money, Jewelry, Coats, Valises, and other Valuables, must
be left at the office, and checks received for them, otherwise
the Proprietor will not be responsible for any loss. }

CHAS. HEINZ.

Proprietor.

The Paper in this Book is made by CRANE BROS., Watfield, Mass., Manufacturers of "SOUTH MEDAL LEXAN RECORD PAPER," the best made. Engraved Water Mark in each sheet.

NAME	RESIDENCE	TIME	ROOMS
Sunday, Oct 23, 1887.			
W. B. Masterson	Lancaster, Kans.	B. 2	
W. H. Daniels	St. Louis, Mo.	D 15	Paid
Ed. Prather	City.	11	Paid
C. A. Clark	Chicago,	5	Paid
C. W. Nigun	Chicago,	14	Paid

Portion of a page from the Delmonico Hotel register, Dodge City, bearing the signature of Bat Masterson. Note also the signature of Ed. Prather, a victim of Bill Tilghman's six-gun accuracy on July 4, 1888.



Thomas and Catherine Masterson, parents of Bat, Ed, and Jim Masterson. The Masterson family settled in Sedgwick county about 1870, and in 1875 the parents bought a farm in Garden Plain township, west of Wichita.

All Masterson photos, except that of Bat, courtesy of Mrs. Cora Land, Fort Scott, and C. B. Masterson, Rockaway Beach, Mo.

accommodate them and help them get outfitted. They took the goods and gun and loaded them in the wagon, the whole purchase amounting to about \$120. But instead of calling around at the office to settle and turn over the watch, they silently drove out of town taking a southerly direction. As soon as their absence was discovered at the store, and that they had really skipped out, one of the employees Mr. Strauss, was sent to overtake and remind them of the little bill they had left behind unpaid. He overtook them several miles south of here and asked them to come back or give him the amount due. They asked him if he was an officer, and he said he was not. They were not very obedient; did not like to come back and would not give up any money. After fooling for some time they said they would give him the watch, which they did, and he returned home.

Being positive that they did have money, and being convinced that they had not done exactly the square thing, Mr. Wright sent Under-Sheriff Masterson out to overhaul them again. Masterson overtook them, and in his amiable manner bulldozed them out of all the money they had, amounting to about \$25. The watch and chain being worth about \$75, the \$25 in cash added left Rath & Co. out only \$20, which they concluded to look out for when the hunters returned. They could have taken the gun, but this would have left the hunters without means of hunting, so they were allowed to keep it.

But the joke of this transaction—if joke it be—was the fact that on this same evening Sheriff McCanse, of Edwards county, arrived with two deputies, after this same party of hunters, charging them with having taken the watch and chain and the wagon in about the same manner as they took the goods from Rath & Co. As McCanse and his men came riding up the road on their way here, they passed the residence of Mr. J. E. Van Voorhis, who has been searching for some horse thieves of late. Mr. Van Voorhis saw the sheriff and his men riding rapidly, and it being about dark he immediately took them to be the thieves he was looking for, and hitching his horse to his buggy gave chase, following close at their heels until he reached this city, where he immediately informed our sheriff and police, and pointed out the supposed thieves, who were then putting up their horses at Anderson's livery stable. Under Sheriff Masterson and Policeman Mason immediately rushed over to the stable. Masterson met one of the men, took his pistol and made him a prisoner. Mason pointed two ivory-handled guns at another, and completely covered him. The last man they met was Sheriff McCanse. Mason seized his revolver, but McCanse did not like the idea of losing his gun, and held on to it. It was very opportune that Masterson came up just then and recognized McCanse, as our Joe might have had trouble in arresting him. But we firmly believe that if McCanse had not been identified, our Dodge City "braves" would have captured the Edwards county crowd without losing a man. It was all a mistake, and the principal part of the joke is on Mr. Van Voorhis.

That same evening McCanse and his men went on south after the hunters, whom they captured without any resistance a few days drive south of here, and took them back to Kinsley.

One of the hunters gave him name here as Samuel Miller, but other parties say his name is Gooddale. There were two others with him.

In spite of the not too amiable feelings between the under sheriff and City Marshal Deger the former was appointed a special police-

man on the city force on September 17. The Dodge City police department then consisted of Marshal L. E. Deger, Assistant Marshal Edward J. Masterson, and Policemen Joseph W. Mason, and William Barclay Masterson. The terminal date of Bat's employment as a city officer is not known, although on October 2, 1877, he was paid \$25 for his services. At the rate of \$2.50 per day, based on Mason's salary, this would mean that Bat served ten days or from September 17 to September 27.²

The only recorded action in which Bat participated as a city policeman was the attempted arrest of A. C. Jackson, a "gay and festive" cowboy. The Dodge City *Times*, September 29, 1877, reported the gunplay as follows:

RANDOM SHOTS.

Mr. A. C. Jackson is a gay and festive Texas boy, and like all true sons of the Lone Star State, he loves to fondle and practice with his revolver in the open air. It pleases his ear to hear the sound of this deadly weapon. Aside from the general pleasure derived from shooting, the Texas boy makes shooting inside the corporate limits of any town or city a specialty. He loves to see the inhabitants rushing wildly around to "see what all this shooting is about;" and it tickles his heart to the very core to see the City Marshal coming towards him at a distance, while he is safe and securely mounted on his pony and ready to skip out of town and away from the officer.

The programme of the Texas boy, then, is to come to town and bum around until he gets disgusted with himself, then to mount his pony and ride out through the main street, shooting his revolver at every jump. Not shooting to hurt any one, but shooting in the air, just to raise a little excitement and let people know he is in town.

In order to put a stop to this, the carrying of concealed weapons within the city limits has been prohibited, but this has only partially stopped the practice. Several times this summer the town has been thrown into excitement by the firing of revolvers in the middle of the streets, and the marshals have become very much aggravated over the matter, and determined to put a stop to it if possible.

Last Tuesday [September 25] the sound of the revolver was heard several times in quick succession. The police were on the alert in a moment, and everybody rushed toward where the sound came from. Men hatless and women with their back hair down hastened to see whether their absent friends were safe. But all this excitement was caused by Jackson indulging in his favorite amusement of shooting. However, he came out loser, and that is some consolation. He was riding down Front street, and about opposite Beatty & Kelley's he commenced to shoot. He had shot two or three times, when the police got their eyes on him. Bat Masterson ordered him to halt, but nary a halt would he. He says, "I am going to skip out for camp," and bang! bang! went his gun. Bat had a gun too, and he immediately brought it to bear on the festive cow-boy's horse. Instantly after Bat shot Ed. got in a shot. The horse seemed to scringe, but being spurred on dashed out of town and off toward camp. Two more shots were fired after him, but without

effect. Bat then mounted a horse and gave chase, but when he was about to hail the shootist again, he found that his own revolver had not a load in its chambers. So what else could he do but return? Jackson's horse proved to be mortally wounded, but the noble animal carried its rider a mile or two from the city at a rapid gait, and then fell to the ground and rose no more. Jackson "hoofed it" the balance of the way to the camp. This will probably serve as a slight check to the practice of shooting "just for fun" inside the city limits.

On September 27, Bat, as under sheriff, accompanied Bassett and J. J. Webb in a futile search for Sam Bass and his Union Pacific train robbers. The Dodge City *Times* story of this chase was included in the section on Bassett.

With the approach of election time Bat became interested in the office of sheriff of Ford county. His friend and the current holder of the position, Charley Bassett, was prohibited by the state constitution from succeeding himself for a third term. His enemy (or at least not a friend), Larry Deger was also interested in the job. What better chance, then, not only to add to his already impressive laurels as a peace officer but also to humble his Dodge City foe by winning the race for sheriff?

So it was that in the Dodge City *Times*, October 13, 1877 (the same issue in which Deger announced himself as a candidate), Bat placed this announcement:

At the earnest request of many citizens of Ford county, I have consented to run for the office of Sheriff at the coming election in this county. While earnestly soliciting the suffrages of the people, I have no pledges to make, as pledges are usually considered before election to be mere clap-trap. I desire to say to the voting public that I am no politician, and shall make no combinations that would be likely to in anywise hamper me in the discharge of the duties of the office, and should I be elected will put forth my best efforts to so discharge the duties of the office that those voting for me shall have no occasion to regret having done so.

Respectfully,

W. B. MASTERSON.

The Shinn brothers, W. C. and Lloyd, who owned and edited the Dodge City *Times*, threw Bat a plug in that same issue, October 13, 1877:

Mr. W. B. Masterson is on the track for Sheriff, and so announces himself in this paper. "Bat" is well known as a young man of nerve and coolness in cases of danger. He has served on the police force of this city, and also as under-sheriff, and knows just how to gather in the sinners. He is qualified to fill the office, and if elected will never shrink from danger.

On October 27 the Lady Gay Saloon was the scene of a "Peoples' Mass Convention." The purpose was to nominate candidates for

the coming election. Both Larry Deger and Bat were suggested for sheriff, but when the vote was taken, Masterson was the choice. This, however, did not discourage Deger and he ran anyway. When the ballots were counted after the polls closed on November 6, 1877, Bat had beaten his opponent by three votes.³ (For more information on this election *see* the section on Lawrence E. Deger.)

D. M. Frost, a political opponent of Bat's, was at that time police judge of Dodge City. On December 4, 1877, Bat, R. M. Wright, P. L. Beatty, H. M. Beverley and others presented a petition to the city council asking that Frost's office be declared vacant since the judge no longer resided in the city and consequently was not eligible for the position. The *Times*, December 8, noted:

At the last meeting of the Council a petition was presented asking that the office of Police Judge be declared vacant, by reason of the fact that Judge Frost resided on his claim and not in the city, but the Judge informed the council that he had ceased to reside on his claim and was a resident of the city, whereupon the petition was laid upon the table.

It was at this same council meeting that Bat's brother, Ed, was appointed city marshal.

Though Bat did not assume the duties of his office officially until January 14, 1878, he did act as sheriff of Ford county in opening the January term of the district court on January 2.⁴ After Masterson was sworn the *Times* January 19, 1878, reported:

NEW OFFICERS.

W. B. Masterson on the 14th assumed the duties of the office of Sheriff, to which he was elected last November, succeeding Chas. E. Bassett who has held the office for a period of four years, and who has made many friends. Mr. Masterson, on assuming the duties of his office appointed Chas. E. Bassett under-Sheriff, Simeon Woodruff, a respectable and trustworthy citizen and formerly of the East End, Deputy Sheriff, also our old friend Col. John W. Straughn for jailor. These appointments will meet with the approbation of our people, and indicates that Bat intends to do his duty and that to with a view to the best interests of the county.

Within two weeks fate gave the young sheriff an opportunity to rise toward glory, and resourceful Bat Masterson was not found wanting. It all started at four o'clock, Sunday morning, January 27, 1878, at the Santa Fe railroad station in Kinsley, 37 miles up the line from Dodge. Five men, with faces blackened to avoid recognition, stepped out of the darkness and confronted young Andy Kinkade, the night operator, ordering him to throw up his hands. But let the *Kinsley Valley Republican* tell the story:

At a few minutes before 4 o'clock this (Sunday) morning, five desperadoes having faces blackened entered the office of the R. R. depot at this place, saluting the night operator, Andrew Kinkade, who was at his post, with a "good

morning," at the same instant "covering" him with revolvers, and demanding the money in the office. Mr. Kinkade with a remarkable presence of mind replied that there was no funds at his command, at the same time opening an empty money drawer. The leader of the gang ordered Mr. K. to "open that safe, d---d quick, too," at the same time shoving two cocked revolvers in his face. Mr. Kinkade informed the party that he did not have the key—Gardner had charge of it and they could go to him at the hotel—adding that the funds had gone east on the train a few hours before. Mr. Kinkade bravely stood at his post defending two thousand dollars in hard cash of the company's funds, which had he faltered would have been taken. The west bound Pueblo express was approaching, and something must be done. The five well armed highwaymen, confronted by a boy, were foiled. They threatened to blow his brains out if he did not open the safe. Kinkade had a small derringer in his hip pocket, and cocking it attempted to draw it, when one of the highwaymen, noticing his move said: "No, you don't—hand that over," and he laid it down on the counter. Kinkade knew the hotel men would be there to meet the train in a few moments, but when he was ordered outside and marched down the platform his only fear was that he could not inform the conductor of the danger. Shouting to Blanchard, of the Eureka [hotel], to "go back, these men are armed," one of them attempted to strike him. As the train drew up Mr. Kinkade escaped, crossing the track in front of the engine, followed by a shot. Running down the train he informed conductor Mallory of the danger. Blanchard was taken in charge, but made his escape and armed himself. A dozen shots were fired into the train, which the robbers stopped after it had pulled out 100 yards. Again the train started and was stopped two miles up the track, where it was detained 20 minutes and 20 shots exchanged. The town was aroused. In company with eight or ten others we boarded a hand car and started to the rescue. The train moved off before we reached it, and we saw the mounted robbers, six or eight in number, well mounted, approaching. They crossed the track toward the river, and three or four shots were fired at them. A large party well mounted started in pursuit at once. A telegram from Dodge City at 6 a. m. states that conductor Mallory, engineer Anderson and expressman Brown held the fort and lost nothing.⁵

Monday, January 28, the *Republican* issued a second extra in which this appeared:

REPUBLICAN OFFICE,)

Monday, 5 p. m., Jan. 28.)

Supt. Pettibone, who arrived this morning from the east, received a telegram from Dodge City stating that Lieut. Gardner with a detachment of U. S. troops from the Fort, captured six of the train robbers on Mule creek yesterday, killing one. We present the report for what it is worth, and will add that we believe it to be sensational. It was ascertained yesterday that the robbers crossed the river 12 miles above Kinsley, and went south through the hills. C. L. Hubbs, ex sheriff McCanse, E. A. Noble and N. Billings have just returned from the pursuit. They crossed the river at daylight yesterday morning, after which they saw no trail, riding to the head of the Kiowa. The fog was so dense this morning they returned after riding 115 miles. Sheriff Fuller, Clute, Welles and "Calamity Bill" were in Dodge City at 3:30, consulting with Pettibone. A party of eight well mounted and armed left here

at 4 o'clock this morning, determined to follow the trail. It has transpired that the robbers left the train near the depot, and conductor Mallory stopped two miles out to ascertain if the messenger was safe and examine the train. The firing was signals of rejoicing over the escape. The robbers had left their horses near the tank at midnight, intending to rob the 1:30 express east, when it stopped for water. It did not stop. Thus foiled they planned the robbery of the Company's safe at the depot, and as a forlorn hope attacked the express car of the train west. Then in the darkness they ran two miles to their horses, closely pursued by the hand car party, when they mounted and escaped. We received orders this morning from Supt. Morse to strike posters offering \$100 reward each for the capture of the masked robbers "dead or alive."

LATER.—Sheriff Fuller just returned on a special train from Dodge. Lieut. Gardner with a detachment of U. S. troops in hot pursuit of robbers south of the river.⁶

The *Republican* issued a third extra on Tuesday, January 29:

At this writing the highwaymen have not been captured, neither do we harbor faith equal to a grain of mustard seed that they will be taken in. There was perhaps a blunder on the part of our officials and posse in not mounting in hot haste and pursuing the disappointed night riders immediately. Yet we cannot censure, for the surroundings offer a broad margin of justification. The attack was unexpected as an earthquake. The excitement ran high. It required time for men of nerve to realize the situation and act intelligently. Sheriff Fuller started in pursuit with a well armed party as early as possible. The blunder in not crossing the river was perhaps excusable, as no trail could then be traced. The failure of the sheriff of Ford County to co-operate with the Kinsley party was as it appears to us inexcusable, and the excuse assigned is "too thin." The attempt—feeble indeed—on the part of certain parties to implicate citizens of Edwards county in the diabolical plot is contemptible, and we hurl it back. The deliberate and well planned scheme of the foiled robbers signally failed, and our officials and citizens—including the brave boy who firmly stood at his post at the depot—did nobly. Without the hope of reward further than the performance of duty, a score of our best citizens have for three days and nights been in pursuit, exposed to the wintry storm. We congratulate the Santa Fe Company on the result of the raid, and that the masked marauders failed in their efforts is due in the main to the excellent discipline and moral courage of the employees and the fact that the company has wisely prepared for emergencies. If these frontier night marauders have any ambition to raise a stake in the future, they are advised to give the Santa Fe a wide berth if they don't want to get hurt.⁷

Referring to the *Republican's* censure of Sheriff Masterson the *Ford County Globe*, February 5, 1878, had this to say:

The Kinsley Republican extra of Jan. 29th, says that the failure of our Sheriff to co operate with the Kinsley posse, in hunting the train robbers, was inexcusable; and the excuse he assigned is a little "too thin." Now Mr. Republican, we don't know what you mean by his excuse, but have this to say: Our Sheriff is not in circumstances that will warrant him in incurring the expense necessary to hire horses, employ a posse of men, and pay their

expenses, even to hunt train robbers whose crime was committed in a neighboring county; unless, those expenses are guaranteed by somebody. We are personally not on squeezing terms with our sheriff, but when as an officer he is unjustly assailed, we feel it our duty to defend him, as well as any other officer in our county. We know that he has the stuff in his make up to be a good officer, and when he does right we will be found telling him so with the same spirit of justice that will guide us to tell him he is wrong, when we consider him so. We think that our Sheriff's hunt for the train robbers has accomplished more than the hunt of all the other possees, even if his departure was not heralded with blasts of trumpets, news paper extras, &c.

The *Globe's* last sentence referred to Bat's successful pursuit of two of the robbers. The *Dodge City Times*, February 2, 1878, first told of his achievement:

TWO KNIGHTS TAKEN IN.

AND FURNISHED QUARTERS IN FORD COUNTY JAIL.

THEY ARE CAPTURED BY STRATEGY, MY BOY.

SHERIFF W. B. MASTERTSON AND HIS HEROIC POSSE BAG THE
GAME WITHOUT A SHOT.

PERILOUS ADVENTURE WITH GRATIFYING RESULTS.

THE DETAILS OF THE PURSUIT AND CAPTURE.

There was a slight ripple which disturbed the usual quiet of Dodge City yesterday evening about 6 o'clock, and increased in volume as the startling announcement spread over the city bearing the gratifying intelligence that W. B. Masterson, Sheriff of Ford county, and posse had returned from a four days hunt, bringing with them two of the gang that made the raid on the town of Kinsley and attempted the robbery of the railroad agent and the western bound express train. The programme for this successful capture was well laid, and what may have appeared as indifference and tardiness has since shown to be a matured and well devised effort to follow a successful capture. The prudence and strategy is highly commendable. The nerve skill and energy of Sheriff Masterson and gallant posse is recorded as a brilliant achievement and is receiving just tribute for so daring a venture accomplished so adroitly and maneuvered with the skill of a warrior.

Sheriff Masterson started on this trail Tuesday afternoon from Dodge City, and went as far as Crooked creek, 27 miles, the first day. The party was snowed in and had to lay over one day. Next day went 35 miles further to Lovell's cattle camp, on mouth of Crooked creek, 55 miles from Dodge City, arriving there at sundown, and remained there next day until afternoon. The storm was terrible about 5 p.m. when four men approached the camp, two of them being the subsequently arrested parties. When within a few hundred yards of the camp they discovered the Sheriff's buggy and horses, and asked the other two, who were cattle men, what strange outfit that was. One of the cattlemen recognized a horse from Anderson's stable, and told them so. They hesitated, the boss herder telling them to come on, which they finally did, when [John J.] Webb, one of the Sheriff's men, went out to meet them, and told them he was on his way to Geo. Anderson's. They came in with Webb, and were decoyed to a dug out where the Sheriff and his party were concealed. Bat stood up behind a post, and came out from his concealment

and presenting his pistols told the two outlaws to throw up their hands, which they did, when Kinch Riley, one of the Sheriff's posse, searched them, and took away a Colt's 45, Smith & Wesson's improved. After Riley had taken a pistol from each and supposed that was all, Sheriff Bat Masterson saw that one of the men had another, and when he went to take it the prisoner tried to hold on to it. They also had guns, one a 40 Sharp's sporting rifle and the other a 45 calibre Government carbine.

The prisoners wanted to know what was the matter. The Sheriff replied that they were arrested on a charge of attempting to rob the train. They made no answer nor did they deny what was charged.

The arrested parties are two well known desperadoes, but quailed under the intrepid, cool and daring movements of Sheriff Bat Masterson. Ed. West, the older of the two, is about twenty-six years old, and is a notorious thieving character; Dave Ruddebaugh is about twenty-three years of age, and has lead a wild career in crime. They may have to answer to a catalogue of crimes. The prisoners are safely secured in the Ford county jail, but will be placed to the charge of the authorities of Edwards county.

The sheriff's party composed himself, J. J. Webb, Dave Morrow and Kinch Riley. They were under the direction of the Adams Express Company, by whom the pursuit was arranged, and the well devised and executed capture reflects credit, good judgment and bravery upon all who engaged in it.

There are four others who were engaged in the train robbery. Their capture is only a question of time.

Harry Lovell had three good horses stolen Wednesday night, and his cattle men were on the return of a search for them, accompanied by those two robbers whom they met on the way, when they were apprised by the Sheriff and his posse.

The prisoners will be conveyed to Kinsley tonight, and a preliminary trial had immediately.

Bat's "intrepid" posse was composed of an interesting group. John Joshua Webb served as a Dodge City policeman, as a Ford county deputy sheriff, and as a leader in the struggle between the Santa Fe and the Denver & Rio Grande for control of the right of way through the Grand Canyon of the Arkansas. In 1880 he was made marshal of Las Vegas, N. M., and in that capacity shot and killed a man for which act he was arrested, tried, and sentenced to die. Peculiarly enough one of the several attempts Webb made to escape was abetted by Dave Rudabaugh, the man he had helped Bat Masterson capture.

Dave Morrow, or "Prairie Dog Dave," as he was known, was an old timer in Dodge. He also served as a Dodge City policeman as well as a Dodge township constable. Prairie Dog Dave and Bat Masterson continued their Dodge City friendship for many years.

Kinch Riley had been a companion of Bat's in the Adobe Walls fight in June, 1874. The Dodge City *Times*, September 20, 1879, said of him: "He . . . had been wounded and bruised in a

number of personal encounters. He has undergone many severe trials and exposures, and made many narrow escapes. . . . He was brave and kind. . . ."

The *Ford County Globe*, February 5, 1878, gave some more particulars of the capture:

THE TRAIN ROBBERS!

FORD COUNTY TO THE FRONT AS IT SHOULD BE.
AND W. B. MASTERSON MAKES A GOOD BEGINNING.

The attempted train robbers spoken of in our last issue, caused a number of parties to start in pursuit. Sheriff Masterson of our county, with J. J. Webb, David Morrow and Riley having struck a "scent" ambushed themselves on last Thursday at Mr. Lovells cattle camp, some 65 miles south of Dodge City. After some hours waiting two horsemen cautiously approached from the north east. Their motions indicating their fear of coming up. Mr. Webb with concealed revolver went out to meet them, after some talk they came within shooting distance when Masterson springing out with leveled rifle sang out his well known "throw up your hands." West at once complied, but Reudebaugh reached for his revolver; the click of Webb's gun at close quarters changed his mind, however, and both surrendered and were disarmed. Each carried a rifle and two revolvers, all best quality. The party arrived in Dodge City about 6 o'clock P. M. Friday evening, having stopped all night during the storm in camp. Capt. J. M. Thatcher, the general agent of Adams Express Company, and who has been managing the pursuits, with his attorney, interviewed them the same night. The result we are not at liberty to divulge but it was conclusive to Messrs. Thatcher and Gryden. A special train at once went to Kinsley returning at 11 A. M. on Saturday with necessary documents and the prisoners were at 3 P. M. in charge of a large posse conveyed to Kinsley by special train. Kinsley was reached at 4:30 P. M., the town having turned out en mass to receive them. We have forgotten to mention that Wm. Tilghman was also arrested just before the train left. The three prisoners were brought into the spacious court room, which was densely filled with the curious. Reudebaugh and West being shackled together. Justice Willey presided. The prisoners having been promptly turned over to the court, Mr. Gryden opened by explaining his connection with the case, and asked that Reudebaugh be first put on trial. Reudebaugh (who is positively identified by Mr. Kingkade the operator, as the man who disarmed him and who conversed with him over five minutes,) was perfectly cool, and with the tact of an old hand waived a preliminary examination, and was held in \$4,000 bail for his appearance at the June Term of Dist. Court. Reudebaugh is a good looking specimen of the border ruffian, and was cool and collected throughout the arguments of the attorneys on the question of amount of bail.

Edgar West was next brought in, he is tall, and low browed, with black mustache and hair and "looks the villain" he too waived an examination and was held in \$4,000 bail.

Wm. Tilghman who is we believe, merely held on suspicion of being a "wire puller" for the party, declared himself ready for trial. The State not being ready his case was continued ten days, and his bail fixed at \$4,000. The prison-

ers were all remanded to the jail of Ford County where they were safely lodged in charge of jailor Strong [Straughn] at 10:30 P. M.

Sunday afternoon Messrs. Gryden and Phillips, took a special for Kinsley and returned during the night with warrants for three more of the party, but whose names we are unable to obtain. There are no new developments up to the hour of going to press.⁸

On February 5, 1878, Sheriff Masterson arrested one James McDuff accused of horse thievery. The *Times*, February 9, stated:

ARREST OF A HORSE THIEF.

The successful efforts of Sheriff W. B. Masterson, in his recent capture, has been followed by another arrest remarkable in skill and judgment. The unanimous accord of praise, in speaking of Sheriff Masterson, as being the right man in the right place, evinces also the hope that the career of crime will not stalk naked hereafter in this section of the Arkansas Valley. The feeling is indulged in a better security of life and property through the vigilance of our officers. The spell has been broken and the heretofore difficult task of apprehending outlaws regarded out of the question, since the band of outlaws has been shattered.

We mentioned a few days ago that Mr. Miles Mix had lost a span of horses. Obtaining clue, Sheriff Masterson boarded the train Tuesday morning for Las Animas, where he found one James McDuff, a notorious character, and promptly arrested him, having searched for his man under the bed in a dance house. To accomplish this purpose Sheriff Masterson took in tow another well known character, who, to avoid incarceration, disclosed the hiding place of McDuff.

The stolen horses were disposed of by McDuff for small sums of money. The recovery of only one of the horses seems probable, the other have been run off.

Sheriff Masterson and Mr. Mix returned Wednesday night with the prisoner, who has been furnished accommodations in the Hotel de Straughn.

This is but the prelude of the interesting drama on the boards, and the sequel will develop some startling characters in the clutches of the officers.⁹

The *Kinsley Valley Republican* thought McDuff was connected with the attempted train robbery. On February 9, 1878, it said:

The notorious MacDuff, known as "Duffy," was arrested by Sheriff Masterson's party in a cellar at West Las Animas Tuesday evening, and brought to Dodge yesterday. The network of evidence has been so ingeniously thrown around the entire gang that they can't escape. Important developments are pending which will be made public at the earliest moment consistent.

The Dodge City *Times*, February 9, 1878, reported:

BOUND OVER.

James McDuff, arrested on a charge of horse stealing, was bound over in the sum of \$2,000, in default of which he was returned to jail. The prisoner is charged only with horse stealing, but an attempt was made to take him to Kinsley, and Sheriff Masterson, acting under advice of the County Attorney M W Sutton, refused to give up the prisoner. The "interview" was had as well in Ford county, inasmuch as the prisoner was arrested on a warrant issued in this county, and his detention here frustrates any cheap notoriety, as the law will take its course, thieves ferreted, and justice prevail.

Receiving a lead that more of the robbers were holed up on the Llano Estacado, Bat recruited another posse and rode south on February 10. The *Ford County Globe*, February 12, 1878, said:

Sheriff Masterson, Chas. E. Bassett, J. J. Webb, John Clark and H. Lovell, started Sunday morning, for the prairie in quest of more of the gang of train robbers. We don't know that our boys will be successful in capturing any more of the gang, but we do say that no better posse ever undertook such a duty. We know that every man in the party has the sand and nerve to go where any other man on earth dares to go. If the robbers are not captured it will not be for want of bravery, coolness or strategy, on the part of Sheriff Masterson or his posse. Wishing them success, we await further developments.

In reply to the *Ford County Globe's* February 5 defense of Bat's actions, the *Kinsley Republican* merely stated: "We give Sheriff Masterson of Ford due credit for his activity in pursuing and capturing the brigands. He did his duty finally and no more." The *Globe*, which reprinted the item February 12, 1878, merely appended a polite "thank you."

By February 9 the *Republican* appeared ready to bury the hatchet with the Dodge City newspapers. On February 16 it said:

THE ROBBERS' RAID.

Sheriff Masterson of Ford county started for the staked plains last Sunday with a well armed posse for the purpose of capturing the raiders yet at large, where it is reported they are fortified in a "dug out" determined to resist arrest. Masterson can and we believe he will bring them back dead or alive—it matters little which. Reudebaugh and West, two of the brigands, are now behind the bars of the Emporia dungeon, thanks to the efficiency of Ford county officials. Much light has been thrown on the diabolical scheme of the raiders which will yet be ventilated. Let every official or agent do his whole duty until the end is reached. The question is not whether the officials or attorneys of Edwards or Ford counties shall receive the major part of credit for their efforts, but rather shall any guilty man escape? We confess that we were disposed to think ten days ago that justice would be cheated but the raiders have been hunted to their dens, and if they are gathered in as we now have reasons for believing they will be, faithful officials will receive due credit no less than our brave citizens who generously went forth in pursuit, and we shall not stop to inquire what the means used to accomplish the end. It is enough for us to know that the guilty are to be brought to justice and the good name of our own county vindicated from aspersions from sources of questionable reliability. . . .

On February 15 G. H. Syburt came into Dodge with news of Masterson's progress. The *Times*, February 16, 1878, reported:

PURSUING THE ROBBERS.

SHERIFF MASTERSON HEARD FROM.

WITHIN TWO HOURS RIDE OF THE BRIGANDS.

A PROBABLE DEADLY ENCOUNTER.

G. H. Syburt came in yesterday evening from Lovell's camp, having left there two days ago. Sheriff Masterson and posse arrived there on the 12th. Three

of the attempted train robbers, Mike Roarke, a fellow named Mack, and one name unknown, had left the vicinity of Lovell's camp only two hours before the arrival of the Sheriff. The Sheriff and party immediately followed [in] pursuit, trailing the robbers to Beaver creek, Sybert went with the Sheriff twelve miles out from Lovell's, where the Sheriff and party intended staying all night, when Syburt returned yesterday as we have stated.

The Sheriff and posse had kept in advance of their provision wagon, and so closely were they on the trail of the robbers that they were 30 hours without provisions.

Roarke said at the camp that he understood he was charged with the attempted train robbery, and that officers were in search of him, but he was ready for them at any time. Would meet them at any place. They might send the whole city of Dodge and he would fight them anywhere.

Beaver river is about 80 miles south of Dodge City in the stock range, in a strip between Kansas and Texas, the neck of the Indian Territory.

Sheriff Masterson and party, C. E. Bassett, J. J. Webb and Miles Mix, left here Sunday. They were well armed and equipped.

Roarke is a desperate character, and may give Sheriff Masterson a severe struggle. A capture without a bloody encounter, seems almost improbable.¹⁰

The sheriff and his posse returned home on February 22. Next day the Dodge City *Times* described their unsuccessful chase:

RETURN OF THE SHERIFF.

THE ROBBERS SCATTER AND HIDE IN THE BREAKS OF THE CANADIAN.

The party started from Dodge City on the 10th, consisting of Sheriff Masterson, C. E. Bassett, J. J. Webb and Red Clarke; went to Walker's Timber, on Crooked creek, the first day, then to Lovell's camp. On the way to Lovell's they met one of Lovell's men, who told them that Mike Roark and Dan Webster had been at the camp that morning, and had only left three or four hours before, for Shepherd's camp, fifteen miles further south. The posse at once started for Shepherd's camp, and when they arrived there found that Roark and Webster had left a few hours before for their own camp, on a tributary of the Beaver, about thirty-five miles further. The boys took a hasty dinner and hurried after the robbers, their trail being plainly visible. Night overtook the party on the Cimaron river, and it was impossible to see the trail, but they still traveled in the direction the robbers had taken until they reached a branch of Beaver creek, about midnight. Here they expected to find the robbers encamped and alighting from their horses they cautiously made their way down the stream to Beaver, about five or six miles further, but failed to discover any sign of the robbers.

Keeping on down the Beaver they soon struck the robber's trail again, and followed it in a southeasterly direction for about fifteen miles; here they found a deserted camp in a plumb thicket. From this camp the robbers had taken a wagon and more stock, making a much plainer trail. The trail seemed to indicate that two more men had joined the gang here. Following this trail they went through the head breaks of the Kiawa or Medicine Lodge creek, then west to Jones & Plummer's ranche on Wolf creek, where the robbers, feeling themselves too closely pursued, had left their wagon, harness and camp equipage and struck out on horseback. The robbers had left this

camp about fifteen hours before our party arrived. They had gained one night's travel owing to the fact that the Sheriff and party could not follow their trail at night, while the robbers traveled both day and night. After leaving Jones and Plummer's ranche, the robbers were trailed some distance to where they entered the breaks of the Canadian river, in Texas, and here they seemed to have separated as their trail was lost. The Sheriff and his men after a fruitless search had to give up their game. The place where the robbers have taken refuge is one of the wildest and most broken countries in the world, and affords a perfectly safe retreat for the robbers. They can here find hiding places where all the advantage is on their side in such a search. The Sheriff and his posse were absent thirteen days and did some hard riding, traveling between five and six hundred miles.¹¹

As luck would have it Bat was soon able to capture two more of the robbers. The arrests were made right in Dodge City, March 15, the *Times* reported on March 16, 1878:

GATHERING THEM IN!!

TWO MORE TRAIN ROBBERS CAPTURED!!

THEY CAME INTO DODGE CITY TO GET "INFORMATION."

SHERIFF MASTERSON, UNDER SHERIFF BASSETT
AND MARSHAL MASTERSON KINDLY TAKE THEM IN.

THEY ARE ARRESTED AFTER A SHORT CHASE.

Tom Gott alias Dugan, and Green, two of the gang who attempted the robbery of the train at Kinsley some weeks ago, were arrested at about nine o'clock last night, on the bottom just on the outskirts southwest of Dodge City, by Sheriff Masterson, Under Sheriff Bassett and City Marshal Ed. Masterson.

At about nine o'clock, Officer Nat Haywood, returning from his rounds on the south side of the railroad track, reported to Sheriff Masterson that he had seen Tom Gott alias Dugan, at one of the dance houses, the officer not then knowing that Dugan was charged with the attempted railroad robbery. Sheriff Masterson immediately summoned Under Sheriff Bassett and Marshal Masterson, who were at his side, and the three officers started in quest of the two fugitives. Arriving at Anderson's stable the officers were informed that two men had just passed by on the south side of the stable and were making their way up the bottom. The officers proceeded in haste and were soon within sight of the robbers, who, observing they were being tracked, put out on a brisk run. The clear moonlight night afforded an easy chase, and the officers soon pounced upon their victims and which proved to be a desired catch. The robbers showed some resistance, but one of them found his revolver entangled in his clothing.

The prisoners were taken to the jail and locked up. Dugan stated that they had left three horses hitched to a tree about a mile west of the city. Subsequently the three officers above named made a scour of the country and found two horses and a mule, all saddled, and strapped to each was a carbine, and a Creedmore rifle.

There were evidently four in the party, the other two being the notorious characters Mike Roarke and one Lafeu. It is said that all four were in town during the evening, and they came to ascertain the condition of affairs, having so long been uninformed, and little fearing a capture they boldly ventured to

a less frequented part of the city. But the officers of this city and county are vigilant and quick to do their duty. They know no fear and will beard the lion in his den.

The officers scoured the surrounding country for Mike Roarke and Lafeu, but these worthies with their well known sagacity eluded the pursuit, having made a dash in and out of the environs of Dodge City in their stealth, and stillness of the night.

Marshal Masterson took the two prisoners Gott and Green to Kinsley this afternoon, where they will have a preliminary examination. Gott or Dugan is about 22 years of age and Green is 25 years old. Last year they were engaged in driving on the plains, and are well known to the citizens of the city.

A party under charge of Sheriff W. B. Masterson, consisting of himself, Under Sheriff C. E. Bassett, J. J. Webb and Jas. Masterson, left this city to-day and will follow the supposed trail of Roarke and Lafeu. Their capture is highly probable. These two are the remaining ones of the gang of six who attempted the train robbery. In all events their capture is but a question of time.¹²

Unfortunately "the Sheriff's posse, that went out last Saturday, hunting for Mike Roarke, who was supposed to be in the neighborhood, returned without success."¹³

On March 23, 1878, the Dodge City *Times* described the trip to Kinsley and the disposition of the prisoners:

THE TRAIN ROBBERS.

BOUND OVER AND TAKEN TO EMPORIA FOR SAFE KEEPING.

Last Saturday afternoon a special car, with Superintendent W. H. Pettibone as conductor, and Frank B. Lowe as engineer, left the Dodge City depot for Kinsley carrying Greene and Gott, the two train robbers, and James Duffy, a prisoner bound over on the charge of horse stealing. The officers in charge of the prisoners were City Marshal Edward J. Masterson, Col. D. D. Colley and Ben Springer, special deputies. Accompanying the officers and prisoners were M. W. Sutton, County Attorney and attorney for the railroad company, Major Dick Evans, Ex-Mayor Hoover and Lloyd Shinn of the *TIMES*.

Duffy was taken along more on account of the opportunity the trip afforded for giving him a good airing than anything else, his confinement being very close and dark in the county jail.

As the people at Spearville had not yet learned of the capture of the robbers, and did not know what the special car contained, no demonstration was made. At Offerle the train was compelled to wait half an hour to allow the west bound freight to pass, during which time several parties visited the car and took a look at the prisoners—this being the first news they had received of the capture.

Arriving at Kinsley everything was quiet about the depot, the Agent having apprized no one of the expected arrival. But as the prisoners were being marched up to the Justice's office, handcuffed together, a crowd gathered round to "see what they could see." The Justice's office being very small but few spectators were allowed inside.

Justice Willy read the complaint to the prisoners and they both waived an

examination and plead not guilty. We understand they agreed to do this before the hearing came on, so as not to make any trouble on the part of the prosecution.

County Attorney McArthur, and Sheriff Fuller of Edwards county were there promptly to attend to their duties, and both seem to be good, honest officers.

The two prisoners, Greene and Gott, are men of more than ordinary natural intelligence—especially Greene. It is said that he ranks next to Mike Roarke as a leader of the organized gang. He has an intellectual countenance, eyes rather sunken, protruding forehead and rather a stupid disposition. Gott is more boyish and talkative.

Not a particle of doubt exists as to their guilt, as Sheriff Masterson, from descriptions &c., has had them spotted ever since the robbery.

To prove the daring of their character we give the following:

Immediately after their examination they were placed in an upstairs room and a Deputy Sheriff left to guard them; Duffy was also in this room, but was not handcuffed as the other two were. One of the robbers seeing the Deputy Sheriff near the window, ordered Duffy to slip up and pitch him out, thus giving them a chance to escape. Duffy refused, whereupon the two men—who were handcuffed to-gether by one arm—approached the officer to perform the act themselves, but he was on the alert and foiled the attempt.

The Dodge City party remained in Kinsley only about an hour—just long enough to see what a busy, growing, beautiful town it is, and to greet a few old friends, such as Flick, Brewer Clute, Hubbs' Milner and others. We returned by moonlight all roosting on Frank B. Lowe's engine, and had a jolly ride.

Marshal Masterson and Sheriff Fuller took Green and Gott on down to the Emporia jail the same evening.

On March 28 "Sheriff Masterson of Ford county, was in the city [Kinsley] . . . consulting with Mr. Herrington, attorney of the alleged train robbers, in reference to disposition of property that he captured with them." ¹⁴

The trial of the four accused prisoners was to be held in Kinsley on June 17, 1878. But first they had to be brought from Emporia where they had been taken for safety's sake. Bat left Dodge on June 14 to perform that deed. The *Times*, June 15, 1878, reported:

TRIAL OF THE TRAIN ROBBERS.

Sheriff W. B. Masterson left last night for Emporia. He will be followed by Jos. Mason, Al. Updegraff, Thomas Campbell and Frank Richards, who will act as guard in conveying the attempted train robbers from the Emporia jail to Kinsley. The District Court meets at Kinsley Monday. Dave Ruddebaugh, Ed. West, Tom Gott and J. D. Green, charged with the attempted train robbery at Kinsley, on the night of January 27th, 1878, will be tried at this term of the court in Kinsley. The prisoners have been confined in the Emporia jail since their preliminary examination.

Because of flooding in the Arkansas valley the trial was not commenced until June 19. The *Kinsley Graphic*, successor to the *Republican*, reported the proceedings on June 22, 1878:

EDWARDS CO. DISTRICT COURT.

"GRAPHIC" REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE JUNE TERM OF COURT—

TRIAL OF THE RAILROAD ROBBERS—

CONFESSION OF DAVE RUDABAUGH—

WEST, GREEN AND GOTT PLEAD GUILTY AND SENT UP FIVE YEARS—

A "BIG WEEK" OF EXCITEMENT IN KINSLEY.

By reason of the floods down the Valley Judge [S. R.] Peters did not arrive until late Tuesday evening. . . .

State of Kansas vs. David Rudabaugh et al. Issue robbery first degree. The following motions were made: By defendants for State to elect which of two counts they would go to trial on. Stood on first, Robbery of Kingkade of pistol. Motion by defendants to strike information from files on account of there having been no preliminary examination for offence charged in information. Overruled, Defts excepted. Defendants motion that information be stricken from files because it had not been sworn to. Overruled and exceptions noted.

Thomas Gott brought into Court. Affidavit for continuance filed on account of the absence of material witnesses. Affidavit adjudged sufficient and admitted as deposition. Separate trial demanded as to Thomas Gott, who was arraigned and plead not guilty. After some delay a jury was secured composed of the following citizens: J. E. Crane, A. L. Kendall, G. W. Wilson, J. F. White, W. L. Hunter, Walter Robley, J. T. Carter, S. S. Hart, J. D. Verney, Geo. N. Wear, S. T. Reed, N. L. Mills. The prosecution was ably conducted by County Attorney MacArthur, assisted by Capt. J. G. Waters, and M. W. Sutton of Ford county, and the defense well managed by B. F. Herrington of the Edwards county bar, and A. A. Hurd of Great Bend. The following witnesses were called to the stand and testified: Andrew Kingkade, David Rudabaugh, W. H. Pettibone, J. W. Mallory, James Duffy, Charles Palmer, J. M. Anderson, H. A. Brown, W. F. Blanchard, Thomas Palmer, John Slatterly and James Hammond. The story of the 'raid,' as related by the several witnesses was the same that we published through 'extras' at the time, but there was a sensation when Dave Rudabaugh's confession was given in testimony, and the confessed outlaw related the story of how the brigands deliberately planned their diabolical scheme on Wolf Creek, in the Pan Handle country, to come to Kinsley and rob the Santa Fe train. The preparations made to carry out their plans; the route they came; the places assigned each man by their leader Rourke; how they were foiled in their original plan of robbing the east bound train; their attack on the night operator and attempt to rob the express car, their escape, wanderings and final capture, as told, would make an interesting chapter of crime on the frontier.

THE PLEA OF GUILTY.

On the convening of Court yesterday morning, it was whispered that the prisoners West, Green and Gott had been advised to plead guilty. They were brought into Court, the charge read, and each of them responded "guilty." The Judge then interrogated each of them regarding their past lives, their families, etc., after which he addressed them directly for half an hour upon the lives

they had led, the laws they had violated, and the sentence it was his duty to pass upon them. The Judge stated that the most unpleasant duty he as an officer had to perform was that of passing sentence upon young men. The punishment though severe would cause other hearts to suffer. That mother whose love could not be fathomed, which could not be expressed in words; those loving sisters and brothers—they would be disgraced. The disposition in our society to encourage crime among our young men who are thrown on their own resources here in the West, and from whom a kind word is withheld oftentimes, was severely condemned by the Judge. After speaking words of encouragement, importuning the prisoners to despair not but then to resolve to lead different lives and be men, each of them was sentenced to five years at hard labor in the State penitentiary at Leavenworth. At 1 p. m. Sheriff Fuller, assisted by A. Menny, W. Barkman and V. D. Billings, started for Leavenworth with the prisoners on a special train. Rudabaugh was taken as far as Newton, where he was released. Thus endeth the first chapter.

In the same issue of the *Graphic* some incidentals of the trial were given:

The handsome young Sheriff of Pawnee, Mr. Christy, and Sheriff Masterson of Ford, the brave and popular young official of the frontier, have been with us this week.

Kingkade's story of the 'raid' implicated Rudabaugh as the ringleader.

Rudabaugh testified that he was promised entire immunity from punishment if he would 'squeal,' therefore he squealed.

Some one has said there is a kind of honor among thieves. Rudabaugh don't think so.

There was less difficulty in securing a jury in the robbery case than was anticipated.

Rudabaugh explained that he did not pursue Kingkade and 'the other man,' as they seemed to be needing no help to get out of the way.

While the three prisoners sentenced were doubtless the least guilty of the six engaged in the raid, yet their punishment was just.

In answer to the question of the Judge, 'Had you a pleasant home?' two answered 'yes,' one 'no,' two have mothers living, one a father who was present, and all had brothers and sisters.

Mike Rourke and two companions, one of whom was named Tilman (which might have been the cause for the arrest of Dodge City's William M. Tilghman) were discovered 11 miles south of Ellsworth in October, 1878. Rourke was promptly captured and placed in jail at Junction City but no record was found of his ultimate fate.¹⁵

Rudabaugh, who by turning state's evidence against his former comrades, secured his own release, turned up in Dodge City in March, 1879. The *Ford County Globe*, March 18, reported:

Dave Rudebaugh, who was arrested as one of the Kinsley train robbers, but turned state's evidence and was discharged, arrived in this city last week

from Butler county, where he was a witness against Mike Roarke. Rudebaugh is looking for a job of work and intends to earn his living on the square.

In April, 1880, Rudabaugh attempted the rescue of J. J. Webb from a Las Vegas, N. M., jail and then turned to riding with William "Billy the Kid" Bonney. The year 1882 saw him ambushing Wyatt Earp in Arizona. By 1885 he was in Mexico, soon to die, beheaded, at Parral. For more information *see* the sections on J. J. Webb and Wyatt Earp.

If one may judge from notices in the newspapers, the Kinsley train robbery crowded nearly everything else out of Sheriff Masterson's schedule. However, the *Dodge City Times*, March 2, 1878, hinted that Bat and his friend, County Attorney Mike Sutton, would shortly make a number of other arrests:

LOOK OUT.

Recent developments indicate that Sheriff Masterson and County Attorney Sutton will soon fasten the clutches of the law upon a band of unsuspecting horse thieves. "Let no guilty man escape."

If the arrests were made they were not reported in either of the town's newspapers.

On March 16, 1878, the *Times* reported that "Sheriff Masterson returned last Sunday from a trip to Topeka and other points East." The *Topeka Commonwealth*, March 6, 1878, merely stated that "W. B. Masterson, sheriff of Ford county, and Harry E. Gryden, of Dodge City, are at the Tefft." The reason of the visit remains unknown.

The sheriff found a stolen horse on March 23. The *Times*, March 30, 1878, reported:

CAPTURE OF STOLEN HORSES.

Mr. H. Spangler, of Lake City, Comanche county, arrived in the city last Saturday in search of two horses that had been stolen from him last December. He described the stolen stock to Sheriff Masterson who immediately instituted search. On Monday he found one of the horses, a very valuable animal, at Mueller's cattle camp on Saw Log, it having been traded to Mr. Wolf. The horse was turned over to its owner. The Sheriff has trace of the other horse and will endeavor to recover it.

The Ford county board of commissioners awarded Bat \$78.25 travel fees on April 8, 1878, possibly reimbursing him for expenses incurred chasing the train robbers.¹⁶

Death threw a punch which left Bat Masterson reeling on the night of April 9 when his brother Ed, city marshal of Dodge, was shot by drunken cowboys. Though contemporary sources do not state that Bat avenged his brother by firing the shot that killed John Wagner or the one which wounded Alfred Walker he did

respond promptly by arresting four supposed accomplices of the cowboys. For the story of Ed Masterson *see* the section devoted to him.

Griefstricken, the young sheriff, accompanied by his friend Mike Sutton, headed for Sedgwick county to visit the Masterson parents. Within five days the peace officer was back at his post in Dodge City,¹⁷ and within hours of his arrival was on the prowl for some stolen horses. The *Dodge City Times*, April 20, 1878, reported:

MORE HORSE STEALING.

THE THIEF CAPTURED AND COMMITTED TO JAIL.

Last Wednesday Mr. M. A. Couch and three other gentlemen arrived in this city from Walnut creek, forty miles north of here, in search of four horses that had been stolen from them on the day previous. They immediately applied to the County Attorney for information and assistance, stating that they had tracked the horses to this city. Sheriff Masterson was sent for, and in company with Couch and party instituted search for the stock, which, luckily, they succeeded in recovering. Two of the horses were found in the river bottom southwest of the city and the other two were found in Mr. Bell's livery stable, where they had been placed the night before. The owners of the horses were very much pleased upon recovering their stock, and proposed starting immediately for home without making any search for the thief; but the Sheriff with an eye to giving his thiefship punishment for his wrongs, made search and discovered men whom he supposed to be guilty. Swearing out a complaint himself he arrested Henry Martin and William Tilghman. Henry Martin was brought before Justice Cook on Wednesday and examined. There being strong evidence against him he was bound over in the sum of \$2,000, in default of which he was sent to jail. Mr. Tilghman's examination took place Thursday before Justice Cook. It was generally supposed he would be bound over also, but he was released by the court. He was defended by Mr. Gryden, assisted by Mr. Frost. Both prisoners were ably prosecuted by County Attorney Sutton, and we are glad to observe the interest manifested by both the County Attorney and Sheriff in bringing horse thieves to justice.¹⁸

Thursday, May 16, was a busy day for Bat. First he and John Straughn prevented a proposed jail break by discovering and confiscating the tools of escape. The *Times*, May 18, 1878, recorded:

NIPPED IN THE BUD.

Sheriff Masterson and Jailor Straughn have been unearthing some implements of jail delivery. Thursday a brace, a rod of iron and some small wedges were found in one of the cells of the jail supposed to have been passed in the night previous. There is a poor chance to make a break under the present official management. The officers have argus eyes.

Thursday night Bat captured a horse thief. The same issue of the *Times* (May 18, 1878) reported:

HORSE THIEF CAUGHT.

Sheriff Bat Masterson Thursday night arrested one Geo. Foster, charged with stealing a horse belonging to J. W. Duncan, living on Smoky river, at Hays crossing, on the 29th of April. The horse was not recovered. The prisoner has been placed in charge of a couple of officers and taken to Ellis county for examination. Horse thieves find hospitable reception at the hands of Sheriff Masterson. He is an excellent "catch" and is earning a State reputation.

Law enforcement did not occupy all of Sheriff Masterson's time. For instance he was active in the Dodge City Fire Company and at one time served as a member of that organization's finance committee along with Chalk Beeson and Deputy U. S. Marshal H. T. McCarty. Bat's under sheriff, Charles E. Bassett, was first assistant marshal of the volunteer fire fighting unit.¹⁹ Other and more frivolous social activities attracted the young sheriff also. On June 8, 1878, the Dodge City *Times* recorded that Bat and a local belle had attended a grand ball at Spearville along with several other well known Dodgeites:

THE SUMMIT HOUSE OPENING.

Our Spearville neighbors gave a grand entertainment last night, it being the occasion of the formal "warming" of the magnificent hotel at that place, the Summit House, J. McCollister, proprietor. There was gayety and beauty there, the staid bachelor and the festive young man, the buxom lassie, the comely maid and the village belles. A sumptuous board was spread to which the guests responded with alacrity and avidity—especially those from Dodge City. Major McCollister demonstrated his ability to keep hotel.

The merry dance was kept up until a late hour. Music was furnished by Beeson's Orchestra, and was pronounced excellent by the Spearvillians. The following Dodge City people were present and tipped their light and heavy pedestals:

Mayor [James H.] Kelley and lady; Mr. and Mrs. M. Collar; Mr. and Mrs. [Chalky E.] Beeson; Mr. and Mrs. [S. E.?] Isaacson; Mr. and Mrs. J. Collar; Sheriff Masterson and lady; D. M. Frost and Miss Lutie Chambliss; Mr. and Mrs. C. S. Hungerford; John B. Means and lady. Our home folks arrived this morning much elated from the night's revelry.

But where news of Bat's activities was concerned business predominated. On June 15, 1878, the *Times* reported that he had captured two more suspected horse thieves:

Two suspicious characters named Andy Payne and E. W. Qilleur [*sic*], charged with stealing stock from the estate of Sanders & Couch in the Pan Handle, were arrested this week by Sheriff Masterson. They will have their preliminary trial next week. Col. Straughn entertains them.

Being an "opposition" paper, the *Ford County Globe* often censured Bat and County Attorney Sutton for alleged misuse of their

positions. Such an opportunity knocked with the arrest of Quillin [?] and Payne [?]:

W. E. Quillin and Henry Pagne who have been held here since the 12th inst., by the arbitrary exercise of power by our county officers, were turned loose yesterday because there never existed any cause for holding them. They were compelled to pay \$18 livery bill on their stock before they got it from the custody of the Sheriff who had taken possession of the same at the time they were arrested. We are surprised that the boys were not retained in custody till they paid their board during the time of their incarceration.²⁰

To its credit, the *Globe* also noticed the good work. In the same issue, June 25, 1878, it reported:

Messrs Sutton and Masterson compelled two of the show case institutions to disgorge some of their ill gotten gains last week, and recovered the same to the parties who had been robbed. We cannot understand how any of our county farmers can be so green as to come to Dodge and go up against those cut throat games, yet they do it nearly every day.

The Dodge City *Times*, being pro-Sutton and Masterson, was quite outspoken in its praise of the two county officers: "We quite agree with the generally expressed opinion that 'Judge Sutton and Bat Masterson are the right men in the right place.'" "County Attorney Sutton and Sheriff Masterson are using all fair and honorable means as officers to bring criminals to justice. All law abiding people commend them for the honest discharge of their duties."²¹

In July Bat used a slick ruse to capture another wanted man. The *Times*, July 27, 1878, reported:

Sheriff Masterson captured a fugitive from justice from Ft. Lyon this week after the most approved style. He received a telegram from the authorities asking him to look out for a man named Davis on the eastward bound train. Masterson went down to the train, and among the crowd of passengers singled out a suspicious looking man, and approaching him said: "Hello, Davis; how do you do?" The stranger was completely off his guard, and answered to the name at once, thinking he had met an old friend. The Sheriff immediately gave him lodging in jail until he could be sent back to Lyon, where he had been sentenced to the penitentiary for three years.

The furnace-like weather of southwest Kansas began to have a telling effect on Bat as the summer dragged on. Finally he decided to visit the spa at Hot Springs for relief. The *Times*, August 3, 1878, told of his going:

Sheriff Masterson, who has not had good health during the late hot weather, having at times been confined to his bed with attacks of something like vertigo, started last Thursday morning for a visit to Hot Springs, Arkansas, where he will remain three or four weeks. We hope he will have a pleasant time and return restored to perfect health.

Bat was back on the job by August 12. The *Times*, August 17, 1878, told of his capturing a horse thief that day. For a reprint of the item and of another Masterson commendation *see* the section on William Duffey.

During the whole of its career as a cowtown, Dodge was bothered with confidence men whose numbers must have been legion. The year 1878 was no exception and as fast as one group was run out of town another was there to take its place. Toward the end of summer Sheriff Masterson arrested two such operators on complaint of a man named E. Markel. As luck would have it, a deputy allowed the two to escape which prompted this long statement in the Dodge *City Times*, September 14, 1878:

THE CONFIDENCE OPERATORS.

SHOVING THE QUEER—

ARREST OF TWO "LAND AGENTS"—

THE SUBSEQUENT FLIGHT.

For sometime past Dodge City has been cursed with a class of confidence operators, who have plied all the arts of deceit in gulling the unsophisticated and unwary. A batch of these bold operators fled the town during the summer, but their places were occupied by another class who resorted to other means to fleece the unsuspecting stranger. The class who have lately been carrying on their nefarious schemes in Dodge suddenly came to grief Tuesday night.

Their manner had been to represent themselves as land agents. To pursue this purpose they were present upon the arrival of all railroad trains. By graceful and winning ways and tolerably fair representations they gained the confidence of the credulous stranger. Once in their toils the poor deluded victim was at their mercy. The straw that broke the camel's back was laid Tuesday evening. The confidence men succeeded in roping in one E. Markel, an illiterate gentleman from some backwoods, and inducing him to exchange greenbacks for what purported to be \$20 gold pieces. Upon discovering the cheat, Markel caused the arrest of one Harry Bell, the leader of the gang, and a bold and successful guy that sailed under the sobriquet of "Kid." The warrant was placed in the hands of Sheriff Masterson, who arrested the men and placed them under charge of Deputy [William] Duffey. Duffey had been on service the night previous, and feeling the need of rest turned the prisoners over to an incompetent guard. The guard was not vigilant, and while indulging in nature's sweet restorer, the prisoners saw the opportunity to escape justice, and boldly "lit out," taking the 5 o'clock morning train for the west.

The citizens of Dodge City naturally felt indignant Wednesday morning when they learned that the birds had flown, and were free to express feelings of censure against the Sheriff for a direlection of duty, in either not placing the prisoners in jail or else putting them under a proper and sufficient guard until a preliminary trial should be had. Bell made the most solemn protestations against the charge of guilt, and assured the Sheriff that he would make no attempt at escape if not placed in jail.

The pieces purporting to be gold were made of some base metal, plated,

and did not resemble gold or the device of gold coin. A person with ordinary intelligence would not have been gulled with such a trick. It matters not, the pieces were represented to be gold, and a charge of obtaining money under false pretenses could have been sustained.

The people of Dodge City have borne with these outrages long enough. There has been an under current of sentiment working and the climax had been reached when no mild measures would have been used to rid the community of this intolerable nuisance. By these operations it had become known abroad that "land agents" and "business men" of Dodge City were robbing the innocent straggler in the modern Nineveh. It was in this manner, by falsely representing themselves as "land agents" and "business men" that these robbers succeeded in gaining the confidence of their victims. Various swindling operations have occurred lately, but the parties victimized rarely "squealed," and hence the operators have gone on unmolested.

We haven't much sympathy for the man who permits himself to be duped by a stranger; but we presume it is a misfortune not to know all the wiles and tricks in human ingenuity. Again, the unsophisticated and probably better knowing ones, tempt the hidden hand to feather their own nests.

But these swindling operations were bringing the town into greater discredit, and forbearance was ceasing to be a virtue. It is therefore necessary for the honor, credit and character of Dodge City that a solemn protest be entered against such practices. We hasten the conclusion by stating that circumstances have probably done the best thing to further the riddance of these men, and cannot regret the course of the bold confidence operator in his flight west—if he will only stay away, and we believe he will. It would be "warm" to return.

The *Ford County Globe*, September 17, 1878, used the escape as an opportunity to chastise not only the sheriff and his men but also the *Dodge City Times*:

CAPTURE AND ESCAPE.

On Tuesday evening last, two of those notorious and well known confidence men, Bill Bell and "The handsome Kid," who have been for the past few months working the unsophisticated land seekers who visited Dodge, were captured upon the complaint of E. Markel (a respectable and honest man who had come here for the purpose of securing a home), charging them with passing off upon him something purporting to be a \$20 gold piece, which in reality was a gilded "spiel marke." The evidence was so conclusive, and witnesses so numerous to the transaction, that Bell and "The Kid" were "booked" for the Penitentiary if they stood trial. They tried to compromise, but without avail; then they tried to talk Judge Cook into a small bail bond, but the Judge, seeing his duty in the premises, said, "\$2,000 each with the best of security." A commitment was made out and placed in the hands of the Sheriff, who, instead of listening to the commands of the commitment, or the mandates of the law, "to put his prisoners in jail," placed them in care of his Deputy, Duffey, who permitted them to walk the streets in his charge. Next morning the prisoners were gone! without any explanation except that they had escaped from "Red," who had been employed to guard them. Who is "Red?" Does anybody know him? The only information that we can get concerning him is that he is one of

the "confidence gang." If this is true he was evidently the right kind of a man to guard his pals—from justice. We have now told the facts as they are understood, by us, we do not wish or desire to censure anybody unjustly, our aim in the premises is to lay bare the facts as they exist, knowing well that our readers are competent to form their own opinions, arrive at their own conclusions and censure those who deserve it. The *GLOBE* has and will always be found, commending an officer when he does his duty, but it will not praise an officer for not doing his duty, it is not that kind of an institution. Dodge City is already cursed with an institution of that character, which, in its existence of two and a half years, has never dared to question the correctness of the doings of any officer in Ford county, and God knows it has had many an opportunity to do so. We know it is the duty of any journal, that expects the people's patronage, to labor for the best interests of the community wherein it exists, by exulting over the good deeds of its officers and condemning their official faults, and we believe that a journal that will not do so, is tainted with a hankering after the "flesh pots" of office, or is controlled and managed by cowardice.

A meeting of the citizens was held in the school house, on Thursday evening, for the purpose of discussing the confidence question, at which there was not a very general attendance of citizens, but confidence men and their sympathizers were on hand in full force. Messrs [F. C.] Zimmerman and Collar being called upon, said, that the officers had not and were not doing their duty in relation to the confidence men. W. N. Morphy [editor of the *Ford County Globe*] said that the officers could stop the nuisance if they desired to do so. Messrs. [Edward F.] Colborn (City Attorney), Bobby Gill [Robert Gilmore] and E. O. Parish defended the officers by saying that they were the best officers whom God in His wisdom had ever created, (for which, oh, Lord, make us truly thankful). The meeting very nearly broke up in a row but didn't, and finally a peaceable adjournment was had. The citizens of the town at present feel that legally they are helpless, because they cannot have the law enforced; they also feel that they ought to take the law in their own hands and drive confidence men from the town. What will be done we cannot tell but we hope that the question will soon solve itself. The officers claim that they have always lacked the support of the citizens. We cannot understand how they can expect the support of the citizens unless they show themselves more worthy of it than they have heretofore done. What Ford county needs is a complete change in judicial officers and the ballot box is the place to get it. Remember this, voters of Ford county, and vote against any and every man who has not done his duty in driving out the confidence curse from our midst.

Perhaps to escape from it all temporarily, Bat took in the fair at Kansas City. With him were A. B. Webster, W. H. Harris, A. J. Anthony, Robert M. Wright, and Charley Bassett. They were gone during the week ending September 24, 1878.²²

In its 14 years as a rough frontier town Dodge never had a better year in the accepted TV Western tradition than it did in 1878. First there was the success of Sheriff Bat Masterson and his posse in capturing two of the Kinsley train robbers. Then two others were arrested right in town. The shooting and death of City Marshal Ed-

ward J. Masterson quickly followed in April. Deputy United States Marshal H. T. McCarty was shot and killed in the Long Branch saloon in July and Cowboy George Hoy died at the hands of Policemen Wyatt Earp and Jim Masterson a few days later. In September the flight of Dull Knife and his small band of Cheyennes across western Kansas toward their former home in the north threw Dodge City into a panic. It was all there—plenty of cowboys, Indians, train robbers, killers, sheriffs, and marshals. The climax, or perhaps the anticlimax, of it all came early in the morning of October 4, 1878. On that day Actress Fannie Keenan, or Dora Hand as she was sometimes called, was mistakenly shot and killed by an unknown person.

Fannie's Dodge City story begins with this item from the *Ford County Globe*, July 30, 1878:

COMIQUE.

This favorite place of resort is at present giving to its patrons the best show or entertainment ever given in Dodge. They have Billy and Nola Forrest, Dick Brown and Fannie Garretson, May Gaylor, Belle Lamont, Fannie Keenan, Jennie Morton, and that unequalled and splendidly matched team [Eddie] Foye and [Jimmie] Thompson. All the members of this troupe are up in their parts and considerable above the average in ability. . . .

Two weeks later Fannie was at Ham Bell's. The Dodge City *Times*, August 10, 1878, reported: "Hattie Smith and Fannie Keenan take a benefit at Ham Bell's Varieties next Wednesday night. They are general favorites and will be sure to draw a crowded house."

Miss Keenan apparently did not rejoin the troupe at the Comique as her name did not appear in the almost weekly notices given the theater by the *Globe*. If she remained at Bell's that fact is not indicated by the papers. After the August mention in the *Times*, Miss Keenan's name did not reappear in the local papers until October 5, 1878, when the *Times* reported her death:

ANOTHER VICTIM.

THE PISTOL DOES ITS WORK.

THE KILLING OF DORA HAND,

ALIAS FANNIE KEENAN.

At about half past four o'clock this (Friday) morning, two pistol shots were fired into the building occupied by Dora Hand, alias Fannie Keenan. The person who did the firing stood on horseback at the front door of the little frame [house] south of the railroad track. The house has two rooms, the back room being occupied by Fannie Keenan. A plastered partition wall divides the two rooms. The first shot went through the front door and struck the facing of the partition. The remarkable penetration of a pistol ball was in the second shot. It passed through the door, several thicknesses of bed clothing

on the bed in the front room occupied by a female lodger; through the plastered partition wall, and the bed clothing on the second bed, and striking Fannie Keenen on the right side under the arm, killing her instantly. The pistol was of 44 calibre, nearly a half inch ball.

The deceased came to Dodge City this summer and was engaged as vocalist in the Varieties and Comique shows. She was a prepossessing woman and her artful winning ways brought many admirers within her smiles and blandishments. If we mistake not, Dora Hand has an eventful history. She had applied for a divorce from Theodore Hand. After a varied life the unexpected death messenger cuts her down in the full bloom of gayety and womanhood. She was the innocent victim.

The pistol shot was intended for the male occupant of the bed in the front room, but who has been absent for several days. The bed however was occupied by the female lodger at the time of the shooting, and narrowly escaped the ball that went through the bed covering. The cause for the shooting is supposed to be for an old grudge. The officers are in pursuit of the supposed murderer, to whom circumstances point very directly.

Three days later, October 8, 1878, the *Ford County Globe* printed its version of Fannie's death:

MIDNIGHT ASSASSIN.

DORA HAND, ALIAS FANNIE KEENAN,

FOULLY MURDERED WHILE IN BED AND FAST ASLEEP.

JAMES KENNEDY, THE SUPPOSED MURDERER, ARRESTED AFTER
RECEIVING A DANGEROUS WOUND AT THE HANDS OF THE OFFICERS.

On Friday morning, about 4 o'clock, two shots were fired in a small frame building, situated south of the railroad track and back of the Western House, occupied by Miss Fannie Garretson and Miss Fannie Keenan. The building was divided into two rooms by a plastered partition, Miss Keenan occupying the back room. The first shot, after passing through the front door, struck the floor, passed through the carpet and facing of the partition and lodged in the next room. The second shot also passed through the door, but apparently more elevated, striking the first bed, passing over Miss Garretson, who occupied the bed, through two quilts, through the plastered partition, and after passing through the bed clothing of the second bed, struck Fannie Keenan in the right side, under the arm, killing her instantly.

The party who committed this cowardly act must have been on horseback and close to the door when the two shots were fired. From what we can learn the shots were intended for another party who has been absent for a week and who formerly occupied the first room. Thus the assassin misses his intended victim and kills another while fast asleep who never spoke a word after she was shot.

James Kennedy, who it is supposed did the shooting made good his escape, and the following morning the officers went in pursuit of him, returning Saturday night with their prisoner, whom they met and on refusal to surrender shot him through the shoulder and with another shot killing the horse he was riding, thus capturing him. What evidence the authorities have that Kennedy is the man who did the shooting we are unable to learn. Below we give the verdict of the coroner's inquest:

STATE OF KANSAS, FORD COUNTY, ss.

An inquisition holden at Dodge City, in said county, on the 4th day of October, A. D. 1878, before me, a justice of the peace for Dodge township, said county (acting as coroner) on the body of Fannie Keenan, there lying dead, by the jurors, whose names are hereunto subscribed. The said jurors, upon their oath, do say: That Fannie Keenan came to her death by a gunshot wound, and that in their opinion the said gunshot wound was produced by a bullet discharged from a gun in the hands of one James Kennedy.

In testimony whereof, the said jurors have hereunto set their hands the day and year aforesaid.

P. L. BEATTY, Foreman.

JOHN B. MEANS,

J. H. CORNELL,

W. STRAETER,

THOS. MCINTIRE,

JOHN LOUGHEED.

ATTEST: R. G. Cook, justice of the peace, acting coroner, for Dodge township, said county.

Fannie Garrettson, Miss Keenan's housemate the night of her death, also had performed in St. Louis. Knowing their Missouri friends would want to hear the details, Miss Garrettson almost immediately wrote J. E. Esher, their former employer. Her letter, and some explanatory material, were published in the *St. Louis Daily Journal*, October 11, 1878:

FANNIE KEENAN.

HOW A VARIETY SINGER MET HER DEATH IN KANSAS.

DELIBERATE CRIME BY A COLD-BLOODED ASSASSIN.

AN INTERESTING LETTER GIVING THE DETAILS OF THE TRAGEDY.

On Saturday morning last the telegraph brought the news of the accidental killing at Dodge City, Kan., of Fannie Keenan, a variety actress, well known in this city. For the past two years she had been employed at Esher's varieties, on Fifth street, at various times, and her last engagement in St. Louis was at the Tivoli varieties. About two weeks ago she left for Dodge City for the purpose of making arrangements for her approaching marriage. She was formerly married to a musician named Theodore Hand, but obtained a divorce from him in Indiana. Hand arrived in St. Louis on Tuesday morning, and for the first time heard of the death of his former wife. Fannie Keenan was thirty-four years of age at the time of her death, and was well-known to the variety profession throughout the country. She had appeared in every variety theater in the south, and came to this city two years ago from Memphis. She was universally popular among her associates, and, as one of her acquaintances remarked, "had not an enemy in the world." When she arrived in Dodge City she went to live with Fannie Garrettson, also a variety performer, who recently appeared in Esher's varieties, and met her death as stated in the following article taken from the *Dodge City Times* [the article printed on pp. 265, 266 of this section, from the *Times* of October 5, 1878, was here reprinted by the *Journal*]:

The following letter was received on Tuesday by J. E. Esher, from Fannie Garrettson, who is referred to in the above report as the "female lodger:"

DODGE CITY, KAS., October 5, 1878.

MESSRS. ESHERS:

DEAR FRIENDS:—No doubt ere this you have heard of the very sad and fatal end [of Fannie Keenan, one of the most] fiendish assassinations on record. Although the bullet was not intended for poor Fannie, yet she was the innocent victim, and so it is invariably. Any one gets it but the one for whom it is intended, and particularly in this wretched city. This is now the third or fourth instance and still nothing is done. But the man who perpetrated this deed will never exist for a judge or a jury, as the officers have sworn never to take him alive. They were offered a big reward to get him but they declined to accept it, for they were only too well pleased to get the order to start after him. He is either a half breed or half Mexican; but let him be what he may I know him to be a fiend in human form or some one else who will go at such an hour, and attempt to take the life [of] any individual, and knowing at the same time there were other occupants in the same house and occupying the same bed. It shows what a fiend he must be and that he regarded no one's life. The party he was after is the mayor of Dodge City [James H. Kelley] I have written to you about. My room was the front one and Fannie occupied the one back of me. Both our beds stood in the same positions, mine being a higher bedstead than hers. There were four shots fired, two in the air and two penetrating through the door leading into my room. One was fired very low, hitting the floor and cutting two places in the carpet. It then glanced up striking the inside side piece of the bedstead, the one I occupied. It penetrated through these and through the plastering and lath and part of the bullet was found on the floor. They said it was a forty-five caliber. The one that did the horrible work was fired directly lining for my bed and had the one whom they were after been there, the probability is there would have been three or four assassinated. Certain there would have been two, probably Fannie and myself. But I was alone. The mayor has been very sick for two or three weeks, and last Monday he was obliged to go to the hospital to the post [Fort Dodge] where he could be under the best of treatment.

There is no very good doctor in town, and consequently people who have any means go to the post, as the doctor there [W. S. Tremain] is considered the best. But these parties who were in search of the mayor were not aware of that, as they had been away from town, and only came in that evening. Of course he did not dare to make any inquiries, as they all knew he held a grudge towards the mayor. But you can rest assured his aim was a good one. The death-dealing messenger penetrated through the bed clothes that covered me, and so close to me that it went through the spread, then the heavy comforter that covered me, and the sheet that was next to me, cutting a hole through all, and again passing through the clothes the same way only nearer to the wall, and then penetrating through the wall and passed between Fannie's fifth and sixth ribs. I suppose tearing her heart into atoms.

Poor Fannie, she never realized what was the matter with her. She never spoke but died unconscious. She was so when she was struck and so she died. She closed her eyes as though she was going to sleep. The only indication of any pain were the moving of the head once or twice on the pillow, a few gasps and her sufferings were over in this world. Peace to her soul. I think

she died happy, as her look was such; but what a horrible death! To go to one's bed well and hearty and not dream of anything and be cut down in such a manner, without a chance to breathe a word. She was killed between the hours of 4 and 5 and was buried yesterday between the same hours, everything being done that could be, and every respect and honor shown her to the last, the leading gentlemen of the city officiating at her funeral and following to her lonely grave.

They have gone in search of the fellows who committed the deed and yesterday evening were within five or six miles of them, but I am afraid the trouble has not ended, as some twenty of the Texas men went out after the officers and there were only six of them. This man has been allowed more privileges than the rest of them because he has plenty of money, and now he has repaid their liberality. Well, I want to leave here now, while my life is safe; I think I have had enough of Dodge City.

With kindest wishes and remembrance to all, I will close, hoping you will write on receipt.

Very respectfully,

FANNIE GARRETTSON.

The posse that captured Jim Kennedy consisted of some of the West's most famous lawmen. The *Dodge City Times*, October 12, 1878, told of the chase in detail:

THE CAPTURE OF JIM KENNEDY.

THE SUPPOSED ASSASSIN OF DORA HAND alias FANNIE KEENAN.

THE PRISONER WOUNDED IN THE LEFT SHOULDER.

In last week's *TIMES* we detailed the circumstances of the killing of Dora Hand alias Fannie Keenan, at about half past four o'clock Friday morning. There were few persons up at this unseasonable hour, though all night walkers and loungers are not uncommon in this city, and the somber hours of that morning found one James Kennedy and another person gyrating in the dim shadows of the flickering light of the solitary opened saloon. Four pistol shots awakened the echoes in that dull misty morning, and aroused the police force and others. Pistol shots are of common occurrence, but this firing betokened something fatal. Assistant Marshal [Wyatt] Earp and Officer Jim Masterson were soon at their wits' end, but promptly surmised the upshot of the shooting. Shortly after the firing Kennedy and his companion were seen in the opened saloon. The arrival of the officers and the movements of the two morning loungers threw suspicions in their direction. Kennedy mounted his horse [and] was soon galloping down the road in the direction of the Fort.

It was believed the other person knew something of the firing though he had no connection with it. He was arrested and placed in jail; in the meantime expressing his belief to the officers that Kennedy did the shooting. There were some other reasons why the officers believed that Kennedy did the shooting, and accordingly a plan for his capture was commenced, though the officers did not start in pursuit until 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The party consisted of Sheriff Masterson, Marshal Basssett, Assistant [Marshal] Wyatt Earp, Deputy [Sheriff] Duffy and Wm. Tilghman, as intrepid a posse as ever pulled a trigger. They started down the river road, halting at a ranch below the Fort, thence going south, traveling 75 miles that day. A heavy storm Friday night delayed

the pursued and pursuers; but Saturday afternoon found the officers at a ranch near Meade City, 35 miles south west of Dodge City, one hour in advance of Kennedy who said he was delayed by the storm in his proposed hasty exit to his cattle ranch at Tuscosa, Texas. The officers were lying in wait at Meade City, their horses unsaddled and grazing on the plain, the party avoiding the appearance of a Sheriff's posse in full feather, believing that they were in advance of the object of their search, but prepared to catch any stray straggler that exhibited signs of distress.

Their patient waiting was rewarded about 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon, when a solitary horseman appeared on the distant plain approaching the camp. The officers had apprised certain parties to give no heed of their presence, and from them it was afterwards learned that Kennedy had made diligent inquiries concerning the whereabouts of supposed horsemen. To these inquiries Kennedy received negative replies. The cautious manner in which he approached the camp led the officers to believe that he snuffed the danger from every movement forward. He halted when within a few hundred yards of the camp, apparently dreading to proceed further. Seeing that he would approach no nearer, the officers thrice commanded Kennedy to throw up his hands. He raised his arm as though to strike his horse with a quirt he held in his hand, when several shots were fired by the officers, one shot striking Kennedy in the left shoulder, making a dangerous wound; three shots struck the horse killing him instantly. Kennedy was armed with a carbine, two revolvers and a knife. He was brought in Sunday and placed in jail, where he is receiving medical treatment, though he lies in a low and critical condition.

A preliminary examination will be had as soon as the prisoner is able to appear in court.

Kennedy's examination was held about two weeks later. The *Globe*, October 29, 1878, reported the results:

FREE AS AIR.

Kennedy, the man who was arrested for the murder of Fannie Keenan, was examined last week before Judge [R. G.] Cook, and acquitted. His trial took place in the sheriff's office, which was too small to admit spectators. We do not know what the evidence was, or upon what grounds he was acquitted. But he is free to go on his way rejoicing whenever he gets ready.

On December 9 Jim Kennedy's father arrived in Dodge to take his boy back home. The *Globe*, December 10, 1878, said:

Yesterday morning's train brought to our city Capt. M. Kennedy, of Corpus Christi, Texas, father of J. W. Kennedy, who received a severe wound at the hands of our officers some time ago, and has since that time been confined to his room at the Dodge House. Mr. Kennedy came here with a view of taking his son back home with him should he be able to endure such a long journey.

Before he was able to return to Texas Kennedy had to undergo a serious operation which the *Globe* described on December 17, 1878:

SURGICAL OPERATION.

On yesterday quite a difficult as well as a dangerous surgical operation was performed on J. W. Kennedy, who had been shot through the shoulder some two months ago, which necessitated the taking out of a piece of bone some four

or five inches in length before the wound could be successfully healed. Mr. Kennedy was taken to Fort Dodge about a week ago, at which place he would have better attention. Dr. B. E. Fryer of Fort Leavenworth was brought here to assist in this operation, and on last Saturday he, assisted by Drs. Tremaine and T. L. McCarty, took from the left shoulder of Mr. Kennedy several shattered bones, one being nearly five inches in length. The doctors experienced considerable difficulty in stopping the blood but finally succeeded. Though considerably exhausted from the slight loss of blood as well as from the shock experienced, Mr. Kennedy showed remarkable fortitude and nerve and said afterward that he would not die from the effects of the operation. Just how the case will result is hard to conjecture, but life is hanging on a very slender cord. But as he is receiving the best of medical attention we predict for him a speedy recovery.²³

Jim Kennedy undoubtedly lived for in November, 1880, it was rumored that he had shot and killed Wyatt Earp on Sand creek, in Colorado. The *Times'* notice of this rumor was reprinted in the section on Earp.

While Kennedy was still in jail the Dodge City *Times*, October 12, 1878, listed the prisoners which the sheriff was then holding as evidence that he and Mike Sutton were more than doing their duty:

STRAUGHN'S BOARDERS.

Sheriff Masterson, Deputy Sheriff Duffy and County Attorney Sutton, and the officers "everybody" "damns" are assisting Jailor Straughn in keeping a boarding house. There are six prisoners boarding at public expense. They are charged, as follows:

Thos. O'Hara, charged with murder in the first degree; the killing of H. T. McCarty.

H. Gould, alias Skunk Curley, assault with intent to kill; on Cogan, of Great Bend.

Dan Woodward, the same charge, made on Frank Trask.

James Skelly, robbery.

James Kennedy, murder in the first degree; killing of Fannie Keenan.

Arthur Baldwin, in default of a fine.

On October 15, 1878, the *Ford County Globe* mentioned that "Sheriff W. B. Masterson has taken up quarters in the front room of the GLOBE building" on the corner of Bridge avenue and Chestnut street.

Bat was quite interested in Republican politics and on several occasions attended local conventions as a delegate. On November 5, 1878, the *Globe*, a political opponent of Bat's, noticed that he and several other Dodgeites had been campaigning in eastern Ford county:

Messrs. Wright Sutton, Masterson, Duffey, Mueller, Straeter and a half dozen others, returned Sunday morning from an electioneering tour through the east end of the county. We presume they told the dear people exactly how to vote.

A state, county, and township election was held on November 5, 1878, an election at which a sheriff was not to be elected since that officer was chosen in odd numbered years. The "gang" to which Bat belonged walked off with most of the local offices. The *Globe*, November 12, 1878, summarized:

CAPTURED.

On Tuesday a "gang" took possession of the good ship "Ford" at a well-known landing on the Arkansas river, with the intention of going upon a piratical voyage of two years. The victory of the pirates was an easy one. Some of the owners had been chloriformed, some were bought, some were scared; the true men were overpowered. Amid "lashins" of free whisky the following officers were unanimously elected:

Pirate Captain—Mike Sutton [re-elected county attorney].

Sutler and paymaster—Bob Wright [elected state representative].

Chaplain—"Old Nick" Klaine [elected probate judge].

The crew was then sworn in as follows: John O'Haran, James Scully, Kinch Riley, James Dalton, under the charge of Boatswain Bat Masterson.

The ceremonies were celebrated by a grand Cyprian ball. After which Chaplain "Old Nick" Klaine [editor of the *Dodge City Times*] closed the exercises by giving out the following from the "Gospels Hymns,":

"Free from the law, O happy condition."

Bat arrested another horse thief on November 22 at Pierceville, a small town in present Finney county near the Gray county line. The *Times*, November 30, 1878, reported the capture:

HORSE THIEF CAUGHT.

Sheriff Masterson, on Friday last, at Pierceville, 40 miles west, arrested one W. H. Brown, having in his possession a horse stolen from John N. Stevenson, six miles north of Speareville, on the 19th. The prisoner had a preliminary examination Saturday and was bound over in jail. There are seven prisoners in jail charged with various offenses. This looks like business on the part of the officers.

Bat's career as a peace officer soon suffered a setback, through no fault of his own, when four county prisoners escaped from jail on December 6. The *Ford County Globe*, December 10, 1878, told of the flight:

JAIL DELIVERY.

FOUR PRISONERS ESCAPE FROM CUSTODY— ONE OF THE PRISONERS CAPTURED "ON THE FLY."

For the first time in over a year we are called upon to chronicle the escape of prisoners from our county jail. The particulars of the manner in which the escape was effected are as follows: At the last meeting of the Board of County Commissioners the jailor was authorized to alter the door of the jail, by cutting one of the bars and making a small hole that food and water could be handed in to the prisoners, without making it necessary to unlock and open the jail. This the jailor undertook to do last Friday.

The work of sawing the iron bar was commenced, and one of the prisoners,

on the inside, was allowed to assist, which is a very common thing when work is to be done about the jail. After the sawing had been partially completed, the jailor found something lacking in the completion of the work which necessitated his visiting the blacksmith shop. He took the saw away from the prisoners, and examined the bar that had been partially sawed, striking it with his hammer to see that it was not too weak to be safe. It seemed to be only sawed about a third off, and confident that all was secure, the jailor went to the blacksmith shop, where he was detained some time. This gave the cunning prisoners the opportunity they desired, for instead of sawing the bar as the jailor supposed, and as it appeared from the outside, they had, whenever opportunity offered, drawn the saw across the inside of the bar, cutting it more than half into from the inside.

As soon as the jailor had gone one of the prisoners procured a heavy piece of board, which he had managed to get hold of, and using this as a lever, succeeded in breaking the bar where it had been sawed. This done, it was only the work of a moment to bend the bar and break it at the other end. Thus a means was afforded of escape, and four of the prisoners silently and cautiously availed themselves of the opportunity. Their names were H. Gould, awaiting trial for murder, and W. H. Brown, Frank Jennings and James Bailey, charged with horse-stealing. They immediately "struck out for tall timber," each taking the course that suited him best. The alarm was, however, given in a short time, strange to say, by one of the prisoners in jail, who with his companion, John O'Haran, made no attempt to escape, both being lame, and not very good roadsters.

On hearing the disastrous news the sheriff and his deputy immediately mounted horses and scoured the country around town in search of the fugitives. Their prompt search proved partially fruitful in the capture of Gould, about a mile from town, hid in a buffalo wallow on the prairie. Had it not been for the approach of darkness, the escape being in the afternoon, the officers would probably have secured all the prisoners. They, however, continued their search through the night and the next day, but the prisoners having taken to the prairies and hills, no trace could be found. The search is still in progress and we hope for success.

The officers feel the misfortune keenly. The sheriff, whose conduct in the capture and detention of horse-thieves, has been so frequently complimented of late, was greatly exercised over the news of the escape and made every effort to regain the prisoners. The feelings of the jailor can be better imagined than described, as this is the first misfortune he has had since he has held the office. He blames himself for not having used more care or left some one to guard the door during his absence. While every citizen deploras this occurrence, no suspicion of complicity rests upon the officers.

The jailor, Col. Straughn, who was immediately in charge of the prisoners at the time of the escape is a man of undoubted honesty and fidelity to his office, and although this outbreak might have been avoided by greater care, yet a thousand other men in a like position would probably have thought and acted just as he did. It will be a warning for the future.

LATER.—Another of the prisoners, Frank Jennings, was captured this morning at Kinsley, and sheriff Masterson has gone down to secure the baffled fugitive.

The Dodge City *Times*, December 14, 1878, gave the credit for recapture of Gould to Bat's brother Jim:

A JAIL DELIVERY.

Notwithstanding the caution used in guarding the jail, through a careless and unguarded moment last Friday afternoon, four prisoners made their escape, one of them, Skunk Curley, being captured that evening by Officer James Masterson.

Jailor Straughn had sawed one of the iron bars of the jail door, intending to arrange an aperture through which to hand the prisoners their food. While absent "down town" for a bolt to complete his job, the prisoners slipped the sawed bar and made their escape, though there were several parties in the jail building. The remaining prisoners gave the alarm which was not heeded in time. As soon as Sheriff Masterson was informed of the jail delivery he and a large party started in pursuit and search, which was keep [sic] up that night and until Sunday; but without success, excepting the early capture we have above stated.

The three prisoners evidently concealed themselves in some of the breaks nearby, for that night two men attempted to raid the corral of Nichols & Culbertson. A mare belonging to C. S. Hungerford was stolen from Wolf's camp several miles north of the city. The mare was probably stolen by W. H. Brown, one of the escaped prisoners, as a person answering his description was seen in that vicinity early in the evening.

The names of the escaped prisoners are: W. H. Brown who was charged with stealing Mr. Stevenson's horse near Speareville; Frank Jennings and James A. Bailey were charged with stealing horses from Hardesty and Smith, and were arrested by Geo. Pease at Fort Elliott.

Two more of the escapees were captured by the sheriff of Edwards county. On December 11 Bat journeyed to Kinsley and brought them back to Dodge. The *Times*, December 14, 1878, said:

CAPTURED.

Frank Jennings and James A. Bailey, two of the prisoners who escaped from the jail on Friday last, were captured at Kinsley by Officer Cronk, and brought to this city Wednesday by Sheriff Masterson, and placed in the Ford county jail.

W. H. Brown is the only fugitive.

Our officers felt considerably hurt over the jail escapade. We believe no one censures them; and we trust that double caution will be used on the part of the jailor.²⁴

Wednesday night, the same day he brought Jennings and Bailey back to Dodge, Bat embarked on another man hunt. This time, accompanied by a few soldiers from Fort Dodge, he was after brigands who had stolen eight mules from a government supply train. The *Times*, December 14, 1878, reported:

GOVERNMENT TRAIN RAIDED.

A Government train of two wagons and eight mules was "raided" Tuesday night at their camp on Bluff creek, 37 miles south, and eight mules stolen. The train was en route to Camp Supply, and was in charge of soldiers. Sheriff Masterson and Lt. Guard, of Fort Dodge, with a couple of men, left

Wednesday night in search of the stolen property and the capture of the thieves.

Horse thieving is a little too bold and frequent to be longer endured without more stringent measures than a short term in the penitentiary. Some of these bold operators will some fine evening be taken in the most approved and summary style.

"Some of these bold operators" did not include the men Bat and the lieutenant were chasing, for the next week the *Times*, December 21, 1878, told of their unsuccessful pursuit:

Sheriff Masterson and posse returned this week from a fruitless search after the thieves who raided the government train. The snow storm caught them the next day after they were out.

Lieutenant Guard, with whose detachment Bat traveled in search of the thieves, made this detailed report upon his return to Fort Dodge:

FORT DODGE KANSAS.

Dec 24" 1878

TO THE

POST ADJUTANT: SIR:

In compliance with Special Orders No 156 dated Fort Dodge, Ks. Dec 11" 1878, I in charge of a detachment of one Non Com Officer and six privates, Co. "G," 19" Inf and one private Co. "F," 19" Inf, mounted and with three pack mules, left this post at sunset on the 11" instant in pursuit of horse thieves. We proceeded up the Arkansas river to a point about twelve miles from this post, then crossed the river and travelled in a southerly direction to near the head of Mulberry Creek, where a dry camp was made at 2 oclock A. M. on the 12" instant, distance travelled 25 miles. At day break on the 12" inst. we marched to Gantz Ranch on Crooked Creek, a distance of fifteen miles from the Camp, a halt was made for the purpose of cooking breakfast, after breakfast every thing was prepared for a start, when a severe wind and snow storm prevented our leaving, as there was no timber or shelter on the course I wished to take, within thirty miles, of the place where we then were. I thought it unsafe to start until the storm had ceased.

The storm continued all the remainder of the 12" inst and until 11 P. M. on the 13" inst. On the morning of the 14" inst we started for Lovells Cattle camp on Crooked creek a distance of thirty miles from Gantz, in a southeasterly direction. We found the country covered with snowdrifts which made it almost impossible to search ravines on the way. Camped at Lovells that night. The next day the 15" marched to a point on Beaver Creek, I. T. about forty five miles west of Camp Supply.

Ravines, on Crooked Creek, Cimmaron River, and Beaver Creek were searched as well as the snow drifts would permit. Distance traveled on the 15" thirty miles, direction West of South.

On account of rations and forage giving out, I was compelled to go into Camp Supply. We arrived at that Post on the night of the 16" inst. having travelled forty five miles.

The horses being tired and stiff with cold and the long march, a rest of two days became necessary. Left Camp Supply for Fort Dodge on the 19" inst.

Marched to Cimmaron River, distance travelled thirty seven miles. On the 20th inst marched to Bluff Creek, distance twenty eight miles. On the 21st inst arrived at Fort Dodge Distance travelled twenty two miles.

The weather was intensely cold throughout the march.

Distance travelled two hundred and thirty two miles.

Very respectfully

Your obedient servant

A. M. C. GUARD

2nd Lieut 19th Inf.²⁵

The Dodge City *Times*, December 21, 1878, reported that Bat had appointed another deputy sheriff:

DEPUTIES APPOINTED.

County Attorney Sutton has appointed L. W. B. Johnson Deputy County Attorney. Sheriff Masterson has appointed A. S. Tracy Deputy Sheriff of Ford County. The new appointees are residents of Foote township, Foote county [now Gray county], attached to Ford county for municipal and judicial purposes. These gentlemen are well qualified to fill the responsible positions.

Bat attended a gay social event on Christmas day. The *Ford County Globe*, January 1, 1879, described the festivities:

THE BAL MASQUE.

The first masquerade ball of this season was given on Christmas night by the Dodge City Social Club. The grotesque masquers assembled at the Dodge House, where the ball was given, and participated in the amusements laid out for them, unknown to each other, until 12 o'clock, when the order was given to "show up" which occasioned a considerable amusement, as many had so completely disguised themselves that even their most intimate friends failed to recognize them. This was one of the most real enjoyable dances given for a long time, and was attended by a very harmonious class of our society. Messrs. Webster, Marshall, Connor and Willett were the committee on management and the music was under the superintendence of Mr. Geo. Hinkle. Messrs. Cox & Boyd, the proprietors of the Dodge House, made themselves particularly agreeable and their guests correspondingly comfortable. Champagne and wine flowed freely, but not to excess, and a merrier Christmas night was never enjoyed in Dodge. As near as our reporter could distinguish the following is a list of those who were present and participated: . . . W. B. Masterson and Miss Brown. . . .

(*This Section on William Barclay "Bat" Masterson Will Be Continued in the Autumn, 1961, Issue.*)

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by ALBERTA PANTLE, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books the Society's library is receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in its specialized fields.

These books come from three sources, purchase, gift, and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on American Indians and the West, including explorations, overland journeys, and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on United States history, biography, and allied subjects which are classified as general. The out-of-state city directories received by the Historical Society are not included in this compilation.

The library also receives regularly the publications of many historical societies by exchange, and subscribes to other historical and genealogical publications which are needed in reference work.

The following is a partial list of books which were received from October 1, 1959, through September 30, 1960. Federal and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the Society's secretary printed in the Spring, 1961, issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

KANSAS

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ANDERSON, GEORGE L., ed., *Issues and Conflicts, Studies in Twentieth Century American Diplomacy*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1959. 374p.

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ARKANSAS CITY, FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, *First Baptist Church, Arkansas City, Kansas, 1928-1948. Twenty Years of Progress*. No impr. [12]p.

ATCHISON, METHODIST CHURCH, *100 Years of Methodism in Atchison, Kansas . . . 1857-1957*. No impr. 19p.

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BEATTY, MARION, *Labor-Management Arbitration Manual*. New York, E. E. Eppler and Son [c1960]. 186p.

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- BROME, VINCENT, *Frank Harris, the Life and Loves of a Scoundrel*. New York, Thomas Yoseloff [c1959]. 246p.
- BROOKS, GWENDOLYN, *The Bean Eaters*. New York, Harper & Brothers [c1960]. 71p.
- BURBRIDGE, CLARENCE BENJAMIN, *The Fountain of Strength, a Practical Plan for Everyday Thought and Action*. New York, Exposition Press [c1959]. 45p.
- BURLINGTON, METHODIST CHURCH, *History Burlington Methodist Church, Burlington, Kansas, 1857-1957* . . . Arranged by Mrs. A. N. Gray . . . Burlington, *Daily Republican*, n. d. 47p.
- BYRON, NEB., ST. PAUL LUTHERAN CHURCH, *Fiftieth Anniversary, St. Paul Lutheran Church, Byron, Nebraska, April 7, 1957*. [Bruning, Neb., Bruning Banner] n. d. [19]p.
- CARSON, GERALD, *The Roguish World of Doctor Brinkley*. New York, Rinehart & Company [c1960]. 280p.
- CARSON, L. B., *Introduction to Our Bird Friends, Illustrations by Orville O. Rice*. [Topeka, Capper Publications, c1960.] [54]p.
- CHAMBERLAIN, MARY L., *History of the Lowman Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church, Topeka, Kansas, 1886-1926*. No impr. 35p.
- COBBLE, ALICE D., *Wembi, the Singer of Stories*. St. Louis, Bethany Press [c1959]. 128p.
- COWAN, CHARLES H., *Piquant Poems. First Edition*. Emporia [Gazette Printers], c1960. 64p.
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- , FORT SUPPLY TRAIL CHAPTER, ASHLAND, *Clark County, Kansas* . . . *Marriage License Record Book 1, Pages 1-387*. No impr. [25]p.

- , KANSAS SOCIETY, *Proceedings of the Sixty-Second Annual State Conference, March 8, 9, 10, 1960, Hutchinson, Kansas.* No impr. 160p.
- , LUCRETIA GRISWOLD LATIMER CHAPTER, EUREKA, *Tombstone Inscriptions, Greenwood County, Kansas* . . . No impr. Unpaged.
- DAVIS, KENNETH SYDNEY, *Flight to Glory; the Story of Charles A. Lindbergh and the Spirit of St. Louis.* Garden City, N. Y., Garden City Books [c1960]. 56p.
- , *The Hero; Charles A. Lindbergh and the American Dream.* Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday & Company, 1959. 527p.
- DAVIS, MABLE EIGHMY, *A Kansas Schoolma'am (1898-1951).* Chicago, Adams Press, c1960. 153p.
- DILLER, NEB., ZION EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, *Fiftieth Anniversary Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church, State Line Road, Diller, Nebraska, Sunday, May 1, 1960.* N. p., 1960. Unpaged.
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- EDWARDS, RALPH W., *A History of the Western Dental College.* (Reprinted from *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 33, No. 2, March-April, 1959.) [8]p.
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- HARTMAN, EMILY L., *The F. B. and Rena G. Ross Natural History Reservation*. Emporia, Kansas State Teachers College, 1960. 40p. (*The Emporia State Research Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 4.)
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- HEIDERSTADT, DOROTHY, *Knights and Champions*. New York, Thomas Nelson & Sons [c1960]. 166p.
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Bypaths of Kansas History

TWO CROPS AT ONCE

From the *Inland Tribune*, Great Bend, July 13, 1878.

No one but an experienced granger would attempt to raise a crop of wheat and corn on the same piece of ground at the same time. Mr. R. T. Ewalt, Deputy Grand Master of the Grange in this county, thought the thing feasible. He sowed a spring crop of wheat, and believing it a failure, planted the ground in corn. About the time the corn needed plowing, the wheat had concluded to grow and was overshadowing the corn. Right here Mr. Ewalt began to scratch his head, whether to wait developments, or plow the corn. To cultivate one would destroy the other. He however waited a few days. The wet weather was bringing both crops right along; first the wheat and then the corn being ahead. The result is that he has a fine crop of both, but his wheat is ready for the sickle, and how to cut it without injuring the corn is the question. This point was not considered till it was too late. The last we saw of Dick he was sitting on a stump and chewing his quid mighty fast, racking his brain to invent a Corn Row Header.

HOW'S THAT?

From the *Elk Falls Signal*, October 22, 1880.

Some low-down, vile, sneaking son of an unvirtuous canine of the female persuasion cut the flag rope on the Garfield and Arthur liberty pole last Friday night, and as it is about a hundred feet up to the pulley and as no one could be found who would attempt the feat of climbing the pole, it was feared for a while that the Republicans would have to forego the pleasure of seeing the stars and stripes fly from their handsome flag pole during the rest of this campaign. But it happened that Mr. Truby had an eye to something of this kind when the pole was being raised, so he had a little iron hook fastened on the side of the pole a few feet from the top, and last Monday, by the aid of a kite, a string was carried over the hook and a new rope drawn into position in less than no time. And now wonder if the sneak who cut the rope don't feel a little mean.

BUCKET BRIGADES WITH STICKY FINGERS

From the *Columbus Courier*, February 28, 1884.

The city marshal complains that after every fire we have had in the city that the council have had to pay for a lot of buckets given out by the merchants and carried away by some one during the fire. Anyone that would steal a bucket under such circumstances would purloin the coppers from a dead man's eyes. It is surprising that we have such miserable contemptible thieves around us.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

"Pioneer Remedies From Western Kansas," an article by Amy Lathrop, was published in the July, 1961, issue of *Western Folklore*, Berkeley, Cal. It was based upon some of the folk cures found by the author, a doctor's wife, over a period of 55 years in the Norton county area.

Articles included in the July, 1960, *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, were: "Miss Carolyn B. Whittlesey and Her School of Music," by Nancy Veale Galloway; another installment of George Root's "Chronology of Shawnee County"; "Grange Wedding," from *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, March 8, 1882; part three of Russell K. Hickman's "Early Elections in Shawnee County"; "That's What Mr. [Thomas A.] Edison Said," by John Ripley; "How Did They Travel?" by Lois Johnson Cone; "Who Were They? Incidents From the Old Days," by Edna Becker; "Origin of Mission Township," by Mary Davis Sander; "One Hundred Years Ago Drouth in Kansas," by Lois Johnson Cone; "The Ice Business [in the 1880's]," excerpts from the memoirs of C. C. Nicholson; and "First Passenger Train to Reach Topeka," by Nancy Veale Galloway.

Alfaretta Courtright's articles on Rawlins county history have continued in the Atwood *Citizen-Patriot* during recent months.

Elizabeth Barnes' column "Historic Johnson County," continues to appear regularly in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park. "Highlights of Johnson County History," appeared in the issues of July 14 and 21, 1960; a biographical sketch of Vernon Campbell, Merriam postmaster, September 1; a history of Johnson county schools, September 8; Overland Park history, September 15; a biographical sketch of the Nall family of Johnson county, September 22 and 29; and the story of George W. Franklin, I, and the home he built in 1861, November 17, 24, and December 1.

"It's Worth Repeating," Heinie Schmidt's weekly column in the *High Plains Journal*, Dodge City, included the following articles in recent months: "Western Kansas Tools Included Cattle and Oxen," July 14, 1960; "Modern Dodge City a Credit to Pioneer Marshals," July 21; "Pioneer Woman [Gladys Putt] Tells Story of Prairie Fire," July 28; "Sleeping Lawyer [Colonel Kowalsky] Defeats Guns of Wyatt Earp," August 4; biographical sketch of Hercules Juneau, pioneer Kansas businessman, August 18 and 25;

"Town Rises and Falls in Story of Achilles [Rawlins County]," excerpts from a story by Lois Erickson, September 1; "Death, Despair Left in Path of Prairie Fire," by Mrs. E. E. Beck, September 8; "The Run' Took Kansans to Oklahoma Territory," September 17; "Early Day Newspaper [Stanton *Telegram*] Tells of Town of Goguac [Stanton County]," October 1; "Dodge City Named for Ft. Dodge Colonel," October 8; "Fighting Frontier Dentist Was Doc Holliday," October 15; "Heroine of the Prairie Was Pioneer Mother," October 22; "Ford County Ghost Town Was City of Ryansville," November 5, 12, and 19; "Early Meade County History in the X-I Ranch," November 26; "Fist Fight [Between James 'Dog' Kelley and Tom Riley] Was Talk of Old Dodge City," December 3; "Early Dodge City Character Was Horse Thief Ben [Benjamin F. Hodges]," December 17; "Early West Tradition Was Old 'Hoss Trader,'" January 7, 1961; "Mystery of Early West Was the Prairie Circles," January 14; "Pioneer [Archie Keech] Captures Last Herd of Wild Horses," January 21; and "Dodge City Makes History With the Bull Fight," January 28.

Zoe Myers Siler is the author of an article on early Cherryvale history printed in the *Cherryvale Republican*, August 3, 1960. In the issue of August 30 a story of Cherryvale as a rough and lawless town in 1880, by the Rev. and Mrs. M. Q. Stevenson, was published. Historical notes on Grant school, District 16, Montgomery county, appeared in the *Republican*, October 18.

On August 5, 1960, the *Hanover News* began publication of a series of articles on the life of G. H. Hollenberg, builder of the Hollenberg Ranch Pony Express station and founder of Hanover.

"Law on the Frontier," by Paul E. Wilson, was the feature of the September, 1960, number of *The Trail Guide*, published by the Kansas City Posse of the Westerners.

Great Bend's Morrison Hotel, now being razed, was opened March 15, 1888. An article on the history of the hotel was published in the *Great Bend Tribune*, October 9, 1960.

The Friedens Lutheran church, Home, which recently celebrated its 75th anniversary, was the subject of a historical article in the *Marysville Advocate*, October 13, 1960.

In observance of Valley Center's 75th anniversary, the *Valley Center Index* printed a four-page special souvenir section in its issue of October 13, 1960.

Homer Singley is the author of a history of Plains and Meade county published in the *Plains Journal*, October 20, 1960. According to Singley, Plains was started in 1884 and Meade county was organized in 1885.

Histories of Kansas churches published recently in the newspapers included: First Methodist, Winfield, *Winfield Daily Courier*, October 26, 1960; Mary Queen of Angels, Fort Scott, *Fort Scott Tribune*, October 28; Hamilton Methodist, Eureka *Herald*, November 3; Wakefield Methodist, Clay Center *Dispatch*, November 4, and *Times*, November 10; Phillipsburg Methodist, *Phillipsburg Review*, November 10; Burns Methodist, *Burns News*, November 11; Faith Mission, Clay Center, *Clay Center Dispatch*, November 12; Frankfort Presbyterian, *Frankfort Index*, November 17; Memorial Covenant, Courtland, *Courtland Journal*, November 17; St. Paul's Lutheran, Valley Falls, *Valley Falls Vindicator*, November 23; Luctor Reformed, near Prairie View, *Phillipsburg Review*, November 24, and the *Downs News*, December 1; and Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic, near Ellinwood, *Great Bend Daily Tribune*, January 22, 1961.

The *Harper Advocate*, October 27, 1960, printed a special Norwich *Herald* historical supplement on the occasion of Norwich's 75th anniversary.

The Martin Van Buren Parker family and home in Olathe were the subjects of an article by Mrs. Ruth Ann Hackler in the *News*, Olathe, October 28, 1960. The house was built 100 years ago.

"Some Place Names of Kansas," by Anniejane H. Cover, comprised the November, 1960, issue of *Heritage of Kansas*, published by the Department of English, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia. The February, 1961, issue featured "Some Ghost Towns of Kansas," by W. M. Richards.

Archaeology in Kansas was reviewed in an article entitled "The Plains Indians Left Records of Their Being Written in Stone," in *The Kansas Teacher*, Topeka, November, 1960.

A history of Otter Creek Grange No. 1493, Coffey county, by Otto Bowman, was printed in the *Burlington Daily Republican*, November 1, 1960. The grange recently celebrated its 50th anniversary. On December 14 the *Republican* published a history of Strawn.

Kansas Historical Notes

Current officers of the Southwest Kansas Historical Society, with headquarters at Dodge City, are: Mrs. Ida Ellen Rath, president; R. Roy Taylor, vice-president; Mrs. C. R. Harner, secretary; and Fred Swart, treasurer. Plans have been made to change the name of the organization to the Ford County Historical Society.

Citizens of Scandia are constructing a replica of the old Colony House, the town's first house, erected in 1868, in observance of the state's centennial. Early day furnishings for the building are included in the project.

A log cabin built in 1859 near Princeton by Jacob Dietrich has been moved to the Ottawa city park. Donated by Mrs. Robert Gault, Richmond, a granddaughter of Dietrich, the old building will be reconditioned and used for a museum by the Franklin County Historical Society.

Mementos of the Osage (Black Dog) trail and related areas are on display in the Black Dog Trail Museum recently opened at the Parker grocery and service station in Chautauqua. The items were largely collected and arranged by the Joe Parker family.

A. W. Schlagle, Mankato, has donated a two-story brick building in the business district of Mankato to the Jewell County Historical Society. The gift was in memory of Mr. Schlagle's wife, the late Anna Colson Schlagle. The building will house the historical society's museum.

A re-enactment of the Pony Express mail service, between St. Joseph and Sacramento, was staged July 19-29, 1960, with about 1,000 riders participating. The run was planned and directed by the national Pony Express Centennial Association.

Valley Center observed its 75th anniversary with a celebration October 12-15, 1960. Events included a parade, a barbecue, and a historical pageant.

Organization of the Argonia and Western Sumner County Historical Society was started and temporary officers chosen at a meeting in Argonia, October 18, 1960. The society again met in Argonia, January 16, 1961, adopted a constitution and elected the following officers for 1961: Mrs. Esther Wulf, president; Orie Cleous, first vice-president; Leon Ammann, second vice-president; Mrs. Carl

Earles, third vice-president; Mrs. Grace Handy, recording secretary; Mrs. James Hart, treasurer; Verna Lee Coleman, publicity chairman; Etta Le Ford, co-ordinator; Mrs. Ira Harper, historian; Harley Pearce, photographer; and Kenneth Briggs, Carl Earles, and N. C. Muhlenbruch, directors.

Dr. George L. Anderson, chairman of the history department at the University of Kansas and president of the Kansas State Historical Society, addressed the newspapermen attending editors' day at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, November 5, 1961. Distorted concepts of history are too often recreated by centennial observers Dr. Anderson pointed out in speaking of the approaching Kansas centennial.

Mrs. L. H. Rumsey, Council Grove, was elected president of the Morris County Historical Society at its organizational meeting in Council Grove, November 14, 1960. Other officers chosen were: R. W. Hunter, White City, vice-president; Mrs. Lester Payne, White City, secretary; Mrs. Bob Oleen, Dwight, treasurer; and Mrs. L. E. Mahon, White City, public relations. Neosho Fredenburg, who served as chairman of the group before the election, announced that memberships totaled 951, plus 75 junior memberships.

Homer Cardwell was named president of the Republic County Historical Society at a meeting in Belleville, December 5, 1960. Other officers elected included: Mrs. Annona Blackburn, first vice-president; Mrs. Agnes Tolbert, second vice-president; Mrs. Madge Dickerhoof, third vice-president; and Mrs. Victor Berggren, secretary.

Purchase of the former Carnegie library building in El Dorado by the Butler County Historical Society was completed at ceremonies attending the signing of the contract December 20, 1960. The building will be used for museum purposes.

An organizational meeting of the Rawlins County Historical Society was held in Atwood, January 14, 1961. Officers elected were: Mrs. Irvn Hayden, Jr., president; Mrs. Alfaretta Courtright, vice-president; Mrs. Robert Creighton, secretary; Mrs. Ivy Yoos, treasurer; and Anselm Sramek, historian.

Officers of the Arkansas City Historical Society, elected at a meeting January 17, 1961, are: Guy Ecroyd, president; Glenn Wheat, vice-president; Mrs. Kenneth Hill, secretary; and Mahlon Force, treasurer.

Wilford Riegle was elected president of the Lyon County Historical Society at its annual meeting January 26, 1961, in Emporia. John Atherton was elected first vice-president; Walter Butcher, second vice-president; Myrtle Buck, secretary; Earl Lord, treasurer; Lucina Jones, historian; and F. L. Gilson, Mabel Jones, Mrs. J. C. McKinney, W. W. Parker, Warren Morris, Mrs. Jay Sullivan, Mrs. Arthur Childears, Maude Jackson, Dr. Thomas Butcher, F. J. South, Edward H. Rees, Conrad Vandervelde, Ernest Fowler, Frank Lostutter, and Elmer Siedhoff, directors. Dr. O. W. Mosher was the retiring president, having held the office for 12 years. He continues as curator of the museum.

Early day education was the theme of the 54th annual meeting of the Woman's Kansas Day Club in Topeka, January 27, 1961. The president, Mrs. Marion Beatty, Topeka, presided at the meeting and luncheon. New officers elected at the business session include: Mrs. Claude R. Stutzman, Kansas City, president; Mrs. Frank A. Huffman, Topeka, first vice-president; Mrs. Roy S. Gibson, Chanute, second vice-president; Mrs. Paul Wedin, Wichita, recording secretary; Mrs. F. Sharon Foster, Ellsworth, treasurer; Mrs. Roscoe Mendenhall, Emporia, historian; Mrs. Russell Dary, Manhattan, auditor; and Mrs. Joe Henkle, Great Bend, registrar. District directors are: Mrs. Ray Schirkofsky, Topeka; Mrs. Thomas H. Finigan, Kansas City; Mrs. Albert Siler, Cherryvale; Mrs. Harold Trusler, Emporia; Mrs. J. Arthur Nevins, Dodge City; and Mrs. John O'Leary, Luray. Historical data and objects relating to pioneer education, collected by the historian and district directors, were presented at the meeting and later given to the Kansas State Historical Society.

The annual dinner of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas was held in Topeka, January 28, 1961. The meeting was enlarged this year to provide the opening for Kansas' centennial festivities, and several notable out-of-state native Kansans were present as special guests. The Kansan-of-the-Year award was presented to Maurice Fager of Topeka. The Olive Ann Beech award in the pioneer factual story contest went to Joan Jewell of Lawrence. The Haucke oratorical contest was won by Marilyn Snell of St. John, a student at Fort Hays State College. Floyd R. Souders, Cheney, was elected president of the Native Sons, and Mrs. Chester Dunn, Oxford, of the Native Daughters. Other officers chosen by the Native Sons were: Emery E. Fager, Topeka, vice-president;

Marshall G. Gardiner, Leavenworth, secretary; and Glenn E. Cogswell, Topeka, treasurer. Other officers of the Native Daughters are: Lela Hough, Topeka, vice-president; May E. Oliver, Topeka, secretary; and Mrs. Glenn Henry, Oskaloosa, treasurer.

On February 22, 1861, President Abraham Lincoln spoke at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and raised a new 34-star flag, symbol of Kansas' admission to the Union. This ceremony was re-enacted February 22, 1961, as a part of Kansas' centennial celebration. Alan Farley, Kansas City, was chairman of the project, with Rolla Clymer, El Dorado, in the Lincoln role.

Current officers of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society of northeast Johnson county, include: Mrs. Tom Davis, president; Mrs. George Cox, first vice-president; Mrs. O. N. Eggleston, second vice-president; Mrs. C. L. Curry, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Ethyl M. Satterfield, recording secretary; Mrs. Sarah A. Lewis, treasurer; Mrs. G. W. McAbee, historian; and Mrs. Roy Boxmeyer, curator.

Decade of Decision is the title of a 57-page booklet published by the Kansas City Life Insurance Co. in 1960, describing persons and events in Kansas and Missouri history during the 1855-1865 period.

South Haven's early history as compiled by Ann Jacobs Failing and Maurice Robinson, was recently published by the Oxford Register in a 109-page booklet entitled *Shoo Fly City*. The town was founded in 1871 as Shoo Fly City.

The Rev. A. H. Jacobson has related his experiences as a minister in Kansas and neighboring states for almost 50 years, in a 115-page, paper-bound volume entitled *The Adventures of a Prairie Preacher*, published recently by the Covenant Press, Chicago.

Nebraska Place-Names by Lilian L. Fitzpatrick, including portions of J. T. Link's *The Origin of the Place-Names of Nebraska*, edited and with an introduction by G. Thomas Fairclough, has recently been republished in a 227-page, paper-bound volume by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Indians, Infants and Infantry, by Merrill J. Mattes, the story of Andrew and Elizabeth Burt, is a 304-page volume published in 1960 by the Old West Publishing Co., Denver. After service in the Civil War, Andrew Burt served at such frontier forts as Bridger, C. F.

Smith, Laramie, Omaha, D. A. Russell, Bidwell, McDowell, Robinson, Washakie, and Missoula. Elizabeth followed her husband and shared the hardships and hazards. Also she recorded the story of their lives in a manuscript entitled "An Army Wife's Forty Years in the Service," which, with data from official records, forms the "documentary vertebrae" of the book.

Free Grass to Fences, the story of the Montana cattle industry from the beginning to the present, by Robert H. Fletcher and with illustrations by Charles M. Russell, was recently published for the Historical Society of Montana by the University Publishers, Inc., New York, in a 236-page volume.

A 214-page biography of Luke Short, the Dodge City gambler whose celebrated argument with city officials in 1883 brought on the Dodge City war and its resultant peace commission, was a recent publication of Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N. Y., under the title, *Luke Short and His Era*. William R. Cox, the author, based his account almost entirely on contemporary documents and newspaper stories and for the first time this interesting Dodge City episode has reached the printed page in what may be considered its true light.

The World of Willa Cather, by Mildred R. Bennett, originally published in 1951, has been reissued in 1961 by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, in a 286-page, paper-bound volume.

Kansas in Maps, by Robert W. Baughman, a 104-page volume including more than 90 maps and 16 pages of color, was published by the Kansas State Historical Society through the Baughman Foundation in February, 1961. The book presents this space called Kansas in selected maps dating from 1674. Words, maps, and pictures, especially pictures, tell the Kansas story in another book also published in February. It is the 320-page *Kansas: A Pictorial History*, by Nyle H. Miller, Edgar Langsdorf, and Robert W. Richmond. This book was copublished by the Kansas Centennial Commission and the State Historical Society. Both volumes were printed by the McCormick-Armstrong Co., Wichita.



THE KANSAS
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THE COVER

Confederate charge on Col. G. W. Veale's Union battery, Second Kansas militia, at the Battle of the Big Blue, east of Kansas City, Mo., October 22, 1864. Pastel by Samuel J. Reader, Topeka, 1895.

1861—Kansas Centennial of Statehood—1961

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Number 3

Enlistment and Conscription in Civil War Kansas

ALBERT CASTEL

NORTHERN victory seemed assured as the fourth year of the war drew to a close. It was not, however, to be won without a final determined exertion of will and power. Lee's ever-dangerous Army of Northern Virginia still stood steadfast in the trenches about Richmond and the forces of Johnston in the Carolinas and of Kirby-Smith in Texas remained intact. Furthermore, the enlistments of thousands of Grant's and Sherman's veterans were expiring, and they had to be replaced if the Union armies were to maintain their superiority. Accordingly, on December 19, 1864, President Lincoln issued his last call of the war for troops, this time for 300,000.¹

Sen. Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas, always glad to be of service to his constituents, sent word from Washington that the War Department had informed him that Kansas "is found to owe no troops" under the new call.² Kansans welcomed this news with great relief. Already they had provided a larger number of soldiers than any other Northern state in proportion to population. Therefore they felt that it would be unfair of the government to require still more. Besides, they knew that if additional troops were raised in the state, it would have to be by means of the dreaded and unpopular draft, for there remained very few men of military age who were both willing and able to volunteer.

Then, less than two weeks after Pomeroy's message, there came a startling announcement from the federal provost marshal of Kansas, Sidney Clarke, to the effect that the "revised quota" of the state

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1. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1881-1901), Ser. III, v. 5, pp. 639, 640. Hereafter this source shall be cited as *Official Records*.

2. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, January 14, 1865.

under Lincoln's call was 1,222!³ The press at once indignantly criticized both the federal and state authorities, the first for assigning a quota to Kansas, the other for not preventing the assignment. Col. John Martin, editor of the *Atchison Freedom's Champion* and veteran of three years' active service with the army, objected especially to the War Department saying that Kansas "owed" troops: "If the Government wants them without regard to credits and deficits, let the Provost Marshal General say so, and our State can fill his demands. But it is an insult and an outrage to proclaim that we *owe* troops, or ever did."⁴

Gov. Samuel J. Crawford agreed with Martin and perhaps feared the political repercussions of a draft. He therefore had State Adj. Gen. Cyrus K. Holliday prepare a report on the number of men who so far had enlisted in Kansas. The report showed that the state had exceeded its general quota of enlistments based on population by about 10,000, and that it had oversubscribed all specific requisitions by large margins, with the exception of the July 18, 1864, call, from which it had been excused because of surplus credits.

Crawford communicated these figures on January 31 to Federal Provost Marshal Gen. James B. Fry in Washington and requested that an "unjust and oppressive" draft not be imposed on the state.⁵ Shortly thereafter he asked Sen. James H. Lane and Clarke to "demand credit for all troops furnished," as it was "a great injustice to be disgraced by a draft after having furnished more troops in proportion to our population than any other state in the union."⁶ Lane, however, replied that Fry refused to cancel the call on Kansas or to suspend the draft, which went into operation on February 20.⁷

On that day the state legislature adjourned and Crawford immediately started for Washington. Upon arriving there he showed the state's enlistment records to the adjutant general's office. After much delay and haggling he obtained credit for 3,039 more men than had been previously allowed Kansas. This additional credit placed the state about 2,000 in excess of all calls, including that of December 19, 1864.

Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, however, refused to suspend

3. *Ibid.*, January 25, 1865.

4. *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, February 9, 1865.

5. *Senate Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Kansas*, 1865, pp. 54-57; *ibid.*, 1866, pp. 20-23.

6. Crawford to Clarke, February 9, 1865, "Governor's Correspondence (Samuel J. Crawford)," 1865, Kansas state archives, Memorial building.

7. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, February 19, 1865; *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, February 23, 1865.

the draft in Kansas or to order drafted Kansans released from service. He maintained that to do so would create dissatisfaction in other states which were likewise claiming surpluses of recruits. Crawford then went to Fry, who as an "act of justice" ordered the draft halted in Kansas and telegraphed the assistant provost marshal at Leavenworth to discharge all conscripts and allow them to return home.

But when Crawford arrived back in Leavenworth in April he was astonished to find that a portion of the drafted men were still being retained in service. He immediately telegraphed Fry requesting that they be released. Fry complied, but before his order reached Leavenworth the draftees were sent to St. Louis, then assigned to the Eighth and Tenth Kansas regiments in Tennessee. Political enemies accused Crawford of having made no real effort to stop the draft and of having caused the draftees to be imprisoned by the army at Fort Leavenworth. Nettled by these charges he returned to Washington in June and procured an order from Stanton discharging all conscripts from Kansas.⁸

Probably most of the difficulty and misunderstanding as to Kansas' quota under the President's December 19 call stemmed from the fact that Fry adopted a new and somewhat complicated formula for assigning state quotas under the call, and from the fact that the War Department records originally credited Kansas with only 15,563 troops instead of the nearly 18,000 to which it was entitled.⁹ The War Department's inaccurate records, in turn, were probably a reflection of the poor condition of enlistment records in Kansas. During 1863 and early 1864 Provost Marshal Clarke engaged in a heated controversy with the then state governor, Thomas Carney, over the accuracy of these records. Clarke charged that the state adjutant general's office was a "jumble of confusion." Carney and his defenders replied that if the office lacked an accurate record of the number of troops enlisted in Kansas it was because Clarke's political friends, Senator Lane and Maj. Gen. James G. Blunt, had failed to report the number of enlistments made by them while acting as federal recruiting agents in the state.¹⁰

8. *Kansas Senate Journal*, 1866, pp. 22-24; Crawford to Lt. Col. Charles S. Wills (?), June 14, 1865, "Governor's Correspondence (Samuel J. Crawford)," 1865-1867, Kansas state archives; *Leavenworth Daily Times*, March 16, 1865; *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, April 27, 1865. Crawford, in his memoirs, *Kansas in the Sixties* (Chicago, 1911), pp. 208-210, gives a vague account of his efforts to prevent a draft which is at variance with the contemporary records on many points.

9. See *Official Records*, Ser. III, v. 4, pp. 1002, 1003, 1264-1269; *ibid.*, v. 5, pp. 640-645, 719, 720; and draft of letter from Crawford to Fry, February 10, 1865, "Governor's Correspondence (Samuel J. Crawford)," 1865-1867, Kansas state archives.

10. See *Official Records*, Ser. III, v. 3, pp. 569, 570, 1098, 1156-1158; *Kansas Senate Journal*, 1864, pp. 280-286; *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, August 6, 1863; *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, January 7, 1864; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, April 9, 10, 1864.

As a result of Crawford's efforts the draft was in actual operation in Kansas only a few weeks. During that period 1,420 men had their numbers drawn, 419 of these failed to report, 616 were examined, 208 furnished substitutes, two paid commutation money, and 119 were actually conscripted.¹¹ These last were the only men to be drafted in the state throughout the war. In the spring of 1864 Fry had proposed to draft men from deficient subdistricts in the state, but Governor Carney convinced him that there were no such districts.¹²

For the most part Kansans cheerfully submitted to the draft, although they felt it to be unjust. But in some areas at least the state had reached the bottom of the manpower barrel by the spring of 1865. Sol Miller, editor of the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, reported that many of the men assigned draft numbers were elderly, blind, cripples, idiots, or invalids.¹³ Elsewhere, especially in the Leavenworth region, the provost marshal's agents had little trouble finding plenty of eligible young men.¹⁴ Some communities raised bounty money to induce men to enlist, thus avoiding the "disgrace" of a draft. The average bounty was about \$200, and a total of \$57,405 in bounties was paid, \$53,207 of it in the northern district, which included Leavenworth and Atchison, the state's two most populous cities.¹⁵ According to the official records these were the only bounties to be paid in Kansas during the war, but the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* of February 6, 1864, reported that a \$402 bounty was being offered to recruits in Leavenworth at that time.

While the 1865 draft was in progress a "Kansas Draft Exemption and Substitute Company" issued insurance policies to prospective draftees, who if drafted were furnished by the company with a substitute.¹⁶ In Leavenworth some of the draftees allegedly even shanghaied or bullied Negroes into serving in their stead, and a Negro "protege" of the radical abolitionist newspaper correspondent Richard Josiah Hinton was stated to have engaged in the business of furnishing his fellows as substitutes.¹⁷ The heads of the draft

11. *Official Records*, Ser. III, v. 5, p. 737. Under the Civil War draft legislation men whose numbers had been drawn could avoid being conscripted by furnishing substitutes to serve in their place, or by paying a sum of money to the government—"commutation money."

12. See correspondence between Carney and Fry, *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, July 28, 1864.

13. *Ibid.*, March 2, 9, 1865.

14. *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, February 21, 22, 1865.

15. *Official Records*, Ser. III, v. 5, p. 749.

16. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, February 24, 1865. When a draft threatened in the spring of 1863 a number of men left Kansas to avoid it, going to Colorado, Nebraska, and other territories.—*Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, July 30, 1863.

17. *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, March 23, 1865.

insurance company and the "substitute brokers" were the sole ones not to rejoice when the draft came to an end. Nevertheless, charged Sol Miller in the *Kansas Chief*, they made "fortunes" from their activities, and there was a demand in the legislature that they be investigated.¹⁸

Counting conscripts, Kansas raised 829 men under the December 19 call. This gave the state a grand total of 20,097 troops furnished in the course of the war. A portion of these men, however, enlisted for only three months.¹⁹ Moreover, a high percentage of them were in fact from other states, principally Missouri. Exactly how many is unknown, owing to the Civil War practice of crediting recruits to the locality where they enlisted, not to the place of their actual residence. Immediately after the war the Kansas adjutant general reported that there were 3,190 men in Kansas regiments who were from outside the state,²⁰ but there is good reason to suspect that this figure is much too low.

In 1863 Brig. Gen. Thomas Ewing, Jr., commander of the District of the Border, expressed the opinion that 1,000 was a "very low estimate" of the number of men who had entered Kansas regiments from western Missouri alone. Most of these men, he added, were from Kansas City, and had joined Kansas units at Wyandotte (now a part of Kansas City, Kan.).²¹ That this was the case is borne out by the fact that Wyandotte county which had a population of only 2,609 at the beginning of the war, was credited with 1,127 recruits by the summer of 1863.²²

According to its historian, the majority of the Union men of Vernon county, Missouri, served in Kansas regiments, mainly the Sixth and 14th.²³ The 15th and 16th Kansas regiments consisted almost entirely of Missourians. Indeed, these regiments, which were raised late in the war, could not have been formed at all had it not been for Missouri recruits.²⁴ Most of the Missourians in Kansas regiments were of course Unionists, but a large proportion were former Confederate troops who preferred to serve in the Union

18. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, March 16, 1865; White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, March 30, 1865.

19. Reduced to a three-year standard the number was 18,706.—*Official Records*, Ser. III, v. 4, pp. 1264-1269. The Kansas adjutant general's report of 1866, in *Kansas Senate Journal*, 1866, pp. 20, 21, claimed a grand total of 22,774.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Ewing to Col. J. B. Fry, December 28, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. I, v. 22, pt. 2, p. 753.

22. *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, August 15, 1863, quoting the *Wyandotte Gazette*.

23. R. I. Holcombe, *History of Vernon County, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1887), p. 342.

24. *Official Records*, Ser. I, v. 34, pt. 2, p. 759. See, also, Governor Carney to Brig. Gen. Thomas J. Bartholow, August 5, 1863, "Kansas Adjutant General's Correspondence: 15th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry," Kansas state archives. In this letter Carney declared that "our State has been pretty well drained. . . ."

army rather than rot in a Yankee prison. These last were usually "faithful, good soldiers."²⁵ The 14th Kansas, in addition to Missourians, contained a whole company of Indians and perhaps one of Texans. Other Kansas regiments also had unspecified numbers of Indians.²⁶ The Seventh Kansas obtained several companies from Illinois and Ohio.²⁷ Two Colored regiments, which were credited to Kansas, were recruited from refugee Missouri slaves and Negroes in Arkansas. They alone gave the state some 2,000 soldiers who could not be truthfully called Kansans on the basis of the 1860 census.²⁸

All in all, probably not more than two-thirds of the Kansas troops were Kansans.

But if Kansas received credit for a greater number of soldiers than actually derived from its population, the same was equally true of other Northern states, many of which offered rich bounties, imported Europeans, and recruited Negroes in the South.²⁹ Moreover, quite a few Kansans joined Missouri regiments, although not to the extent that Missourians enlisted in Kansas.³⁰

Neither should it be overlooked that the actual population of Kansas in 1861, as the result of emigration occasioned by the drought of 1860, was probably considerably lower than the official census figure of 107,206.³¹ Therefore, if the state contributed even half as many men as it was supposed to have done, it did exceedingly well. Thus it would seem that the favorite boast of Kansans after the Civil War, that their state furnished a higher percentage of troops to the Union army than any other state, was well-founded.

Kansas troops suffered 8,498 casualties from all causes, of which 1,000 were battle fatalities and 2,106 deaths resulting from disease and exposure. Kansas led all other Northern states in the number of mortalities per 1,000 among its troops, 61.01, and the ratio of desertions, 117.54 per 1,000. The first record the provost marshal

25. Gen. J. M. Schofield to Lincoln, November 9, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. I, v. 22, pt. 2, p. 698. Many of the Confederates captured at the Battle of Prairie Grove joined the 11th Kansas regiment.—*Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, January 15, 1863.

26. H. M. Moore to James L. McDowell, October 9, 1863, "Adjutant General's Correspondence: 14th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry," Kansas state archives; Maj. Gen. James G. Blunt to Maj. H. Z. Curtis, August 10, 1863, "Thomas Moonlight Papers," Kansas State Historical Society; *Kansas Senate Journal*, 1865, pp. 55-57.

27. Simon M. Fox, "The Story of the Seventh Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8 (1903-1904), pp. 21-26.

28. See Dudley T. Cornish, "Kansas Negro Regiments in the Civil War," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20 (May, 1953), pp. 417-429.

29. Fred A. Shannon, *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1923), v. 2, pp. 67, 68, 76-79.

30. White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, January 7, 1864; *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, February 25, 1864.

31. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, February 2, 1861; George W. Glick, "The Drought of 1860," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9 (1905-1906), p. 481; A. T. Andreas and W. C. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 178.

general of the United States in his post-war report attributed to the "peculiarly pugnacious" nature of Kansans, which "increased their exposure to the casualties of battle"; the second to there being "an unusually large percentage of men" in the state's regiments "whose presence was necessary to the subsistence and protection of their families," and to the "lax state of discipline natural in border regiments serving . . . in a somewhat irregular defense of their own frontiers."³²

Nearly three-fourths of the Kansans who served in the Union army joined during the first two and one-half years of the war.³³ The heavy enlistments of this period reflected the fervent patriotism of most Kansans, their fear of being invaded by the Missouri Confederates, the presence of a large number of "foot-loose young men" in the state, and the efforts of various political leaders whose military ambitions and patronage rivalries led them in some instances to raise regiments which the War Department did not even want.³⁴

After 1862 the readily available military manpower was practically exhausted, and the citizens felt that their state had furnished more volunteers than "in reality she was able to spare."³⁵ This attitude, a general waning of martial enthusiasm, and the belief prevalent by the end of 1864 that the war was about over, caused Kansas to respond far differently to Lincoln's last call for troops than it did to his first.

32. *Official Records*, Ser. III, v. 5, pp. 667-669; *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-1865* (Topeka, 1896), pp. 17, 18.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

34. See Albert Castel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1958), pp. 47-49, 86-94, 114, 115, 117-121, 151, 175, 176.

35. "Report of the Quarter-Master General of Kansas," *Kansas Public Documents*, 1862, p. 161.

The Letters of Peter Bryant, Jackson County Pioneer

Edited by DONALD M. MURRAY and ROBERT M. RODNEY

I. INTRODUCTION

PETER BRYANT, an original settler of Kansas territory and a citizen of Kansas during its first half century of statehood, lived from 1837 to 1912. The son of Cyrus and Julia Everett Bryant, who had left Cummington, Mass., in the early 1830's to pioneer in northern Illinois, Peter himself caught the "westering" fever in 1859. After a brief army career during the Civil War, he returned to his land claim near Holton, where he became a struggling pioneer and then, finally, a prosperous farmer and civic leader in northeastern Kansas.

Through his entire life Peter Bryant took a keen interest in the economic and political problems of his times, both local and national. In many ways an average man, he was gifted with a great curiosity about the new land and its people, the tenacity to endure the adversities of its pioneer stage, and a strong, healthy enthusiasm for life itself. Happily for us, he also had a flair for interesting and informative letter writing, and in consequence his vigorous letters and several occasional poems make a very readable contribution to the history of the Civil War and the settlement of the Trans-Mississippi West. Here we may read about "sod-busting," and "jayhawking," about crops and battles and elections, as well as domestic problems. Throughout this personal record, we are made aware of the Bryant family¹ as a whole: its roots in Massachusetts as deep as the founding of the nation; its firm transplantation to Illinois; and its sturdy offshoot in Kansas. Peter Bryant's life is a part of the Bryant family chronicle, and that chronicle is part of the westward movement.

The correspondence here brought together² consists of 54 letters,

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1. Peter's paternal grandfather, after whom he was named, was Dr. Peter Bryant (1767-1820) of Cummington, Mass., who in 1792 married Sarah Snell (1768-1847) of Cummington. Their children were Austin (1793-1866); William Cullen, the famous poet (1794-1879); Cyrus, Peter's father (1799-1865); Sarah Snell (1802-?); Peter Rush, later called Arthur (1803-1883); Louisa Charity (1807-1868); and John Howard (1807-1902). Austin, Cyrus, Arthur, Louisa, John Howard, and Sarah Snell, the matriarch of the family, emigrated to Illinois in the early 1830's with the Hampshire colony from Cummington. See Frank J. Heintz, "The Bryants at Jacksonville," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Springfield, v. 18 (1925), pp. 218-227, and George V. Bohman, "A Poet's Mother: Sarah Snell Bryant in Illinois," in *ibid.*, v. 31 (1933), pp. 166-189.

2. The present editors are indebted to Mrs. Frank L. Davis of Holton, the granddaughter of Peter Bryant, for permission to publish this correspondence, and to Mrs. Christian G. Heck, chairman, and Mrs. F. R. Bryant of the Bureau County (Illinois) Historical Society Museum committee for their indispensable aid in reproducing the correspondence. The letters used are preserved in the Bureau County (Illinois) Historical Society Museum at Princeton, Ill., and in the New York Public Library, both of which institutions have given valuable assistance as well as permission to publish.

written between the years 1854, when Peter completed his formal schooling in Princeton, Ill., and 1906, a few years before his death in Holton. The present editors have divided the letters into groups representing three distinct periods of his life:

1854-1861: Illinois boyhood, migration west, pioneering in northeastern Kansas, jayhawking in Missouri.

1862-1864: Return to Illinois, service in the Vicksburg campaign, convalescence.

1865-1906: Farming and civic leadership in Jackson county, Kansas.

Born on June 2, 1837, Peter Bryant grew up on his father's farm in Princeton, Bureau county, Ill. The few early letters and school compositions that have been preserved from this period show that he enjoyed an active, outdoor boyhood. "I like to hunt first rate," he wrote at the age of 14. "Sometimes I have seen wild turkies [*sic*]³ and deer while hunting cattle, and very often when I chased them they would lead me to the cattle, and if I had a gun with me, I would have shot at them."⁴

He attended a private school in Princeton, the "Smith Institute," from which he graduated in the spring of 1854 at the age of 16. It was perhaps from his teacher here, as well as from his very literate father and uncles,⁵ that he first acquired a taste for writing. Naturally enough, boys who were in school during the years just following the Compromise of 1850 wrote essays on the slavery issue. Peter wrote at least two conservative pieces on the effects of emancipation in the British West Indies⁶ and participated in a lively discussion of slavery with his abolitionist Aunt Melissa of Massachusetts.

3. As an adult, Peter wrote with very creditable accuracy in spelling and grammar, generally speaking. In all the subsequent letters, however, the present editors have found it advisable to regularize his spelling (except in proper names), to provide minimum and modern punctuation whenever necessary, and to make certain paragraph divisions for the sake of clarity.

4. "The Pleasure of Hunting," a school composition dated Princeton, Ill., January 2, 1851, in the Manuscript room of the New York Public Library, hereafter referred to as N. Y. P. L.

5. Peter's father Cyrus (1799-1865) was educated at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (Rensselaer Academy) at Troy, N. Y., and lectured for a time at Round Hill school at Northampton, Mass. According to a Bureau county historian, he was well versed in the sciences and "natural philosophy": "Probably no one in Illinois at the time of his arrival here had as broad a knowledge of those subjects as Cyrus Bryant." He was also something of a musician and a writer of verse.—George B. Harrington, *Past and Present of Bureau County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1906). His 700-volume library at Princeton, Ill., which was inspected by the present editors, was remarkably extensive, in both science and belles-lettres.

The literary work of William Cullen Bryant needs no explanation, but it should be mentioned that other members of the family did some writing. John Howard Bryant was the author of three books of verse. Arthur Bryant wrote an authoritative book on tree culture and a long poem entitled "Emigration." Other Bryants wrote various pieces of occasional verse and prose which may be seen in *The Bryant Record* (Princeton, Ill., 1898). Peter's own literary efforts consist of the letters here published, certain pieces in *The Bryant Record*, and a long poem entitled *The Old Oak's Story* (Holton, 1897), which is mentioned in connection with his letter of September 13, 1906.

6. "The Effects of the Emancipation of Slavery in the British West Indies," undated; and another untitled, undated essay on the same subject, both in N. Y. P. L. Peter apparently depended on Henry Nelson Coleridge's *Six Months in the West Indies in 1825* (London, 1826) for information and opinion.

Naturally enough, too, he dreamed of adventure on the frontier. A composition written in 1850 mentioned the wildcat killer, Davy Crockett, and the charms of Oregon and the Indian territory. "It is very mountains [*sic*] and abounds in horse thieves and catfish." The composition began with these verses, entitled "The Far Off West":

Away, Away to the far off West
To the land of the prairie all so blest,
There lives the wolf and the grizzly bear
That will a man in pieces tear.
Of white men only a few,
Only the brave and the true
Have ventured to the far off West,
To the land of the prairie all so blest. [N. Y. P. L.]

Although these lines did not presage a poetic career like that of Peter's famous uncle, William Cullen Bryant, they are evidence of literary stirrings within the boy and a certain indication of his romantic interest in the West.

From the Smith school, Peter went to Knox College, in Galesburg, Ill. There are only two letters, both of 1854, written from the college, and how long he was a student there is not certain. There is no doubt, however, that the far-off West continued to lure him.

On April 6 or 7, 1859, Peter Bryant set off for Pike's Peak, probably accompanied by his Princeton friends Frank Pomeroy and Henry and Frank Dee.⁷ He at first intended to become a miner in the gold "diggings," located in what was then western Kansas territory, but shortly after the end of May he and Frank found themselves no further on their journey than eastern Kansas territory, where the two young Illinoisans decided to file claims in Jackson county. For many months Peter labored on the land with his friend Frank, meanwhile feeling keenly the excitement of the times and sharing his Kansas friends' animosity toward the Missourians. Then, in May, 1861, just over two years after he had said goodbye to his brother Cullen in Bulbona Grove west of Princeton, Peter joined a volunteer rifle company in Holton, and was off "jayhawking."

The first letter of this period of Peter's life (1854-1861) is addressed to a cousin, presumably Emily Maria Everett, who was two

7. J. Frank Pomeroy's son is living in Holton at the present time (1958). Frank and Henry Dee (see letters of May 25, 1859, and April 13, 1862) may be among the seven sons of Elijah Dee, a prominent Princeton, Ill., citizen mentioned in H. C. Bradsby, *History of Bureau County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1885), p. 706, and in Harrington, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

years Peter's junior and the daughter of Dr. Oliver and Emily Everett, of Dixon, Ill. "Em" was to write to Peter frequently, in later years, until her death, of consumption, in 1863. The two other cousins mentioned are Elijah (1836-1892), son of John Howard and Harriet Wiswall Bryant, and Julian, son of Austin and Adeline Plummer Bryant. Born November 9, 1836, less than a year before Peter, Julian was to have a brilliant career as an officer in the 33d regiment, Illinois volunteers, and afterward as a colonel of a colored regiment. He was drowned in the Brazos river, Texas, May 14, 1865.

II. THE LETTERS, 1854-1861

PRINCETON, March 20th, 1854

DEAR COUSIN [EMILY]

I received your letter in due time and was well pleased with it. There is but little news here. Our school was out last week on Friday afternoon. We had the "grand finale." We had two papers or written pamphlets containing the compositions of the scholars, one edited by the ladies called the "Guiding Star," and the other by the gentlemen named "Echo from Luckesdom." I thought they were pretty good. We also had several declamations all of which were very well spoken. For my part, I spoke "Mazzini's" ⁸ proclamation to the Italian people."

I believe the examination proved satisfactory both to teacher, scholars, and parents; at any rate, all seemed well pleased. We gave one teacher a present of Shakespeare's works & Byron's Poems with two or three other large books all of which cost about ten dollars. Julian Bryant ⁹ made a farewell speech; a large part of the school was affected to tears. The school had on badges; the girls wore a boro knot on the side of their heads, and the boys a triangle on the left breast. You say in your letter that you take Harper's Magazine; Cullen and I also take it; I think the best story is about the fellow setting down in the paint: the "Sword of Mauley" ¹⁰ in the January number. Father takes Putnam's Monthly, but I think I had rather have Harper's.

As for shooting, there is not much game around now but geese and ducks, and we have to go five or six miles out on the prairie; then they are sometimes very shy, and we can't tell when we are going to get any. It is pretty near time for pigeons if they come around this spring. I saw a deer yesterday, and Cousin Elijah shot at one the other day. The blackbirds have just begun to come around. We will have glorious fun popping them over.

The weather is and has been very fine for the past two weeks. The man that we have on the farm is one of the laziest fellows that ever was. He has run in

8. The Italian patriot Guiseppe Mazzini (1805-1873). Peter probably used the popular treatise entitled "An Essay on the Duties of Man, Addressed to Workingmen," of which parts 1-4 were available in translation by 1854. William Cullen Bryant's last public address, delivered just before his death in 1878, was a tribute to Mazzini, at the unveiling of the Italian's statue in Central Park, New York City.

9. Julian, Peter's classmate, later reveals his eloquence in several forthright and moving letters to the boys' uncle William Cullen Bryant, editor of the *New York Evening Post*, in a denunciation of the debasement of Colored troops by Northern officers during the Civil War.

10. "The Sword of Mauley," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, New York, v. 8 (January, 1854), pp. 239-248. It is a rather gothic tale, reminiscent of Hawthorne's *The House of Seven Gables*. The incident that caught Peter's fancy is a minor one: a young man inadvertently sits down on a painter's palette and gets paint all over his "pantaloons."

debt to a merchant in town and has got mad at him and will not pay him. He has taken advantage of the law, which allows him \$60, and has nothing that the merchant can get hold of. Father has turned him off and got another man by the name of Davis. I guess he is rather smarter than the other one, for he has got his wheat in, and Hinres did not get his oats in until the 12th of April, and he had no wheat. I had quite a tumble yesterday. I went to take a colt over to a Mr. Clapps,¹¹ who lives about 3 miles. I rode the colt and led another horse which I was going to ride home. When I had got about a mile, the horse which I led broke the halter and got away. I could not catch her, so I thought I would take the colt along down there, but it would not go & I had no switch and could do nothing but *cluck*. Finally he reared up and fell over backwards on to me, which stunned me, and the first thing I knew there I was flying along rail road speed, heels upwards. One of my feet had stuck in the stirrup, and the colt dragged me about 10 rods when the girth band broke and I felt him kick me twice. I tried to get up and saw the colt about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile off "homeward bound" going at "pretty big licks." I picked up the saddle and started off towards home. Pretty soon a boy who had seen my performance came up with a buggy and took me home. I am not very badly hurt and intend to go to work again tomorrow if it don't rain, though there are pretty strong signs of it now.

[Letter unsigned, remainder presumably lost.]

The letter by Peter which follows is to his aunt, Melissa Everett Dawes, sister of Peter's mother, Julia Everett, and wife of Francis H. Dawes, of Cummington, Mass. Aunt Melissa took a great deal of interest in Peter and his younger brother Marcus, and made at least one visit to Princeton, Ill. In a letter of April 28, 1854, she had provided Peter with an extensive and ardent lecture on abolition. "You probably know, Peter, that I have from my childhood been an *out* and *out* Abolitionist, and I glory in the name, for I *know* it is the cause of Christ. It is a cause allied hard on to the bleeding Calvary. Every bone and sinew of my body is anti-slavery, and I wax stronger and stronger in the cause every hour I live." Judging from Peter's school compositions on emancipation and from this letter by Melissa, the boy was at this time no radical. Melissa's letter had continued: "You said some things in your letter which you probably did not mean. Now I would not allow myself ever to speak a word favoring that corrupt system, be it said ever so thoughtlessly."

In his answering letter, given below, Peter stated his position on slavery—as of the year 1854—and then gave the news on Princeton's latest participation in the great debate of the time. The Joshua R. Giddings whom he referred to was the prominent antislavery leader from Ohio. A biographer of Greeley, speaking of the year 1860, calls Giddings "the messiah of the abolitionists . . . ven-

11. H. C. Bradsby, *op. cit.*, pp. 482, 483, mentions a Seth C. Clapp (1812-1871) and a John Clapp (1814-1880), both of whom were farmers in Bureau county.

erable with age." "Little Dug" was, of course, Stephen A. Douglas. Owen Lovejoy (1811-1864) was the brother of Elijah P. Lovejoy, the abolitionist martyr of Alton, Ill. Owen, who shared his brother's principles, was a free-soil statesman, Congregational minister, and "underground railroad" operator in Princeton. He was much admired by the Bryants.

PRINCETON [ILL.], Nov. 10th, '54

[Presumably to AUNT MELISSA DAWES]

It has been some time since I wrote to you, and I sometimes think you have got angry "because forsooth I tossed not on high my ready cap" upon hearing your glorious sentiments on the subject of slavery, but I believe you promised to not get angry if I would not. I don't think I am much more cross-grained than usual about it. As I wrote in my last that I was not in favor of slavery, I suppose you thought that I was well enough off, that there was no need of writing to me any more. If that is the case, I think I shall have to turn pro-slavery again. There are some good things in the Whig party and some in the Democratic, but if the fugitive slave bill is a test of the Whig party and the Nebraska Bill a test of the Democratic party, I belong to neither. They call all that are not Democrats, abolitionists, out here, but I am not an abolitionist not because I don't like the name, but because I am not in favor of the abolition of slavery, neither am I in favor of the extension. If the masters can be paid for their slaves, then let them go; if not, work God's own good time to overthrow it.

Our town has got to be "considerable pumpkins." It has got a rail road and has lately been honored with the visits of two great and mighty men; namely, Old Josh Giddings and Little Dug. Mr. Giddings made a very able speech, denouncing, of course, the Nebraska Bill, Giant, and all of his followers. Little Dug came here escorted by his half dozen worshipers (all there is in Princeton). They had arranged seats in front of the court house, where Giddings spoke (probably to deceive the people) as if they were going to have great times. As soon as the little fellow got here from the cars, he went into an office and held a short consultation while one or two of his party went and drummed up all the rowdies they could find. They then rushed up into the court room and filled up as much space as they could. Then Col. Thompson,¹² the main prop, stuck his head out of the window and gave notice that *the Giant was too unwell to speak out of doors*. Before beginning his speech, he offered to let the "black Republicans" send out their David to battle with him.

First he would speak % of an hour, then our man (Lovejoy) might speak % of an hour. After that he would answer him. The first speech he talked pretty decent with as good argument as might be expected. L[ovejoy] then commenced and knocked over all opposition and was going on at a great rate when tap, tap, went the chairman's hammer and he must stop. Then up jumped our little man, and such a volume of billingsgate as issued from his mouth for two hours and a half I never heard before. When he had got

12. J. V. Thompson, a Bureau county farmer who was at one time sheriff and who was quite prominent in civic affairs. Douglas was his political idol.—Bradsby, *op. cit.*, pp. 297, 345.

through, his friends set up a demoniacal howl of triumph which I never wish to hear again. I think the Anti-Nebraska army is stronger than before. They will certainly elect all the officers on that side. But I must stop writing politics, or like you I won't get in any news.

Uncle Arthur's house was burnt down lately. They are fitting it up again. They stay at Uncle Austin's now. They saved most of their furniture. There is considerable sickness about here now.

Our folks are all well.

[Unsigned]

This particular correspondence between Peter and Aunt Melissa ended inconclusively with a letter from Melissa dated November 24, 1854. She was still attempting to convert her young nephew to the righteous cause:

You say you think you will have to turn pro-slavery *again* in order to get a letter from me. What does that mean? That you have once been pro-slavery? From present appearances I should judge that you were not very thoroughly converted from it yet. Rather a curious jumble one is in, to be denouncing the old parties that are all festered and rotten in the corruption of slavery. You denounce these parties . . . and then you say you are not abolitionist.

Peter's conversion to the abolitionist cause was to await his arrival in "bleeding Kansas" five years later.

In the meantime Peter was corresponding with various school friends in a lighter vein and on subjects of more immediate—and probably of more emotional—interest than slavery. One of these letters was to his "Smithsonian" classmate, Z. S. Hills, who later became a teacher, then a school principal, and finally a lawyer. At the time, Hills was probably working as a store clerk in Lamoille, Bureau county, Ill.

PRINCETON [ILL.] Aug. 6th '54

FRIEND HILLS.

I wrote to you about four or five weeks ago and have received no answer, so I concluded that my letter must have been miscarried. I have not got any news to tell you as there is no school, so I certainly can't tell you about *the girls*. There is no blackberries down to the lake. If there was, I don't know but we might possibly drum up a load to go a blackberrying.

By the way, I am coming up there one of these days to see you and those pretty girls that you write of, probably this week or next. But I have some news yet. I understand that some of our Princeton girls are counterfeit. They paint themselves and daub on rouge. I hope there are not many such, for I know that you don't like to kiss cheeks that are more bitter than sweet, if they are redder, than I do.

This is a short letter, but my time is up and I must stop. Please write as soon as you secure this so as to let me know if you are alive and "stomping."

Your truly

PETER BRYANT

[On left-hand margin, in Peter's hand: "Not Sent."]

Although existing college records do not list his name, the following two letters indicate that Peter Bryant was enrolled at Knox College, in Galesburg, Ill., for at least a part of the academic year 1854-1855. Founded a year after Peter's birth, the college was located about 70 miles southwest of his Princeton home. Inasmuch as this distance would entail a two- to three-day journey by horseback in those days, Peter was effectively isolated from home and friends from the beginning to the end of a school term, even at Christmas. As noted in his first letter, the westward extension of the railroad from Chicago had just reached Galesburg during his fall term via the Central Military Tract railroad, which extended from Galesburg to Mendota, Ill., where it connected with the Aurora extension of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy.

The Charles Bryant mentioned in the first letter was Peter's first cousin, the son of Peter's Uncle Austin and Aunt Adeline Plummer Bryant, of Princeton. The college records show that Charles graduated from Knox, with a degree of bachelor of arts, in 1858. The cosigner of the two letters, who appears to have been Peter's college roommate, probably was Calvin E. Winship of Princeton, who later served in the 33d regiment of Illinois volunteers during the Civil War and died at Memphis in 1862.

KNOX COLLEGE [GALESBURG, ILL.] Dec. 8th 1854

DEAR FRIEND

I received your letter last evening. Was glad to hear from you. I have received two letters from Henry Martin since I have been here. They laid the C M T RR into town today. It was fun to see some of the people here who never saw a locomotive before scatter when the old gentleman whistled. The school is very full this winter, nearly three hundred in it. There are about twenty in my class, Charles Bryant among them. Ch wanted me to tell you to write to him and tell Cullen¹³ to write, too. Tell him I want him to write to me, too. I like the company here very well. There is not so much rowdiness going on here as there is in Princeton. But I do not like the situation near so well. It is so far from the woods. I like to have a place near the woods where we can take a walk once in a while in the shade. Write soon and tell me how all the folks are getting along. For instance, Elijah¹⁴ and Sylesta, Henry¹⁵ and Pauline. When their weddings are coming off, for I want to

13. Peter's younger brother Cullen Bryant (1839-1909). Cullen entered West Point Military Academy in 1860, where he graduated in 1864. He served in the Ordnance department of the United States army during the last year of the Civil War and for some time thereafter, was promoted to major in 1891, retired in 1894, and died in Alameda, Calif.—*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, v. 35 (1942), pp. 344, 346. Peter corresponded regularly with Cullen in later years.

14. Presumably Peter's cousin Elijah Bryant, son of John Howard and Harriet Wiswall Bryant.

15. The Henry Martin referred to in the letter of Christmas, 1854, below. Henry Martin and the girls here mentioned have so far proved unidentifiable. Henry apparently put off matrimony until 1862 (see letter of April 13, 1862, below), and Elijah married Laura Smith, not "Sylesta."

be [*sic*] to them. Tell Elijah I want him to write and tell me all about it. Give my love to all inquiring friends.

Yours truly
PETER BRYANT C. E. WINSHIP

P. S. I will insert the following lines for Henry's benefit:

Lest Henry think he is supreme
There is a stage line runs between
And many a line may o'er it fly
And turn his gladness into woe

KNOX COLLEGE [GALESBURG, ILL.] Christmas /54

DEAR FRIEND,

I wish you a *Merry Christmas*. I received your letter of the 15th inst. last Saturday eve. I am well and hope you are the same. I received a letter from Henry Martin the same day I received yours. He said he had a first-rate time on Thanksgiving day; spent the evening with *Dear Paulina*. I have just answered his letter. Gave him a lecture on using tobacco. Did not let him know that I had heard that he had commenced chewing tobacco. Told him that no lady would admire a tobacco chewer and smoker, and I knew Paulina did not. Told him I hoped he would prove worthy of her company.

I hope your Princeton Institute will prosper and become a great and flourishing institute and send out men to fill the seats of the legislature and Congress and also to fill the President's chair. Tell Lucien Smith that I am beginning to think he don't care anything about me. I wrote a letter to him when I first came down here, and he has not answered it yet, or if he has the letter did not come here. I am not going to write till he answers that, but think as much of him as ever. Tell H. Elliott¹⁶ to write and all others of my old friends. Mr. Goodrich (that went to school there last winter) is down here, is going to commence with the Prep class next term.

Write soon
Yours with much respect
PETER BRYANT C. E. WINSHIP

For approximately three years following his Knox College experience, Peter remained in Princeton, Ill., working on his father's farm. Letters written to him by his cousin Emily Everett and various friends¹⁷ indicate that he was enjoying an active social life, particularly in exchange visits with his Everett cousins of Dixon, Ill. These letters, moreover, show that he had a continuing desire to go west.

16. Presumably Isaac H. Elliott, one of Peter's more illustrious friends. Elliott was born in 1837, graduated from the University of Michigan in 1861, was made captain of Princeton's E Company of the 33d Illinois volunteers (in which Julian Bryant enlisted), and was promoted Brevet Brigadier General in 1865. After the war Elliott was elected treasurer of Bureau county, ran for congress in 1872, was a Garfield elector in 1880, and was adjutant general of Illinois, 1881-1884. In 1884 he went into the cattle business in New Mexico. He married Elizabeth Denham, stepdaughter of Owen Lovejoy, referred to above.—See Isaac H. Elliott, *History of the Thirty-Third Regiment Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry* (Gibson City, Ill., 1902), pp. 11, 12, and Bradshy, *op. cit.*, p. 513. Peter kept in close touch with Elliott's war career. See his letters of January 3, and March 2, 1862, below.

17. N. Y. P. L. has letters covering the period January 1, 1855, to July 25, 1858. addressed to Peter by the following persons: Melissa E. Dawes, Z. S. Hills, Emily Everett, E. T. Carpenter, Elijah Bryant, Robert H. Davis, and Bentley Gill.

As early as the fall of 1856, Peter apparently planned to seek his future in the Western territories, with an inclination particularly toward the strife-torn but promising region west of Missouri. On October 23, 1856, his cousin Emily wrote: "Do you expect to go to Kansas soon? You seem to be so anxious to go." The reasons for his delay can only be supposition, but the fact that he was only 19 and still a minor might have prevented him from taking such a bold step at that time. A romantic reader might detect a wistful note in Emily's letter, and even unsentimental readers must allow for the strong emotional ties of home, family, and the many Princeton friends.

Whatever his reasons, Peter waited three more years, corresponding meanwhile with friends like Robert H. Davis, who wrote to Peter on April 20, 1857, about plowing and hunting on a Minnesota claim. Then, in the spring of 1859, Peter's plans finally took shape. On April 6, just two months before his 22d birthday, he started out with three friends for Pike's Peak in western Kansas territory. The many letters that he wrote home, especially those to his two brothers, provide his own first-hand narrative of experiences that were crucial not only in his own life but in the development of the Trans-Mississippi region and in the national history.

The following group of 22 letters, written between May 26, 1859, and October 13, 1861, forms a fairly coherent and self-explanatory account. In these letters, Peter describes vividly the hazards and frustrations of homesteading on the Middle Border, and the economic and political conditions under which he strove. Of particular interest to the student of national and regional history are his exuberant outburst on the election of Lincoln in his letter of November 11, 1860; his ironic account of the political machinations of James H. Lane and Samuel C. Pomeroy in the letters of March 10, 1861, *ff.*; his observations on the gathering of volunteer troops in Kansas, in his letters of April 21, 1861, *ff.*; and the fast-paced little narrative of his "jayhawking" experiences in his letters of September 1, 1861, *ff.*

This first phase of Peter's new life in the West ends with his realization that border-state guerrilla excursions were not going to decide the national issue, and his resolution to return to Illinois and join the volunteer forces being recruited from his old home county. By January 3, 1862, he was back in Princeton, preparing for the second phase of his life as a Northern soldier in Grant's Western campaign.

The first letter finds Peter Bryant in one of the new settlements beyond the Missouri:

TOPEKA, K[ANSAS] T[ERRITORY] May 26 [1859]

DEAR FATHER

Our Pikes Peak operation has "gin out." We traveled about 80 miles west of St. Jo. During this travel we met about a thousand teams returning towards the diggings¹⁸ with very unfavorable reports, so we concluded to go south and have got thus far. We are trying to get a job of breaking now. We can find a great plenty if we will take land or stock¹⁹ for pay.

Cash money is very scarce here, and if we can find a job, we can get \$3.00 per acre for it or \$7.00 in trade.

There are some splendid prairie claims²⁰ to be had about here, but no timber. The best timber that I have seen is not half as good as that of Bureau Co. It sells from \$5.00 to \$20 per acre.

I want to take a claim but have not money enough to pay for it. I have \$36 in cash and my cattle and provisions and want to make all I can.

If you will buy me a land warrant for a quarter section, I will pay you up with ten per cent interest as soon as I can. Land is to be sold here on the 15th of August at auction, and they will not take warrants for pay, so if [I] get one I will have to preempt. They are worth \$165 here. I am going to look around a little as soon as we get the teams to work. I think I shall go to Emporia and see what the Judge²¹ can tell me.

We are all well. Henry Dee talks of going home if we will buy him out, and I think we will. Greeley²² spoke here last night. I did not hear him.

I am writing this in the Post Office and must stop for the mail is going out.

Yours

PETER BRYANT

Direct to Topeka K T

TOPEKA [KANSAS TERRITORY] July 3rd 1859

DEAR BROTHER [presumably MARCUS]

I received your letter of June 12th some time ago and was so confounded glad to hear from home again. Yours and fathers were the first letters that I had after I came here, and it was so long that I didn't know but you had all forgotten me. I have been laying up for ten or twelve days with the typhus fever, but am about well now. We are having some pretty warm weather here nowadays. I believe this country is a little ahead of Ill. in that line. Corn about here looks pretty well. There is a field in sight of my window

18. Probably an error for "from the diggings," i. e., the mining camps along Cherry Creek, Colo., where gold had been discovered in 1858. See another reference by Peter to his original intention of going to Pike's Peak, in his first letter dated April 7, 1861.

19. In his *Information for Kansas Immigrants* (Boston, 1856), p. 8, Thomas H. Webb, of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, informed prospective settlers in 1856 that "the price of good working cattle, horses, cows, &c., is nearly the same in Kansas and its vicinity as in New England; perhaps rather cheaper. The price of cows has heretofore ranged from \$25 to \$35; oxen per yoke from \$50 to \$100; horses from \$75 to \$100 each; common sheep from \$1.50 to \$2.50 each."

20. Methods by which Kansas land could be acquired during this period included: public land sales, pre-emption under the act of 1841, the sale of Indian lands, and land warrants issued under military bounty acts.

21. The "Judge" is C. F. Eichaker (often translated to "Oakfield"), a German immigrant befriended and financially aided by Peter's father. Eichaker settled on the Neosho near Emporia, at the same time, approximately, that Peter settled in Jackson county. Six letters (1862-1864) by Eichaker are preserved in N. Y. P. L. and one in the museum of the Bureau County Historical Society, at Princeton, Ill.

22. In 1859 Horace Greeley took a long-contemplated trip to California, making political speeches as he went west. In Kansas he aired one of his favorite ideas—the abolition of a standing army.—Glyndon G. VanDeusen, *Horace Greeley: Nineteenth-Century Crusader* (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 230. Greeley is reported to have said, after his visit to Kansas, "The twin curses of Kansas, now that Border Ruffians have stopped ravaging her, are Land Speculators and One Horse Politicians."—Alice Nichols, *Bleeding Kansas* (New York, 1954), p. 258. For Peter's views on Greeley as a politician, see letter of August 28, 1872.

where it is as high as a man's shoulders just as it stands without stretching the leaves. Wheat is about all ripe, and some of the farmers have got done cutting. They have not got to raising such thundering fields yet as they do in the *old* country, but they generally have 15 or 20 acres. Farming is not carried on very largely yet, but I think it will be some time. At any rate, they have got a mighty soil to back them. All the objection I see is that there is not half timber enough, although what there is, is pretty well scattered and generally not of the best quality.

Game is very scarce right about here with the exception of rabbits, prairie chickens, and quails. They are plenty as any one could wish. There are some wolves, but we can hardly ever get a sight of them. The Pottawattamie Indian Reservation bounds the town on the north and west, and we see considerable of the Indians. They lounge around town a good deal, and most of them are willing to drink all the whiskey they can get. The Squaws are just as fierce as any of them for it. I met a drove of Squaws the other day. Three of them were girls and tolerable good looking, and they hailed me with "How." I said "how," then "Where goin'?" "Up creek." "Where from?" "Topeka. Any tobac?" "No." "Any Whisk?" "No." "Ugh, ugh," and they went on.

I suppose if I had had the "whisk" I could have lit on their fections like a hot pancake, but as it was I was "no good," and they didn't care anything about me. —There is going to be a circus in town this week, and they say the whole tribe will turn out then. If they do, I will bet we will see some fun. Every Indian has his pony, and some of the old coves have thirty or forty. The Squaws ride straddle, but with short stirrups so as to bring their knees nearly up to their chins. The little Indians can shoot the bow and arrow pretty well. I have seen the whites split a stick and put in the edge of a five-cent piece and stick it up four or five rods off, and they would generally knock it out within five shots. The one that shot it had it.—

You ask if there are any strawberries here. Well, I only lit on two or three good patches, but the Squaws bring in lots of them. You can buy a six-quart pailful for 15 cents. I saw more mulberries when I went down on the Cottonwood than I ever saw in my life before, but they have all gone long ago. Blackberries are getting ripe now. Strawberries are about gone on the 1st of June. We are going buffalo hunting this fall. We would like to have some of you fellows along, for instance Lige and Kit and the rest of you—

Pete

Tell Lige to kick Helen's starn and bid her good bye [insertion at top of last page]

Give us all the news and girl affairs when you write. Your last was first-rate in that respect— Frank sends his respects and Chet²³ his. Tell Lige to write to Peter [insertion at top of first page]

HOLTON [KANSAS TERRITORY] Aug. 21st 1859

DEAR BROTHER [presumably MARCUS]

Your letter of July 24th has been on hand a good while, but I have only just got on hand to answer it. It is awful hot weather just now, and we work about as hard as we "dam please," but that takes all the time, so I cen't get much to write.

23. "Chet," Chet's sister, and his girl are mentioned frequently in subsequent letters. See below, letters of February 12, 1860, and March 2, 1862. Possibly this is Chester Tracy, who was wounded in the battle of Yazoo Pass. See letter of April 19, 1863, and note.

We are cutting hay now-a-days. I tell you, when it comes to swinging an old grass-hook all day and then to rake it up with a hand rake, it is as old Mother Eaton said about the sage, "tryin' to one's soul," especially in this frying weather, and Lord knows my embryo farm can't begin to sport a mower yet. There have lots of other things got to come first. Yet, far away in the dim vista of the future methinks I see the scarcely visible outlines of a mower hard at work sawing down the prairie grass, and—and—and me a-driving—but hold on, who is that out there breaking his back over that crooked stick—ah, that is different, that is Pete *today*.

Now say that "you should think one claim would be rather small for two of us." It is, but I had rather have fifty acres and thirty of timber in one lot than a whole quarter of prairie without a stick within three or four miles of it. 80 acres will be as much as I want to farm at present, and when I want more there is lots of it close by. There is always somebody willing to sell.

Things must look pretty sleek about home, now that you have got a new fence, if you keep the weeds down, which of course you do. Mother will see to that.

About that school— Instead of getting Green meyered [?] myself, I have performed the operation on them.

I afterwards found out that it was a real Missouri border ruffian den, and they have fusses there every little while, so I told them I didn't want it.

Their wages at present are \$25 per month and board. I am going to try to get a school about here if I can. The one I spoke of is down by the river. I am well acquainted with the school commissioner for this county, and he will want my vote for circuit clerk, so I think there is a pretty good chance if I am in time, and I'll see to that.²⁴

Buffaloes can be found 100 miles west of here on the Republican Fork. I was talking about it with an Indian the other day, and here is what he said—"Ugh, heap, heap Ingen kill heap one, two, tree, hunner—heap white man—no Pawnee." —That means that he saw lots, his party killed 300, he saw a great many white hunters, but no Pawnees. —It looks mighty "jubus" about our getting off this fall, there is so much work to do. Still, I am in hopes we may. —A hundred miles probably looks a good ways to you, but it is nothing after you get out here. You can see 25 of it at one stretch. When a man has got 30 or 40 miles to go, he makes nothing of trotting it out on shanks hosses. Still, I think it is considerable easier to ride.

I wish you would send me some receipts for making different kinds of sauce, or tell the girls to— We haven't had any in all summer, and to go all winter without is most too hard. We can get tomatoes and grapes and cucumbers and I don't know what all. We have the darndest kind of living here. Sometimes it is all pancakes, sometimes all something else. Once we lived for three weeks on nothing but mush and milk. We have tried most everything, codfish not excepted, and I can go it as well as anybody. I think it would do you good in the feed line to come out here. They have the nastiest women here that I ever saw, and I can beat half of them cooking. Not all the women are nasty, but a "heap."

PETE

24. Peter did eventually do some school teaching, for a time at least. See Frank Pomeroy's letter of February 11, 1861, and Peter's letter of March 10, 1861.

HOLTON K[ANSAS] T[ERRITORY] Sept 25th /59

DEAR BROTHER [presumably MARCUS]

I received your letter of Sept. 11th. I was very glad to hear from home again. It seemed almost an age since I had a letter. I was thinking about going to meeting today, but as it was a wet, misty kind of a day and the preaching is a mile and a half off, I think I won't go. We don't have any regular preaching here, but once in a while a Methodist comes along, and now and then a "local" will get up and spout. It would be a good place for a smart young man to get a start. The preachers here are generally rather poor, dry concerns and, like Charles, would do well to "go and leave their bones" somewhere.

I am glad you have got the work so well along. It certainly is something strange to get done haying before the 1st of Sept. We have got about 16 tons cut, and I think we will cut a little more. We are engaged in building a log-cabin now, and it is awful on breeches. Frank has filed a prairie claim one mile west of us, and by paying half I can have the benefit of his preemption right, as he did of mine, and we have a year's time to pay it in, and I hope by that time to be able to pay up all I owe on this claim. I wish you would ask father if he wants my note for the amount of that land warrant, or does he think I am trustable without it. I should think it would be better to have it, so if I should happen to "go by Davy" he would be all right.

Our new claim has got a stone quarry on one corner, has plenty of stock water, and is on the whole a very good claim.

There are several claims taken in this neighborhood after the sales, though there was only one lost by an actual settler, and that was through carelessness.

We are having fine weather, no frost yet. We have had some little of the ague.²⁵ At one time all three of us were shaking. I suspect it would kind o' tickle you to see us shake some of these hot days, but come to the stern reality of the thing and it ain't quite so funny.

However, we took a dose of quinine each and got a bottle of Ayers Ague Cure²⁶ and have got bravely over it now, and you may bet we ain't sorry. Our "Sass"²⁷ operation I think are done for. We have nothing to keep it in, and we can't get jars this side of Leavenworth.

We live pretty high now. We have taters, beans, tomatoes, corn dodgers, and all the melons we want to roll in. We have got about 1½ bushels of shucked hazel nuts (the benefits of ague). And on our claim there are more than fifty bushels of black walnuts. Then besides we have got a lot of dried grapes and about a bushel of pickled cucumbers. I think we will manage to get through the winter. Frank and I have a fair prospect of boarding out. I think we will burn a lime kiln this fall. We can get plenty of rock, and if we can engage a hundred bushels beforehand, we will go at it. It is worth 25¢. Perhaps we can get some dimes in that way. We can get lots of work, but no money. They've all got something to trade. Our cattle are all "hog fat." They play now-a-days. Write soon.

P. BRYANT

25. The ague, which produced chills with "the shakes," burning fever, yellowing of the skin, and sometimes loss of hair, began in this region about August 1 and lasted until October. Newcomers feared it, with reason, and its terrors sometimes prevented immigrants from moving into new territories. A good account of how this malarial fever plague affected the Illinois immigrants appears in Earl Wiley Hayter, "Social and Economic Conditions in Illinois, 1800-1824" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of History, Northwestern University, 1834), pp. 200, 201.

26. A patent medicine manufactured by Dr. J. C. Ayer and Company, of Lowell, Mass.

27. Presumably a home-made preparation from sassafras bark.

HOLTON K[ANSAS] T[ERRITORY] Feb 12th/60

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I received your letter of the 29th ult. I dated one the same day which I presume you must have got before this. I have been washing today. Perhaps you may think it is big business for Sunday, but we have had a little fall of snow, and it was thawing very fast today, so I had to pitch in and get some or else use hard water.

Frank is trying to have the ague again. He had quite a shake today. We are making rails in old Rays timber for half. Some of it is pretty tough. We have taken a job of making 700 for another man for town property in Holton. We get six lots for the job and have our choice of three. I think we will do some fencing this spring, though I can't tell whether we will stay here or not. We are going where we can make the most. Merchants in Leavenworth offer \$10 per cwt. for hauling goods to Pikes Peak. We think we could make \$300 at that. Then two of us could get a job of driving team for Uncle Sam to some of the forts on the frontier.

We have had the finest weather this winter that I ever saw, but very little snow and no rain since the first of Sept. and not much cold weather. Wolves are pretty thick, but so wild that we cannot get a shot at them.

Chet and I went out the other morning after it snowed and caught 7 rabbits in about an hour. Rackley²⁸ is boarding with us and has his law office in our cabin, so you may imagine justice is duly meted out. He is going to Holton tomorrow to pettifog a case before a justice of the peace.

He takes the Princeton Republican, so I did not get any news in the one Cullen sent me. We have a pretty good stock of papers now. We take the Leavenworth Times and N. Y. Tribune, and Rackley has the Topeka Record and Princeton paper, and we get along a good deal better than we did last summer without any.

There is any amount of land here that can be bought for the taxes, principally what is called Delaware Trust land, that is land that was sold in trust for the Delaware Indians in 1857, and it is mostly very fine land.

There is some talk of sectionizing the Pottawatomie Reserve and letting the Indians sell it themselves if they choose. If this is done, I think there can be farms bought very cheap, and they have some of the best land in the territory. In fact, all of the reserves made by the Indians throughout the territory are of the best land.

Chet's sister writes him of lots of chaps being spliced back there, amongst them being Jim Vanatta. There has been but one case of the kind about here since I have been here.

PETER BRYANT

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., K[ANSAS] T[ERRITORY],
Feb'y 20th 1860

DEAR FATHER

I received your letter of Feb'y 9th, enclosing a ten dollar bill. I am always very thankful for such letters and would not object to their coming every day. I think the bill is current here, for almost everything that bears the form of money is; but not having had occasion to use it, I have not enquired. —In re-

28. David Rackley (1834-1863), son of F. D. and Dorothy Kenny Rackley, of Bureau county, Illinois.—Bradsby, *op. cit.*, p. 625. Rackley is frequently referred to in subsequent letters. He died of disease contracted during the Civil War. See Peter's letter of March 1, 1863.

gard to the farm trade, Frank offered to sell to me for the same that he paid, with 12 per cent [interest] added. We have looked over the books and find that each of us have paid on the claim, and for improvements, the sum of \$211.35; and 12 per cent on that for six months would be a trifle less than \$225. —It is true I would like the land very well, and it would make a very fine farm altogether, but I do not want you to run yourself short nor hire any money for me. I can do that out here by paying interest enough, but I am unwilling to run into debt without seeing some way to get out again; and if you let me have the money and I stay here on my place, as you and Mother seem to want I should, you will have to lay out of it for some time, three or four or perhaps five years; for I suppose you know by experience that in opening up a new farm, it is all outgo and no income.

In regard to your never calling on me for it, I do not want it on those terms, for if I cannot get along in the world now at my age [22], the sooner I am out of it the better. —There is still one payment of \$75.00 to make on the land, for which the man is bound by contract to take 25 acres of prairie-breaking. It is due by the first of August. —This I will have to pay myself in case I buy out Frank. It will be about two weeks' work with team. If you should conclude to send me money, I think I can make \$175.00 do. I can manage to pay the other fifty without much trouble by next fall, and perhaps have enough left to get me some hogs and a cow. —As to the transmission of the money of which you speak, I think the best way will be to send it to Leavenworth City by express. Dee had a land warrant sent in that way and got it without any trouble. Frank intends to improve the claim that he filed on after the sales. It is all prairie and a medium claim. If I should buy here, I will sell him my interest, in that our quarters would then lay in a body, and not one 80-a-mile from the other as now.

I will send you a rough map that I have drawn up, by which you can perhaps get some idea of how the land lays. —Since I got your letter, I have about given up the idea of going across the plains, though it does seem as though I had [not] seen half enough yet.

Frank and Dee have been having a little touch of the ague lately. My health is excellent, and by feeding on corn dodger beef and potatoes I have got quite fat and now only lack a few ounces of weighing 180 lbs.

We are having very fine weather now and have had all winter. There was a shower the other day and the first rain that has fallen for five months. I am glad to hear that Cullen is going to West Point, though it seems to me that it will be a pretty tight squeeze if he gets in. I received a "Republican" a day or two since. Young Rackley is boarding with us at \$2.00 per week. I don't know whether he will settle here or not.

PETER BRYANT

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., K[ANSAS] T[ERRITORY],
March 4th 1860

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I have received your letter of Feb. 16th. I had gone to Atchison when it came and didn't get back till day before yesterday and don't suppose I can get anything there on time for your paper which comes off in four days, so I guess I had better drop it. But if you get into such a snap again, just let me know in time and I will try to do what I can for you, if unless like this

time I happen to be away from home. I went down to Atchison to help haul up a saw mill to Holton and made \$20 in five days, but have to take my pay in sawing when they get in operation. Lumber is very high here. Oak and walnut lumber sells for \$25 per thousand.

So you have got a lyceum going again, have you? What has become of the reading circle? —We have a mock legislature in our neighborhood, and Frank is speaker. We bring in bills and discuss them, and make laws with all the dignity imaginable.²⁹ I have been to meeting today, the third time since I have been here. The Methodists are going in largely just now. They have about as brilliant a preacher as the hard shell Baptist of the "Harp of A Thousand Strings" notoriety. He said that when his hearers shuffled off this Mortal Coil, he wanted them to die "*Revered* with glory," and again that his motto was that he had "always had a kind heart,"—and in a prayer he said, "Lord, thou knowest we are great sinners, the chief among ten thousand and the one altogether lovely." The Methodist are quite numerous in the territory, and they say that before three years they are going to rule Kansas.

I got a letter from Cullen yesterday. —I wrote to Sarah Olds³⁰ a while ago, but have got no answer yet. It is getting dark, and I must wind up. I am sorry that I didn't get your letter in time to write a piece for your paper.

PETER BRYANT

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., K[ANSAS] T[ERRITORY]
May 1st 1860

DEAR BROTHER [CULLEN]

Yours of April 6th came to hand today. It has been on the road a good while. I dated one the same day to Marcus and Father and have received an answer from Father. I expect to go down to Topeka in the course of a week or fortnight. We are breaking [ground] some about now, at present for December. We have bought a cow and paid for her in breaking. I traded for a pony yesterday. It will cost me about \$50 when I get it paid for. I pay \$15 down, \$5 when the chap gets back from off the plains where he is going this summer, and ten acres of breaking to be done by the middle of May 1861.

It is a pretty good price for a pony, but it is the best that I can do, and I had rather pay it for horse-flesh than for quinine or "Ayers," which I certainly would have to do if I "toted" around in the wet grass after the bulls every morning. It is very easy catching the ague here. If a fellow is a little unwell, it is mighty apt to turn into shakes. It is pretty easily cured now, but won't be after it gets to be hot weather. I have had one chill since last fall, and Frank and Chet have it every little while.

It is very dry here. We have had but one or two slight sprinkles this spring. Frairie breaks pretty hard, but we have got a thundering team, and the old sod has to roll, dry or not.

Rackley has left our shanty and is now stopping in Holton, waiting for a chance to go to Leavenworth. He was admitted to the bar last week. He is going to leave his books with us and see a little of Kansas.

The grass here is first rate, notwithstanding the dry weather. Cattle fat on it the quickest here of any place that I ever saw. Bully was sick this spring

29. This training in practical politics anticipates Peter's service, six years later, in the Kansas legislature of 1867. Information from Mrs. F. L. Davis of Holton.

30. Daughter of Justin Olds and Louisa Bryant Olds, the sister of Cyrus Bryant. Sarah lived 1839-1860.

and got quite poor, so that I began to think he would visit "San hedrin" and I would have to buy another ox, but he has got fat again and my fears have departed.

In regard to snakes, they don't bother anyone here but Chet. Jove! you ought to see him jump when a "garter" gets into the furrow. I think I have seen him leap 8 feet right straight up in the air at sight of one's tail. Rattle-snakes are about as thick here as in Illinois. I don't think we killed over twenty last summer.

John Ritchie,³¹ one of the "Topeka Boys," has just killed a U. S. Marshal who was trying to arrest him on some of the old scores of '56, and Old Buck's men³² were all around the territory trying to find him. He is probably stowed away somewhere near home. The Governor has offered \$300 reward for him, and the people of Shawnee County have held a meeting and resolved that Mr. Governor could not have him. He has got the "get up and git" to him a good deal like Lovejoy. By the way, Lovejoy has acquitted himself nobly. We could not have asked more of him. I hope he carries his "iron" so as to be ready if any of those Southern scamps jumps on him.³³

PETER BRYANT

I have not received that money yet. I wrote to the Express agent and told him where I lived and to let me know when the package arrived. The river is very low. It takes a good while for boats to come from St. Louis. [Inserted at top of first page.]

TOPEKA, K[ANSAS] T[TERRITORY],
May 13th 1860

DEAR FATHER

I have received your note of April 13th and also a letter of April 17th informing me that you had forwarded the money. I have received it and just returned from Leavenworth. The agent did not like to let me have it on the strength of that duplicate, but when I showed your letter and an answer that he wrote to my inquiry, I got it without any further trouble. They are very particular who they let have packages. This man was civil, but the agent here last summer was far from it.

I enclose my note for the amount. It will probably be three or four years before I can pay it all up, but I will try and get it off my hands as soon as possible.

We came here yesterday and are going to work for the same man that we did last year. He told us a while ago that he wanted us to break 75 acres for him, but I do not know whether we will do it or not. There is no grass here for the cattle. Everything in that line is dried up. The grass at Holton is very good, and I was surprised at the difference that there is in thirty miles. It is very dry in Holton, so much so that the winter wheat will not amount to anything. Here it is not three inches high. Spring wheat will be in the same fix if it does not rain soon. There was wheat enough sown in the territory to

31. John Ritchie of Topeka who was mustered in July 16, 1861, as captain of Company A, Fifth regiment, Kansas cavalry; was promoted to lieutenant colonel September 10, 1861, in the same regiment; and was promoted to colonel, Second Indian home guards, March 28, 1862.

32. The federal officers of President Buchanan.

33. Both Peter and F. H. Dawes (the husband of Peter's aunt, Melissa) comment on Lovejoy's sturdy defense of abolitionist principles in congress. See Dawes' letter of May 18, 1862, in N. Y. P. L.

supply the home demand if it had come to anything. But very few have planted any corn here. They are mostly done at Holton.³⁴

I do not know how long we will stay here. We bought a yoke of cattle, for which we break 23 acres. If we do any more, we get the money for it. We get \$3.00 per acre and board ourselves. That is as cheap as anyone can afford to do it and pay Kansas prices for provisions.

When I was down to the river, I went to the Land Office and found that Frank's claim had been entered by a speculator. He intends to contest it. Gen. Whitfield³⁵ says there is no doubt but what he can get it. It will make him some cost. There are one or two others about there in the same way. Henry Dee entered one that had been filed on but no improvements made. He need not be alarmed about it. He can hold it without any trouble.

If you come out here this summer, as Marcus told me you anticipated, I wish you would bring out my riding bridle and martingale. I can't get one here without paying two prices. I should be very glad to see you out here, and would take great pleasure in showing you the "elephant" and my place.

The Missouri River is very low. Steamboats do not run any higher up than Atchison, and they all wear "grasshoppers" to lift them off from the sand bars.³⁶ I waded the Kaw yesterday and drove across four yoke of cattle. Deepest spot 3½ feet.

Yours affectionately
PETER BRYANT

TOPEKA, K[ANSAS] T[ERRITORY],
May 20th 1860

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I received your letter of several dates (the latest of which was May 10th) yesterday, and today I feel in about the same fix that you say that you did; i. e. darned lazy. I went to town today and got the papers and found that "Old Abe" was the nominee, and I was awfully tickled. I thought that Seward would be nominated. Didn't think that Abe had a ghost of a chance, but I am glad that he has got it. I believe that he will be President. At any rate, if we are admitted you may bet the last hat that you have got in the world that "Bleeding Kansas" will roll up 10,000 majority for him, and if you don't win every time, I will give you two for each one you lose.

I don't know as there is much home news here. We are tearing along as usual with our old breaking plow and five yoke of cattle. We make things come, but it is awful hard work. It is very dry. There comes a shower once in a while, but not enough to do any good. The old chaps around here shake their heads and say they are afraid that they are not going to make any crop, and I tell you it looks mighty billious and very much as though those that had been in the habit of living on hog and dodger would have to take the hog clear this time.

34. This was the year of a disastrous drought. Leverett Spring wrote: "For more than a year little or no rain fell, and crops failed everywhere. Probably fifteen or twenty thousand people were thrown upon public charity. Again Kansas put out signals of distress, to which the public made a quick and generous response."—*Kansas: The Prelude to the War for the Union* (Boston, 1899), p. 271. See Peter's further comments on the drought, in letters of May 20, July 22, November 11, and November 14, 1860; and March 10, 1861.

35. John W. Whitfield, delegate to congress from Kansas territory.

36. In *Roughing It* (New York, 1913), p. 17, Mark Twain described a difficult six-day trip by steamboat from St. Louis to St. Joe. There were sandbars "which we roosted on occasionally, and rested, and then got out our crutches and sparred over."

Topeka goes on with her improvements as fast or faster than ever, and how they do it I don't see, for there is very little money afloat. I suppose they trade around and everybody makes something. There is hardly a man here but is ready to trade anything that he has got, from a jack-knife to a quarter section of land.

It seems to me that there has been an awful smashing up of things in Princeton lately: seven weddings right straight along. By jove, I will have to hurry back if I am going to get a woman there. There is, however, some consolation in Lige's old saying that "there are as good fish in the sea as ever were caught out," and you may have a mortgage on my hat if I bach' much longer.

I am sorry that the apples are all killed, for I was in hopes that I would have a chance to get some next winter. How do you work it about the farm now that Cullen has gone? Do you keep a hired man, or do all the work yourself? I suppose you double bossee now, ain't you—

As to your shaking while on a buffalo hunt, there is no danger of that. You could not get the hang of it in so short a time. It will be worth quite a pile to go, for you can wear home your moccasins and greasy overshirt and be a pretty big man when you get back.

You may send along all the papers that you have a mind to now. I don't get any except what I buy at the news office. We take one apiece in Holton, and Frank has all the benefit now. Why don't you and Chat [Charity] write once in a while.

PETER BRYANT

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., K[ANSAS] T[ERRITORY],
July 22nd 1860

DEAR BROTHER [CULLEN]

I have received your letter of June 25th. We left Topeka about four weeks ago, but I have been there since and happened to come across your letter or else I should still be in the dark in regard to your operations. I should think from your description that you must have some tall old times there.

I suppose there is about as much fun in lugging a musket as there is in "bullwhacking"³⁷ all day with a prairie team. As to "yanking out,"³⁸ I should think your class would get the hang of it after a while, so that you could come it over some of the older chaps.

There is not much going on here. Since Congress adjourned without admitting us [*i. e.*, Kansas territory as a new state], everybody gets mad if a word is said about politics, and they fall to cursing Old Buck [President James Buchanan] and the democracy generally, in a manner that would make a Christian's hair stand on end. There are some Douglas democrats here. There are to be three county commissioners and an assessor to be elected this fall, but they won't make much of a hurrah.

We have broken up about 90 acres of prairie this summer. We broke 50 at Topeka. We quarrelled with the boss down there, and he won't pay us. I am going to build a house this fall, dig a well, and fix up generally; that is, get ready for the woman. We are having an awful drouth here. Everything

37. Peter here refers to the Western practice of driving a team of oxen with a short-handled, long, heavy whip.

38. It is uncertain what Peter is alluding to here, but it is possible that "yanking out" might have been a contemporary expression for taking unauthorized leave from the military academy. The term "Yankee leave" was used by the American military services in the 19th century as an equivalent to "French leave."

is drying up. The prairie got afire yesterday in sight of my cabin and burnt over more than a thousand acres. You can get some idea by that of how dry it is. The old settlers say that they are in the habit of having such seasons here every three or four years. If that is the case, there is no use of trying to raise grain for a living.

You must have had some great times running around to Conventions, visiting, &c. Did you find any pretty girls in your travels? What kind of a looking piece is Amanda Towers? I have heard great boasts concerning her beauty. I would be devilish glad to learn that I had one good-looking cousin. Do you know why Sarah Olds never answered my letter? Did she ever get wind of my shooting her parting sermon at the ducks? I feel a little curious in regard to it, but as to the feelings that they bear towards me, I don't care a d--n what they are. If they don't like me, they are not under the least necessity of "putting."

I suppose that none of the teachers or professors ever get hold of your letters, do they? If not, I can tell you some yarns once in a while that I didn't like to write home where the women would see them. I don't know whether I will get back home this winter or not, but if I do, you may bet your hat that I won't come back here again without a "frow," for I have a notion of having some "bark" a little different from squaw. Write me soon.

PETER BRYANT

I have been trying to get Mark and Lige out here on a buffalo hunt this fall, but hardly think I will succeed. Cyrus did not come out as he talked. The Judge has got a "darter." [Insertion on side of first page.]

KICKAPOO [KANSAS TERRITORY], Aug. 12 [1860]

DEAR FATHER

I have received the land warrant and located it. It came by express to Topeka, and I left there with it on Wednesday morning. I have traveled about 80 miles since and 50 of it with an ox team.

It kept me dodging to get around here in time, but "the deed is did," and I feel a good deal better now. Tomorrow the Land Office is closed to pre-emptors.

Here they don't seem to think there will be much sold, but after the sales they will lay warrants to a large extent. Warrants are worth today \$157.00.

PETER BRYANT

I will write again when I get home.

PB

HOLTON, JACKSON COUNTY, K[ANSAS] T[ERRITORY],
November 11th, 1860

DEAR BROTHER [presumably CULLEN]

I have just received your letter of the 21st ult. First and foremost, I congratulate you on the election of "Honest Old Abe." It makes me feel good all over. 'Tis true I've been expecting it for some time, but when I heard the news from New York and Penn. and right from home, from the "Old Sucker State," I just "hollered" loud as I could put in for two hours and a half, away out here by myself on the prairie with nobody but "Deacon" and "Bully" to hear me, and I have not got over it yet. The fit comes on occasionally, and I yell out Hurrah for Old Abel in a way that makes the heavens ring,

and the echo from the hills on either side catches it up and sends back, Hurrah for Old Abe! Old Abe! Abe! All nature rejoices. The sun shines clearer and warmer, and I actually believe on this occasion the grass will sprout. Evening before last the northern lights gave a grand display, and last night during the shower, lightning played strange antics across the sky, and old thunder bellowed Hurrah for Abe!

I tell you, if Kansas isn't glad nobody is. But this is not the end of good news. Last spring Jackson County went Democratic by 17 majority. Last Tuesday our side had 23 majority. I say, Hurrah for old Jackson! Altogether we will have a tearing up of things before this time next year. No more Land sales. Lots of money, and lots of grub. Hurrah for Old Abe!

Times are very hard, to use the words of the "Judge," hard as the limestone that underlies our real estate. And I think down on the Neosho, where "His Honor" lives, they are still worse. They are sending provisions and money here from the States. The headquarters are at Atchison. Gen. Pomeroy [is] commander, and if he does not make a good thing of it, you may have my hat. He was agent for the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society and made \$20,000 out of that, and you may bet that he has not forgotten how it was done.³⁹ Still, I hope for the best. I do not ask any thing for myself. I can get along well enough, but there are many poor men with large families that will have to have some help some way or other, and I do not think it is fair that speculators should pocket what the good people of Illinois give, as they think, to relieve the poor.

I have been digging a well lately. I had to go 50 feet. It was no small job. I have not got my house done yet. Money is so scarce that building is very slow work. I have made but \$15 in cash for the last three months, though I have been at work principally for myself. As to going home, that is out of the question. And when the *woman* that I used to talk about so much will be forthcoming, God only knows. We did not go on our buffalo hunt as we anticipated. This fall we had too much business to attend to. A great many went from here and brought in large quantities of meat. Buffaloes came in quite close to the Settlement this fall within 80 miles of here. There was one killed about five miles from here the other day, but he had got strayed away and lost.

Rackley is still in Holton and says that he will not leave until he makes enough to take him off. How did you dispose of your stock at home, or did you just leave it to take care of itself? They write me that they are still riding "Sal." We are all well.

PETER BRYANT

HOLTON, K[ANSAS] T[ERRITORY], Nov. 14, 1860

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

Yesterday I received from you two papers and a letter. One had been on the road five days, another eight, and the letter nearly three weeks. Therefore, I don't see as it will be of any use for me to write anything for your paper. Besides, I am cross as a bear tonight and couldn't write anything pleasant if I should try.

I suppose Old Abe is elected and I am very glad of it. I hope we will have

³⁹. Pomeroy was the model for the unscrupulous Senator Dilworthy in the novel *The Gilded Age* (1873), by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner.

better times now. Jackson County gave 17 Democratic majority last spring. This fall our side had 23 majority. Last night they had a great jollification in Holton. They made some big speeches and devoured quite a number of apples. The Democrats are a good deal down in the mouth.

You say that the folks talk of sending me some provision and other things. Well, if they send along a barrel or two of flour, they need not be afraid but what it will be accepted, and you say that you "have no doubt but what they would send along a little *"Spondulix"* if needed." I am very much afraid that it will be needed, though I had almost as soon be hung as ask father for any more. I owe Frank \$50 on that land yet, and he has finally got his arrangements made so that he has got to pay for his right off, and he wants the money. I have got \$25 salted down that I calculated to go home with along towards spring, but that plan will be knocked on the head. But what troubles me most is where I am going to get the rest. I have tried to sell a yoke of cattle, but I cannot do it for money. Then I tried to borrow. One man offered to lend me \$50 and take a mortgage on my place and 20 per cent interest.

I tell you I am devilish sick of this buying land on tick, and if I ever do it again, I want you to take your gun and shoot me. My place has cost me nearly \$600 besides the work I have done on it, and if anybody should offer me \$500 for it tonight, they would not have to offer but once. Here I am paying 10 per cent for money to buy land with that won't pay 2 per cent. Almost as good a bank to put money in as Bingham's Mill dam. But if I get out once, see if I get in again, and if I don't have better luck, tell father he may expect another begging letter in the course of a week.

As to that grub, if they take a notion to send any, tell them to send it as Kansas Relief, directed to Gen. H. C. Pomeroy, Agent—Atchison, K. T. Put on a private mark, and direct a letter to him stating the facts. By this means I will get it for 12½ cents per cwt. freightage. Otherwise it will be \$1.25 per cwt. I believe Dee has sent for some, and it would be well to have it come together. We did not go to Iowa. A man went from Holton and found it didn't pay.

I see by the papers that folks are giving money quite liberally in the eastern cities. I wish they would send some to a poor boy in this neck-o'-woods. I got a letter from Cullen a few days ago. He talks as though he had to work. I want you to get me four bushels of seed wheat, and I will try and get the money to pay you before you send it. I will send you the sermon in a day or two. All well.

PETER BRYANT

During early February of 1861 Peter Bryant made a trip from Holton to some place unknown. This may have been one of his frequent business trips to one of the Kansas "settlements," but it appears that he combined business with social pleasures, and it is possible that he was on a courting mission at this time. As indicated by previous letters, the need of a wife to establish a real home on the Kansas prairies was much on his mind during these days. In his absence, his friend and farming partner Frank Pomeroy took care of the farm and looked after Peter's livestock. Frank wrote to Peter as follows:

HOLTON [KANSAS]⁴⁰ Feb. 11th, 1861

DEAR PETER

Your letter I have neglected to answer until the present time. I am at the old cabin, but there has a decided change come over things here. As they are for the better, I have no fault to find. Chet, with his better part, arrived today. The "thing was did" one week ago today. The past week he has been around among the bretheren. The boys have followed him faithfully with their Band, but have not succeeded in bringing him out. They are expected here tonight. If they come, I suppose Brother Dee will invite them in. If he don't, they swear they—(dam the word, I can't spell it)⁴¹ him two weeks.

You are undoubtedly having fine times with your little woman, if the sleighing is as good there as it is here. It has been fine sleighing for five weeks. Yesterday and today has been warmer. If it does not change before tomorrow, there will not be much snow left. Your money I sent all right the next day after I sent the note to Lewis. He refused to take it. I took it to Holton and got the gold but have not paid him yet. Consequently I can't send the note but presume I can next time I write. I have not received any money yet, but I presume I shall before long, as the boys have been paid and Eph. Parks has gone after the money. Gov has not been home, nor will he at present for the reason that they can't get a furlough. The Blacksmith's bill is paid, and Gordon says nothing, so I guess there will be no trouble with any bills outstanding. The school goes along all right.

Dave is almost the best friend I have on the Creek. He will pay his tax without any fuss now. Your rail maker I have not heard from. He has not made any rails, and I presume will not. Your stock does pretty well, though I think it does not do as well as it did last year. The reason, I think, is that the hay was cut too late. Rachel looks well. She will not calve before March, perhaps not before middle of that month. Large Jake had the diarrhea after you left, which made him very weak, but he recovered and is doing well. The rest of your stock is all right. I think we will feed them all corn before long. I have two weeks longer to teach. Thrashed my wheat today. Had 48 bushels. Chet says that he has not received his paper yet. He wishes me to tell you to send for it right away, if you have not. Write again to me. Tell all the news, not forgetting the girls.

Yours,
FRANK

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., KANSAS
March 10th 1861

DEAR BROTHER [presumably MARCUS]

I received your letter of February 17th several days ago, and I believe I had one before that was not answered, although I cannot find it now. My reason for not answering that is that I was so full of business that I could not find time. While I taught school I was at home only a little while Sunday, and then I generally had something else to attend to. My school is out now, and nobody is more glad of it than I. I am now engaged in the exciting game of a race for the Presidency; i. e., mauling rails, and you may take my

40. Although neither Frank nor Peter takes note of the event in these letters, Kansas was now no longer a territory, having been admitted to the Union on January 29, 1861.

41. Frank probably intends the word "charivari," the old custom of a noisy mock sere-nade on a couple's wedding night. Peter later refers to this same matter in his comments on Chet and his bride.

word for it, it is a "heap" more satisfactory than mauling sense into young ones' heads.

Judge Oakfield was here to see me last week. He got here Monday night about nine o'clock. He was pretty well fagged out and hungry as a bear. He had footed it from Grasshopper Falls [later, Valley Falls] (about 20 miles) that afternoon. He stayed until Wednesday morning. He could not reconcile himself to bachelordom and advised me to quit it as soon as possible— His talk about the apples and cider made me wish I was back home again— He thinks Emporia is a long ways ahead of Holton in every point of view and wanted I should sell out and go down there. I told him that I was far enough off from civilization now, and didn't care about shaking all the year round. He however made me promise to come down there on a visit next winter if I didn't *marry* before. I do not see as *famine* makes any alteration in him. He is the same jolly fellow that he always was.

We are having very fine weather now. Farmers that can get seed are very busy putting in their wheat. I never saw winter wheat look better than at present. Our cattle live on the prairie without hay. Some have not fed any for three weeks. I predict a smashing crop this year, and if you of Suckerdom are likely to starve, send to us for aid— Perhaps, though, it will be well enough not to count chickens until they are hatched.

There is considerable excitement just now in regard to who will be our U. S. Senators. There are a good many applicants, and it is very hard telling who is ahead. Jim Lane⁴² stock was very high, but it seems to be falling. Pomeroy, I think, is gaining slowly. There is only one reason why I should like to see him senator. That is that he would work for our interest in regard to the Pacific R. R. —I believe the old cove is a good deal of a knave. Our Representative favors Lane and Delehay.⁴³ I rather prefer Lane and Judge Ewing⁴⁴ or Col. Phillips.⁴⁵ —However I have no favorite that I wish to bet on.

We have just received Old Abe's inaugural address. Its high tone and firm resolve smell strong of war.

Have you seen Thadeus Hyatt's letters to Gov. Andrews, Greeley, Sumner Conway, and others?⁴⁶ They are a pack of lies. Thadeus ought to be put in jail again, or sent to the Lunatic Asylum. The State is bad enough without lying about it. The scamp has kept thousands of emigrants from coming in here this spring.

Ten to one if we have a drouth again in twenty years.

P. BRYANT

42. James Henry Lane, the "grim chieftain," who came to Kansas in the spring of 1855 and played a spectacular role in territorial, state, and even national politics. He committed suicide in July, 1866.

43. Mark W. Delahay, whose political stock was high during this period because of a distant family connection with President Lincoln.

44. Thomas Ewing, Jr., who was on the Republican state ticket as chief justice.

45. Col. William A. Phillips, who came to Kansas in 1855 as correspondent for Greeley's *New York Tribune*. He was an ardent free-soiler.

46. Thaddeus Hyatt was head of the Kansas Territorial Relief Committee set up to aid needy Kansans during the famine of 1860-1861. Andrews was Gov. John A. Andrew of Massachusetts; Sumner was Charles Sumner, Massachusetts senator; Conway was Moncure Daniel Conway, Massachusetts clergyman and emancipationist.

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., KANSAS

April 7th, 1861

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I received your letter of March 26th yesterday. I am not in the habit of answering letters quite so soon after their arrival, but I got my hand in today and concluded that I would clean up the whole list, hence it is [remainder undecipherable]

I am just as full of work as I can stick nowadays, and it keeps coming thicker and faster and more of it all the time. I have no idea that I will ever get through.

We are having fine spring weather now. It was quite dry until about a week ago, when it commenced raining and has rained every other day since. My wheat is up and looks first-rate. I got two bushels of Club wheat and sowed it last week. I think it was the handsomest wheat that I ever saw. There is any amount of wheat in the country now; every farmer has some. I think Kansas will be fully tested this year in regard to her wheat-raising qualities. I am going to put in ten acres of corn and some potatoes. This, with the wheat, will be the extent of my farming this year. We are going to run a Company breaking team as heretofore, but will probably break mostly for ourselves. We have contracted for about fifty acres—don't get any cash—and unless someone should happen to come full of dollars, the prospect is rather poor.

It was just two years ago yesterday that I left Princeton to go to Pikes Peak and have not got there yet, but for the past month I have had the greatest notion in the world of going; but driving team ⁴⁷ is a dog's life, and God knows I have lived hard enough as it is. If I could only get the pay, I would be perfectly satisfied to let them go to Satan with the work.

You have probably heard of the election of our U. S. Senators. Jim Lane was ahead, and old tub-of-guts Pomeroy followed, as I was afraid he would. I don't know of any way except to grin and bear it, but there is one consolation: that is that Jackson County did not help elect him. The old cove hired a big house in Topeka and fitted it up in grand style and lived like a king, and those representatives who voted for him went there and boarded free gratis for nothing without paying a cent until election was over. Then S. C.(amp) vamosed and left the unfortunate reps to hunt other lodgings.

There has been a change in our post office affairs, and it is said that we will get our mail directly from Atchison after 1st of June.

It is rumored that there is a wild man in this neighborhood. Those who have seen him say that he is a heavy, thick-set man with red hair and whiskers and can run like a cuss. He sometimes gets after women and makes them scratch gravel as though they were running for a wager. The other day a couple of girls were out in a field driving up some cows. The chap saw them and made a break and caught one, and in a scuffle she bit off one of his fingers. The next day the girl's father hunted all day for the fellow without success.

47. After the Atchison and St. Joseph railroad was finished, in 1860, the freighting business from Atchison (the westernmost point of railroad connections with the East) enjoyed a definite boom. In 1865 "vacant ground around the town was dotted with the encampments of emigrants and freighters, and the levee was crowded with goods for the mines."—Peter Beckman, "The Overland Trade and Atchison's Beginnings," *Territorial Kansas*, p. 156. By "driving team," Peter apparently means working in this freighting business.

He don't wear any clothes except a coat. This is the yarn. and it is current here. However, you may do as you please about believing it.

Now in regard to your question about Chet's "gal." Well, in the first place, she is a Methodist and chock full of Jesus just like himself, fair complexion, medium size, shows her teeth a good deal, dresses pretty neat, tolerably good looking, and has a good-sized ankle, higher, deponent knoweth not.

P. BRYANT

HOLTON, JACKSON COUNTY, KANSAS.

April 7th 1861

DEAR BROTHER [CULLEN]

I have not had a letter from you for a long time, but that matters not. I have got time to write today, and the devil only knows when I will have again.

I am chock full of work now; and every day it comes thicker and faster and more of it. I had an idea *when I was a boy* that after I got to be twenty-one I wouldn't work so devilish hard as I did at that time, but I find that I was sadly mistaken. I believe that I have done more work since I left home than I ever did all put together on Cyrus's farm, and yet when I look around I can hardly see where I have made a mark. If a fellow comes here without anything and expects to make a farm without doing a good deal of hard work, he slips up on it like thunder.

In regard to my matrimonial prospects, they are not half as bright as they were three years ago. Gods! I thought then that I should certainly have some bark long ere this, but as Burns says, "The best laid plans of mice and men, gang aft aley." And now I don't know as I shall have any for three years to come. By the bye, 'tis just two years ago today since we bid each other good-bye at Bill Bony Grove.⁴⁸ It seems to me as though it was but yesterday. Still, when I look back, what a h--l of a mess I have waded through; some of the toughest times and hardest grub that ever I saw—However, 'Grin & Bear It' is the firm I deal with, and I wouldn't flunk out and go home a poor devil as I am now, if Cyrus would give me his whole farm.

We are going to run our breaking team again this year and farm it a little. I have got in four acres of wheat and shall put in 10 or 12 of corn. The other boys each about the same as myself. The weather has been quite dry until a week past. Since then it has rained nearly every day. The grass is not as forward as it was last year.

The senatorial contest is ended, and our two pompous 'Generals' Lane and Pomeroy have been chosen. It is said there was any amount of wireworking and "skulduggery" performed. Pomeroy moved to Topeka and fitted up an elegant mansion and boarded free gratis all the representatives that voted for him. Whether he fed them on "Aid"⁴⁹ or not, deponent knoweth not.

What do you think of Old Abe's plan of evacuating Forts Sumter and Pickens?⁵⁰ I don't like it at all. I can't endorse it in him any more than I

48. Bulbona Grove, in the western part of Bureau county, Illinois.

49. Pomeroy was Hyatt's assistant in the Kansas Territorial Relief Committee (see Footnote 46). There is evidence that some of the funds contributed to the committee for relief in Kansas found their way into Pomeroy's own pocket.

50. President Buchanan had left unsolved the problem of what to do about the Atlantic Coast forts, the "return" of which had been demanded by the Southern states. After consulting with military advisers and the cabinet, Lincoln had apparently decided, by March 16, that the forts should be evacuated. He gave no order, but the newspapers, as a result of unofficial announcements made by his friend Ward Lamon, were stating that the evacuations had been definitely decided upon. Peter no doubt read the newspaper statements and of course could not know that by the date of this letter Lincoln had changed his mind and had

could in Old Buck. It seems to me that they might be reinforced. If he has not got the power, let him take the responsibility, the whole North will back him. When it comes to getting down and licking spittle for the d---d hounds, I am greatly opposed to it. My way would be to "coerce" them and hang every d---d traitor if I had to clean out the whole country.

Judge Oakfield was here to see me not long since. He said that a few days before that Peter Sweet, while starting out of Leavenworth for Texas, was kicked by a horse and had his leg broken. He had been living pretty high . . . and had got his blood in a bad state, and his leg began to mortify, and they didn't know but it would have to be amputated. Chet is chock full of Jesus and is running a Methodist girl pretty hard. . . .

P. BRYANT

HOLTON, JACKSON COUNTY, KANSAS

April 21st 1861

DEAR FATHER

I received your letter of March 31st several days since.

We are having very fine weather now although rather warm for hard work. The grass grows very fast and our cattle got fat as hogs. —In that respect I think we have the advantage over Northern Illinois, for we feed our cattle a little corn during winter and turn them out and get them fat on grass and get them into market before you get done feeding hay.

We have not planted any corn yet. In fact, we are rather behind hand with our farm work in consequence of having so much fence to build. We are going to put in about 10 acres each. I have got nearly four acres of as handsome wheat as I ever saw.

We put in our garden stuff some time ago and have got corn, onions, peas, potatoes, and melons up and nicely growing. My cow has got well and quite fat. She gives about eight quarts of milk per day. I think you do her great injustice in calling her an "old cow," for she is but very little over two years old.

Secession is the all-absorbing topic here, and the capture of Ft. Sumter produces a good deal of sensation. We have organized a military company in Holton, and it is said there are about to be two more organized in the County. Every man that is capable of lugging a musket is itching for a fight. We have two or three secessionists among us, but they have to keep pretty still or they would get their walking papers. The troops have all withdrawn from the frontier, and the Kiowas range within a hundred miles of us. There is no telling what day they may be in here. Besides that, we are somewhat suspicious of the loyalty of Missouri. There are three secession military companies at St. Jo and several others along down the river. They threaten to tear up the H. & St. Jo R. R.⁵¹ to prevent the troops from Ft. Kearney from going to Washington. In case Missouri should go with the South, Ft. Leavenworth is in a rather precarious situation. The troops are gone, and there is no one there except the quartermaster and a few laborers who have charge of about

sent the ill-fated expedition under David D. Porter to reinforce Sumter and Pickens. Sumter was fired on April 12 and surrendered April 14.—David M. Porter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis* (New Haven, Conn., 1942), pp. 336-366.

51. The Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad. Begun in 1857, it was, up to 1860, "the only road to reach the Missouri River," and it "secured a monopoly on the carrying of goods from the Mississippi to the Missouri on the way to the Far West."—Robert Edgar Riegel, *The Story of the Western Railroads* (New York, 1928), p. 276.

thirty pieces of artillery and a thousand stand of small arms. Last Thursday a boat came up to Leavenworth with the secession flag flying at the masthead. This roused the ire of the Union boys, and they sent to the captain a desire that he should take it down. He refused. They then got out the "Kickapoo Baby," planted it on the levee, and loaded it, and told the captain that "if he didn't haul that d---d thing down and run up the stars and stripes in less than ten minutes, they would blow him to h---l." This was argument enough. Cap. improved his time, and in less than *three* minutes the Union flag was unfurled and floated proudly in the breeze, and such a hurrah as burst from that crowd never greeted the vile rattlesnake. —Hoping we may soon have a fight, I am

Yours affectionately

P. BRYANT

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., KANSAS

May 9th 1861

DEAR BROTHER [CULLEN]

I received your letter of Apr. 7th about a week ago. Today we are having a rainy day, and I am squaring up my correspondence, and this letter is a part of the proceeds.

This is a great country, but things are apt to be carried to extremes; this morning the weather was delightful, balmy and warm; about the middle of the forenoon a little cloud about as big as your hand made its appearance in the northwest, and in less than an hour it rained and hailed and poured down water which ran on the prairies in streamlets large enough to turn a small mill. It would have made us grin to have seen the like last summer. I do not anticipate any trouble by drouth this season, but if we are not drowned out we will be fortunate.

There is nothing talked about here except war, and the boys of '56 fairly itch for a fight. They have got a grudge against Missouri and the South that they will never forget until it is wiped out in blood. We have organized a Volunteer Rifle Company in Holton and are awaiting orders from Gov. Robinson.⁵² It is said that the President issued a requisition to him for two regiments. If that is the case, I should not be surprised if we had to march soon.

Our Capt. is Wm. F. Creits,⁵³ a captain in the troubles of '56 and the prince of devils in a fight and of good fellows in a frolic, and as much of an abolitionist as Lovejoy or John Brown dare be. Your dear brother has the honor of being first lieutenant, a d---d ticklish place in time of a charge, and he may find some chewed bread in his boots afterward, but never-the-less would like to see how it would seem. Dave Rackley is 2nd Lieutenant and Frank 3rd.

52. Dr. Charles Robinson, of Fitchburg, Mass., who became governor when the state entered the Union early in 1861.

53. William F. Creitz, captain of the Holton volunteer rifle company, shortly afterward raised recruits for the Kansas cavalry forces being organized. Peter was too poor to buy a horse to follow his idol into state service (*see* letter of September 1, 1861), but Creitz was commissioned first lieutenant of Company A, Fifth regiment, Kansas volunteer cavalry, on July 16, 1861. Promoted to captain on September 11, 1861, he distinguished himself in several early actions, particularly by his bold and resourceful defense of his regimental supply train on a long and dangerous march to join the Army of the Southwest in Arkansas. With a supply-train escort of 150 men, Captain Creitz overthrew an Arkansas cavalry regiment, routed the 15th Texas cavalry rangers, captured a guerrilla company and supplies, and eluded a large body of pursuing Confederate cavalry. Creitz's detachment had been given up as lost, but because of its "gallant fight," the regiment was congratulated by General Osterhaus, division commander, for remarkable bravery and skill. Creitz was wounded at the Battle of Helena, Ark., on July 4, 1863. He was mustered out August 11, 1864, at Leavenworth.

I don't want you to feel bad in the least because I have got a lieutenancy before you have, but you must remember that I am the *oldest*.

Do you think the Cadets have a chance to see any active service? What do you suppose Mother would say if both of her boys should become fighting cocks? Have you seen the Princeton [Ill.] papers? I tell you old Bureau [county] shelled out the volunteers with a vengeance. She raised seven companies, and I presume some of them are in Washington before now. I have not seen the muster rolls and don't know who has gone. I hardly know what to think of M. [Missouri], whether she will secede or not. They are organizing and arming a great many companies just across the river, and you may bet we are not behind them in that respect. I will wager my hat that there are 10,000 men in military organizations in Kansas today, and if Missouri thinks she would like to thrash us, just let her go in. The Big Muddy [Missouri river] wouldn't stop us this time. Are any of the Southern Cadets in the Academy [West Point] now? Father writes me that he is going east this summer. He will probably give you a call. I am devilishly in hopes that our company will be sent east. I would manage to stop at Princeton an hour or two.

Our crops look first-rate, but I don't know as they will do us any good, for all three of us are "stuck."

P. BRYANT

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., KANSAS
Sept. 1st 1861

DEAR BROTHER [CULLEN]

I received a letter from you a good while ago dated June 17th, but I've been so busy ever since that I have not answered it. Perhaps you would like to know what I find to do. There is *enough* to do if a fellow has a mind to take hold of it.

I didn't go into the army as you probably expected, and as I expected to one while. I'll tell you why. When we first organized a company here, we offered our services to the Governor, and he wouldn't have us. Then our Captain got authority to raise recruits for the 3rd regiment, and two days before we were to report at headquarters, it was changed into a cavalry company, and I was too d---d poor to buy a horse, so I was out again. There was about 30 went from here. D[ave] Rackley went with them. I was as mad as h--l because I couldn't go, but perhaps it is all for the best. The fellows have to stick to it devilish close, and there is no dodging off to run home to see the babies.

But I suppose you've heard of "*Jayhawkers*," haven't you? (The secesh in S. W. Missouri have.) They are curious 'cusses.' I tell you what 'tis, Cull. It is a nice things to hear the bullets whistle provided they don't get near enough to cut the hide. It is nice to make them whistle so they *do* cut the bark. Again it affords infinite pleasure to be straddle of something that will get over ground like h--l greased if the Texas devils are after you at the ratio of 200 to 25. But the best of all is for about fifty of said "*Jay-hawkers*" to get after three or four hundred Missourians, then to see them "*skeedaddle*." I tell you 'tis royal fun.

It is fun, too, to stampede a big drove of horses for some jolly old "*Secesh*." It is a good idea, too, once in a while to get one or two of "*Butler's contraband*"⁵⁴ if you can get good. The two latter come under the head of "*press-*

54. Negro slaves. Gen. Benjamin Franklin Butler reasoned that since slaves were considered property, he was authorized to keep, as contraband of war, those Negroes who escaped from their owners to Union lines.

ing." Of course, we don't "press" *much*, but then we calculate to make the institution support itself. I hardly think it will be carried so extensively as it has heretofore. Our General (Jennison)⁵⁵ has received a colonelcy in the army, and a good many of the boys will go into his regiment. He is an independent sort of a fellow. He wouldn't go into the army and be under the command of any brigadier. What orders he don't make himself, he receives directly from Fremont.⁵⁶ His regiment are all mounted, called the Kansas Rangers. He finds horses (1000 that were pressed) and equipment. It is a d---- good place if a fellow wants to fight. He is always ready for a skirmish, and I never saw anyone so careful about losing his men. Many a cursing he has given the boys for being so reckless. No, say I, they will all get to hell a d---- sight sooner than they want to.

You think we don't know anything about drill. I don't suppose we could vie with you West Point boys, but by G-d we *can shoot*. —What d---- asses they made of themselves at Bull Run.⁵⁷ I swear 'tis a shame to our cause. I didn't think the North had so many d---- cowards. I like McClellan. I think he is grit. Sigel is bully, but he made a h--l of a mistake at Springfield.⁵⁸

I am at home cutting hay now and attending to my fences. Don't know whather I shall go back again or not. When you write, send to Holton as usual. I may get it sometime if some "Secesh" don't force me to take passage in Old Charon's dugout to the Shades,

PETER

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., KANSAS

Oct. 13th, 1861

DEAR BROTHER [CULLEN]

I have just received your letter of Sep. 22nd. I am sorry that you should suppose that I would be "going up the spout" at this interesting time. I intend no such thing, but mean to live and see the thing through if possible. You say that I was ambiguous in my last letter. I was not aware of it, though I swear I've forgotten what I did write.

Perhaps I didn't tell you that I had been to Missouri to see the country &c.; that my old gun had made rebels bite the dust; that I didn't get killed, and maybe other things; but I believe I hinted at them pretty d---- strong. That's all I'm going to do. Suppose I should be brought to trial here or hereafter for shooting a man, and you should come in as witness with papers stating over my signature that I did shoot him. Wouldn't I be in a d---- pretty mess! But I'll try and be plain this time.

Last May I received from Gov. Robinson a commission as 1st Lieutenant of Jackson County Union Guards. In July our Captain raised a company and went into the army, and I mustered about 50 men and went into Missouri. All the difference between us [was] he jayhawked under cover of Uncle Sam and I under a lieutenancy from Governor R[obinson]. I marched when I d----d pleased; he, when he was told to. I kept my plunder (if I chose); he

55. Charles R. Jennison, a guerrilla leader, became colonel of the Seventh Kansas volunteer regiment.

56. Gen. John C. Fremont, since July commander of the Department of the West.

57. The Union defeat at the first battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861.

58. The Battle of Wilson's Creek, near Springfield, Mo., on August 10, 1861. Peter refers to Union Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel.

didn't. I took my pay as I went along; he, when he could get it. I have disbanded my squad; he has got to stick her till war is over.

I tell you Missouri has a d----d desolate look. Now settlers south of the river are very scarce. We cleaned out one side, and old Price⁵⁹ the other. He has about 15,000 that organized expressly for plunder. They are mostly d----d cowards. My boys have whipped them many a time where they outnumbered us two to one. I never ran but once. Then I was scouting with 25 men and ran into an ambush of 200 Texans. Then spurs came into play. Four of my men went under and seven or eight were wounded but got away. It is a wonder that we were not annihilated. They fired a volley of more than a hundred shots, and we were within 5 rods of them. Their horses were in a ravine about 20 rods back, else I probably would not be writing now. But I've got my pay.

I suppose you'd like to know what I think of war. I think it is a d----d hard way to make a living, and if a fellow has not got a constitution of iron, it will kill you. As to pecuniary matters, I didn't bring home a d----d red. Well, I didn't go to make money. I went to fight. When we disbanded, I gave up all that I had except a mule and pony to the Government boys. When I got to Leavenworth, I was out of money and hungry as the devil, and I had my mule put up and sold at auction. He brought \$17.50. I expected to get a hundred dollars for him when I took him, but jayhawkers were too plenty.

I've been home nearly a week now. I am going to Illinois in a fortnight if I can get money to take me there. I never saw money so d----d hard in my life. I have not written home since July, and they don't know where I am. If you write to any of them, don't say anything about my coming. I think I shall go with the army afterward if I can get into a cavalry company that suits me.

I don't like what you say about Fremont. Influential parties at Washington have tried their d----dest to cripple him and have well nigh succeeded. With few arms and little money, what could the man do that he has not? Then to take away 6 of his best regiments, to guard Washington when they already had 300,000 men—wasn't it d----d smart! I think you would do well to look to the Capital a little before you condemn Fremont.⁶⁰ As to Lexington, I know 'tis bad, but if Mulligan wanted reinforcements he should not have sent word to Fremont that he could hold it against all hell.⁶¹ The

59. Maj. Gen. Sterling Price (1809-1867) of the Confederate forces. Price was governor of the State of Missouri 1853-1857; was made commander of the Missouri State Guard July 30, 1861; commanded the Army of the West July 2 to September 28, 1862.—Francis T. Miller, ed., *Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York), v. 10, p. 276.

60. As to where to put the blame for the Union defeats in the West during these months, there is a difference of opinion. Early historians, unlike Peter Bryant, tended to blame Fremont. Allan Nevins, however, in his biography of the Pathfinder, has this to say: "The difficulties of his [Fremont's] position, tossed as he suddenly was into a Department without organization, money, arms, or stores, without anything but raw recruits, asked not merely to raise and use armies but to equip them, left to shift largely for himself by an Administration intent upon the eastern front . . . can hardly be exaggerated. . . . Grant himself might have failed."—*Fremont: Pathmarker of the West* (New York, 1939), pp. 548, 549. Fremont relinquished his command, by order of President Lincoln, November 2, 1861.

61. At the Battle of Lexington, Mo., September 12-20, 1861, Col. James A. Mulligan of the 23d Illinois regiment, took command as senior colonel of the Union forces. With 3,500 men he held out for eight days against Confederate Gen. Sterling Price and 30,000. When reinforcements failed to arrive from Jefferson City, Mexico, Mo., or northwest Missouri, and the outnumbered garrison of the supply depot were surrounded and faced with annihilation by the closely besieging Confederates, Mulligan surrendered on honorable terms.—R. U. Johnson and C. C. Buel, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1884-1887), v. 1, pp. 307-313.

troops have not lost their confidence in the man yet [*i. e.*, Fremont]. When I left, there was talk of his being removed, and it caused great excitement, and they swore if he was turned out they would disband and go home. If the administration wants to see this thing go on, for God's sake let them help him a little. Don't write again until you hear from me.

PETER BRYANT

*(The Concluding Installment, Including Letters of 1862-1906, Will
Appear in the Winter, 1961, Issue.)*

Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals

Compiled by LOUISE BARRY

PART THREE, 1804-1818

1804

¶ Upper Louisiana was transferred, officially, from France to the United States in ceremonies at St. Louis on March 9. Next day, Amos Stoddard (as U.S. agent) proclaimed the establishment of American authority in the district.

The newly-acquired Louisiana territory west of the Mississippi was divided (by act of congress, March 26) into the *Territory of Orleans* (which later became the state of Louisiana) and the *District of Louisiana* (which, effective October 1, was placed under the jurisdiction of the Territory of Indiana).

Ref: Clarence E. Carter, comp. and ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, v. 13, pp. 8, 9; *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, v. 48, p. 10.

¶ The Lewis and Clark expedition (45 men in a 55-foot keelboat and two pirogues) which, on May 14, had started up the Missouri from near St. Louis, encamped on June 26 "at the upper point of the mouth of the river Kansas," and remained for three days. In his journal, William Clark wrote:

[The Kansas river] . . . receves its name from a Nation which dwells at this time on its banks & [has?] 2 villages one about 20 leagues & the other 40 Leagues up, [The explorers' report made clear that the Kansa were in *one* village (near the Big Blue's mouth), the location "20 leagues" up being a *former* village site.] those Indians are not very noumerous at this time, reduced by war with their neighbours, &c, [Their population was estimated at 300 warriors and 1,300 in all, in the report.] they formerly lived on the South banks of the Missouri 24 Leagues above this river in a open & butifull plain, and were very noumerous at the time the french first Settled the Illinois, I am told they are a fierce & warlike people [and, according to the report, a "dissolute, lawless banditti"], being badly Supplied with fire arms, [they] become easily conquered by the Aiauway [Iowa] & Saukees [Sacs] who are better furnished with those materials of War, This Nation is now out in the Plains hunting the Buffalow. . . .

Continuing up the Missouri on June 29, the explorers camped on the north bank. On the 30th, after a ten-mile journey, they stopped for the night on the south (Kansas) side where Sgt. Patrick Gass recorded in his journal "there were the most signs of game I ever saw." On July 1 camp was on one of the "Isles des Parques or field

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Islds" near the south bank—facing a (Kansas) prairie [about opposite present Leavenworth]. The following evening, Sgt. Charles Floyd wrote in his journal:

. . . Camp on the N Side, on the South Side was a old French fort [Fort Cavagnolle of the 1740's and '50's] who had settled hear to protect the Trade of this [Kansa] nation in the valley the Kansas Had a village between tow pints of High Praria Land a Handsome Situation for a town. [This was in Salt creek valley, northeast Leavenworth county.]

On July 3 they passed Isle au Vache (Cow Island), negotiated a stretch of sand bar, and stopped overnight on the south (Kansas) bank, half a mile beyond an old, deserted trading post [above present Oak Mills, Atchison county].

At sunrise on July 4 one shot was fired from the keelboat's swivel gun. When the travelers came to a creek flowing in from the south (Kansas) side, they named it "Fourth of July creek." Above was a high mound where three Indian paths centered, and from which there was "a very extensive prospect" [at present Atchison]. Some miles farther on they stopped on the north side, about a mile above a stream flowing in from the Kansas side—a stream which they named "Independence creek." Their camp was opposite the second old Kansa village [*i. e.*, across the river from present Doniphan]. Wrote William Clark: ". . . we closed the [day] by a Descharge from our bow piece [and] an extra Gill of whiskey."

On July 5 the explorers spent the night on the Kansas side, and Clark recorded:

I observe great quantity of Summer & fall Grapes, Berries & Wild roases on the banks. Deer is not so plenty as useal, great Deel of Elk Sign.

On the seventh and again on the ninth of July [on which date they passed several miles beyond Wolf river, Doniphan county] their camps were on the Kansas bank of the Missouri.

Meriwether Lewis' ". . . Summary View of Rivers and Creeks, Etc.," presumably prepared at Fort Mandan (N.D.) where the Lewis and Clark expedition wintered in 1804-1805, included these notes on the Kansas river:

. . . it takes it's course nearly East about 300 leagues [750 miles] through fertile and leavel, plains & praries, intersperced with groves of timbered land. . . it has been navigated 200 leagues [500 miles] and there is good reason to believe . . . that it is navigable for perogues much further perhaps nearly to it's source.

Of more consequence was the summary's table of distances on the Kansas, which *named* (and gave distances, width, and direction of)

a number of its tributaries in addition to the already-known Republican and "Bluewater" (Big Blue) rivers—among them "Wor-rah-ru za" (Wakarusa) river, "Grasshopper Creek" (now Delaware river), and "Solomon's Creek" (Solomon river). But the distances (from the mouth of the Kansas), as listed in the table were notably inaccurate.

Nicholas King prepared a manuscript map of the Missouri country which was available to several government offices early in 1806. Its data (including the Kansas tributaries' names) came from a sketch map William Clark had drawn during the winter of 1804-1805 and sent to Washington.

Ref: R. G. Thwaites ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* . . . (New York, 1904-1905), v. 1, pp. 60-68, v. 6, pp. 35, 36 (table of distances), 84, 85; *The Kansas Historical Quarterly (KHQ)*, v. 21, pp. 402-405 (for comment on the Kansas river data). See, also, under 1814.

¶ Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis, was appointed agent of Indian affairs for the District of Louisiana on July 17, by President Jefferson. He was charged to give particular attention to the Osage Indians.

Ref: *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 13, pp. 31-33.

¶ Outfitted with trading goods by William Morrison (a Kaskaskia, Ill., merchant), Jeannot Metoyer and Jean Baptiste Lalande [Labarde?] went up the Missouri to the Pawnee villages on the Platte in the summer[?]; and followed up the Platte to its headwaters, it is said, before making their way to Santa Fe, accompanied by some Pawnees and guided by Joseph Gervais (who was reported to have made an earlier 1804 trip to New Mexico, and to have taken a party of Pawnees to Santa Fe in 1803). So far as known, these traders were the first to take goods overland from the American settlements to Santa Fe. "Lalande" remained in Santa Fe.

Experienced *voyageurs* Lorenzo Durocher and Jacques d'Eglise also went up the Missouri in 1804 intending to go overland to New Mexico. Both reached Santa Fe but perhaps not together. (Durocher is on record at Santa Fe in early 1805; d'Eglise is not placed there definitely till late 1806.)

It may be that none of these adventurers crossed present Kansas in traveling to Spanish territory.

Ref: *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 183; A. P. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark* (St. Louis, 1952), v. 1, p. 113, v. 2, pp. 755, 756; Annie H. Abel's *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition* (Norman, Okla., 1939), pp. 240-245; Houck's *The Spanish Regime in Missouri* (Chicago, 1909), v. 2, pp. 356, 357, 360; *New Mexico Historical Review*, Santa Fe, v. 2 (October, 1927), pp. 370, 371.

1805

¶ Gen. James Wilkinson (commander in chief of the army) was appointed governor of the Territory of Louisiana by President Jefferson on March 11. (By a March 3d act of congress, the District of

Louisiana had been changed to the Territory of Louisiana which was to operate under a governor, secretary, and three judges.)

Ref: *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 13, pp. 98, 99.

¶ On September 2 the "Arkansas band" (*see* 1802-1803) of Osages (400 warriors; 1,500 persons in all) living on the Verdigris [near present Claremore, Okla.] arrived at the Great Osage village [on the Little Osage river in present Vernon county, Mo.]. Next day, Lt. George Peter (emissary of General Wilkinson) counceled with assembled chiefs and warriors about the upcoming Indian peace council, a proposed visit of Indians to Washington, and Wilkinson's plan to place a military post in Osage country. Indian Agent Pierre Chouteau tried, unsuccessfully, to reconcile and reunite the two bands.

Lieutenant Peter estimated there were 2,000 persons, a fourth of them warriors, in the 120-house Great Osage village; and 1,400 people, 400 of them warriors, in the 85-house Little Osage village five miles to the northwest (visited by him on September 5). By his calculation the Osages had a fighting force of 1,300 men.

Ref: *Ibid.*, pp. 231, 232. When Capt. Z. M. Pike took a census of the "grand village" in 1806, he reported there were 502 men, and a total of 1,695 persons in the 214 lodges. (Pike's letter of August 30, 1806, in Appendix to editions of his *An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi*. . . .)

¶ At St. Louis, on October 18, through the efforts of William Henry Harrison (governor of Indiana territory) and Gen. James Wilkinson (governor of Louisiana territory), a reconciliation-and-peace treaty was effected between the Delawares, Miamis, Pottawatomies, Kickapoo, Sacs & Foxes, Kaskaskias, Sioux (of Des Moines river), and Iowas, of the one part, and the Great and Little Osages of the other part.

Ref: *Ibid.*, pp. 245-247.

¶ One or two Kansa were among a delegation of Indian leaders making a visit to Washington in the latter part of the year. On October 22, General Wilkinson wrote (from his St. Louis headquarters):

The Deputation destined to visit the President, will commence their journey this day under the conduct of Captⁿ [Amos] Stoddard, and will consist of twenty six persons from eleven Nations, (to-wit) The Ottos, Missouri, Panis, Canzes, Osage, Sacque, Reynard [Fox], Ayoua [Iowa], Kickapoo, Pottowattomee, and Miamis, eight of these nations are strangers to us, and the seven last embrace the belligerents among whom we have been making Peace. . . .

Ref: *Ibid.*, p. 243.

¶ Lt. James B. Wilkinson's party, convoying a homeward-bound chief of the Aricaras up the Missouri in the late fall, encountered

hostile Kansa about 20 leagues below the mouth of the Kansas river and returned the chief to St. Louis on December 8. Gov. James Wilkinson reported:

This body of Canzès after their first, very rude and unfriendly interview in which both Parties took arms, marched up the River and took Post at a difficult and narrow pass, where they decoyed two American hunters on shore who were descending the River, one of whom they killed, and the other after shooting an Indian made his escape, but unfortunately fell in with our Camp in the night, and not answering the challenge was fired upon and mortally wounded. . . .

I am fearful this disposition of the Canzès, may be excited by agents from St Afee, but the nation has not more than three hundred warriors and a word to our friends the Osages would destroy them. . . .

Ref: *Ibid.*, pp. 297, 298.

1806

¶ In the spring the Spanish learned of the impending American expedition (Pike's) to the western frontier, and quickly assembled an imposing cavalry force (100 dragoons, 500 militia; more than 2,000 horses and mules) equipped for six months. Under command of Lt. Facundo Melgares, this company left Santa Fe about mid-June to accomplish several objectives: to intercept any American parties found in Spanish-claimed territory; to explore the northeast frontier of New Spain; to visit the Comanches, Pawnees, and Kansa.

As Pike heard the story from Melgares, the expedition descended the Red river [*i. e.*, the Canadian] for 233 leagues; met, and counceled with, the great bands of Comanches (following a ceremonial meeting at which three Spanish officers on jet black horses, attended by 500 men on white horses, rode out on a prairie to be received by 1,500 colorfully arrayed and well-mounted Comanche warriors); then moved northeastward.

Changing course to the northwest in what is now south-central Kansas (judging from Melgares's route as traced on Pike's map), the Spaniards reached the Arkansas [perhaps near present Larned] in August. Melgares left part of his force at the river crossing, and continued northward with some 350 horsemen to the Pawnee Republic village on the Republican river, arriving in late August, or early September. He held councils with assembled Grand, and Republic band, Pawnees and presented gifts (flags, commissions, grand medals, and four mules each for the head chiefs). The Indians were much impressed by the size (and the gifts) of the Spanish expedition.

The Pawnee Republic village [whether located, in 1806, in present Republic county, Kansas, or in Webster county, Nebraska, or else-

where, remains a controversial issue] was the farthest point reached by Melgares and his men. Having no news of Americans in the area, the Spaniards turned back to the Arkansas. The reunited force then followed up the river to the mountains before turning southward. In October the expedition reached Santa Fe.

Ref: Z. M. Pike's journal (1806-1807), under entries of September 25, and November 11, 1806; also Pike's map; and his letter of October 1, 1806 (in Appendix to editions of his work).

¶ Capt. Zebulon M. Pike, with a company of 22 (Lt. James B. Wilkinson, Dr. John H. Robinson; three noncoms; 16 privates; and Baronet Vasquez, interpreter) set out from near St. Louis August 9, on an expedition to the West which began with a journey up the Missouri and Osage (by boat), convoying 51 Osages to their villages [in present Vernon county, Mo.] (There were, also, two Pawnees to be escorted home.)

Pike spent two weeks (August 19-31) among the Osages; held councils with White Hair, and The Wind (chiefs of the Great, and Little villages), and other head men; took a census of the towns; collected Indian data; and with some difficulty and frustrations obtained pack horses, and arranged for a few Osages to accompany him to the Pawnee Republic village.

The overland march began on September 1. Pike and his party started out on the "Osage trace" [entering present Kansas in Bourbon? county], but left it on the 5th. They crossed the headwaters of "the [Little] Osage, White [Neosho or Grand], and Verdigrise rivers"; and halted September 11 on "a large branch of Grand river" [it was the *Cottonwood's* South Fork—in present Chase county]. Next day they "passed some very rough flint hills," and from one height Pike noted ". . . in one view below me, buffaloes, elks, deer, cabrie [antelope], and panthers." Camp that night was on the "main branch of Grand river" [the Cottonwood—in Chase county]. (The Osages "owing to their great fear of the Kanes" led the party "too far to the south" thereby adding many miles to the tedious journey.)

On September 17 the explorers crossed the Smoky Hill [northeast of present Lindsborg?]; and forded the Saline on the 18th [near the Saline-Ottawa county line of today?]. From a Pawnee hunter, met on the 22d, they learned of the recent presence of the Spanish expedition (*see* preceding entry). On the 23d they crossed the Solomon [west of present Glasco?]. Next day a number of Pawnees came to meet them; and on the 25th as Pike's small party neared the

Republic town some 300 mounted Pawnees rode out to give them a ceremonial welcome.

[On the Republican river's south bank, in Republic county, Kansas (southwest of Republic), is the site of a Pawnee Republic town of the late 1700's or very early 1800's. When attention was directed to it in the 1890's, conclusions were made that Captain Pike had visited the Republic band at the "Kansas site." (See E. B. Cowgill's 1897 address "Where Was the Pawnee Republic," in *Kansas Historical Collections* (KHC), v. 7, pp. 301-311.) Efforts of interested parties culminated in the erection there of a Pike-Pawnee Republic monument which was dedicated in 1906 (see *ibid.*, pp. 261-317).

[Some 35 miles distant from the "Kansas site," on the Republican's south bank, in Webster county, Nebraska (southeast of Red Cloud), is the site of a Pawnee Republic town of the very early 1800's. Following its identification (by A. T. Hill, in 1923) there arose a controversy over which village Pike actually visited. (See *Nebraska History*, Lincoln, v. 10, pp. 157-261; *Twenty-fifth Biennial Report* . . . *Kansas State Historical Society* . . . , pp. 101-129.)

[Archaeologist W. R. Wedel (a native Kansan) in his *Introduction to Pawnee Archeology* (published in 1936 as the Bureau of American Ethnology's Bulletin No. 112) offered the opinion that the Nebraska or "Hill site" is the "probable site" of the Pawnee Republic village Pike visited in 1806 primarily because "it coincides in every respect with both the descriptions in the journal and the map of the expedition"—which the "Kansas site" does not.

[In addition to Pike's journal, his map, and the references noted above, essential reading for anyone probing deeply into this subject would include Elliott Coues's exhaustive study of the explorer's route in his 1895 edition of Pike's *Expeditions* (v. 2, pp. 392-441); Theo. H. Scheffer's article on Pike's trail in Saline and Ottawa counties in *KHQ*, v. 15, pp. 240-247; and *Zebulon Pike's Arkansas Journal*, edited by S. H. Hart and A. B. Hulbert, published in 1932.] See, also, last Annals entry for 1825.

"The immediate borders of the Republican fork near the village consist of high ridges," wrote Pike, ". . . an exception to the general face of the country." On one of the heights Pike and his men camped, but next day ". . . moved down the prairie hill, about three-quarters of a mile nearer the village . . . [and pitched] . . . camp upon a beautiful eminence," from which they could overlook the Pawnee Republic towns which, according to Lt. James B. Wilkinson, were:

. . . composed of the followers of a dissatisfied warrior [Iskatappe] who first made this establishment, and the adherents of a regular chief of the Grand Pawnees [Sharitarish] who migrated thither some few years since with his family, and usurped the power of the Republican warrior. To such a pitch does this party spirit prevail, that you easily perceive the hostility which exists between the adherents of the two chiefs.

Twelve Kansa arrived on September 26 to see Captain Pike. Two days later he called together the Osages of his party (Shingawasa and four warriors), and the Kansa (Wahonsongay and eight head men), counceled with them and "made them smoke of the pipe of peace." (See 1808 for the effective Osage-Kansa treaty.)

On September 29 occurred the grand council of the American party with the Pawnee Republic Indians (some 400 men), at which Captain Pike demanded that the Spanish flag displayed over the

chief's door be taken down and replaced by an United States flag. The Pawnees at first ignored the request but when the demand was repeated:

. . . After a silence of some time, an old man rose, went to the door, and took down the Spanish flag, and brought it and laid it . . . [at Pike's] feet; and then received the American flag, and elevated it on the staff. . . .

The Pawnees were appeased and generally satisfied when Pike returned the Spanish flag to their keeping.

Pike's determination to continue westward to the Arkansas headwaters, in opposition to Chief Sharitarish's wishes, created a tense situation for the Americans during the remainder of their stay. But, as Lieutenant Wilkinson reported it:

On the 6th of October we made some few purchases of miserable horses at the most exorbitant prices, and on the 7th, unmoved by the threats of the Chief . . . we marched in a close and compact body until we passed their village, and took the large Spanish beaten trace for the Arkansas river.

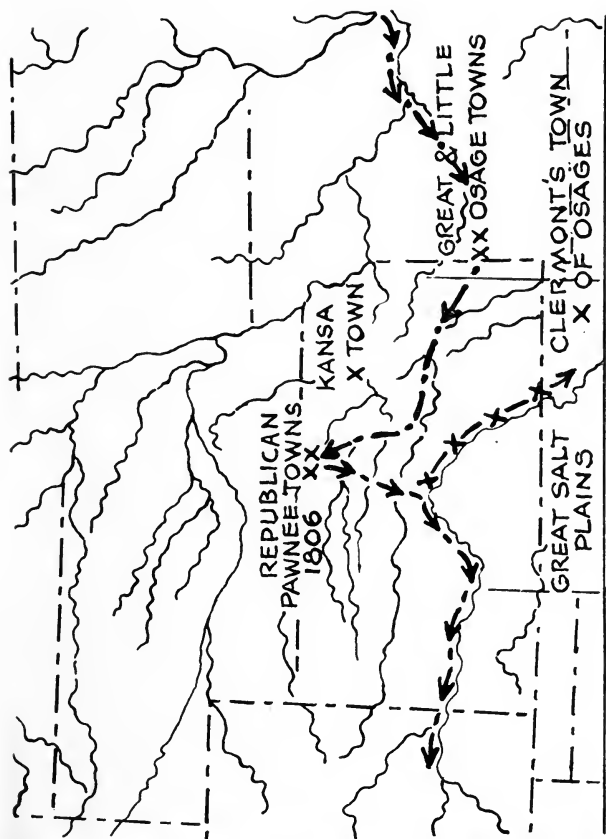
When some 300 Pawnees (on a buffalo hunt) overtook them on the 9th, Pike's resolute attitude again forestalled threatened trouble. He and his party continued south by west but after a time lost the Spanish trail (obliterated by a buffalo herd). Pike, Robinson, and Vasquez became separated from the others on October 15, but three days later found the company camped on the Arkansas [in the present Great Bend area]—a camp which was their headquarters for ten more days.

On October 28 Wilkinson's party (*see* second entry following) started *down* the Arkansas in two newly-made canoes (one from a cottonwood; the other of buffalo and elk skins); while Captain Pike with 16 men (and the horses) marched *up* the river toward the mountains, following the Spanish trail.

[The subsequent experiences of the expedition—the winter explorations (and terrible hardships) in the Colorado Rockies; Pike's months at Santa Fe and Chihuahua in Spanish custody; his eventual release (July 1, 1807) at Natchitoches—were also covered in Zebulon M. Pike's journal of July 15, 1806-July 1, 1807. That journal, supplemented by Pike's "Observations on . . . New Spain . . .," and his important maps and charts, was first published (at Philadelphia) in 1810 in a volume which included Pike's 1805-1806 journal of his voyage up the Mississippi to its sources.]

Appraising the country surrounding the "rivers Kanes, La Plate, Arkansas, and their various branches," Pike commented (journal entry of February 5, 1807):

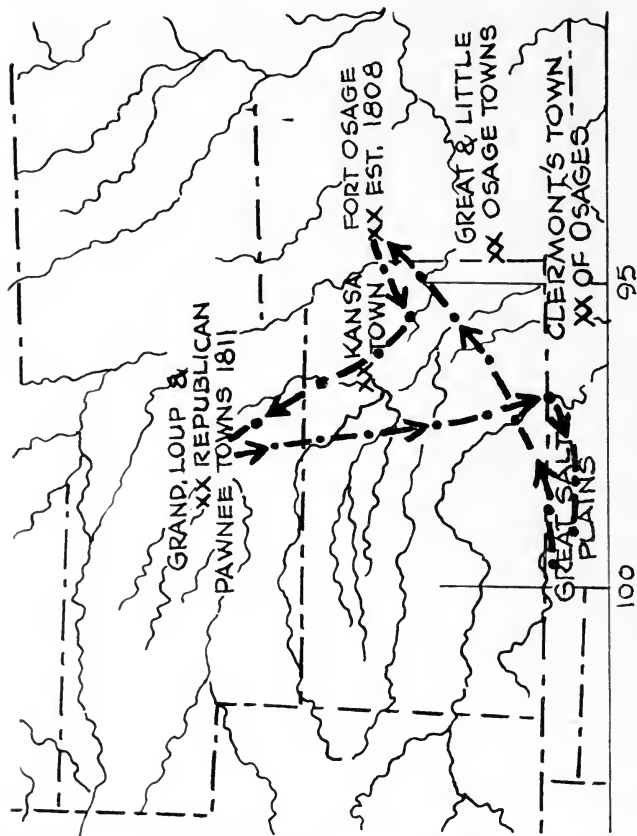
. . . it appears to me to be only possible to introduce a limited population. The inhabitants would find it most to their advantage to pay attention to the rearing of cattle, horses, sheep and goats: all of which they can raise in abundance, the earth producing spontaneously sufficient for their support. . . .



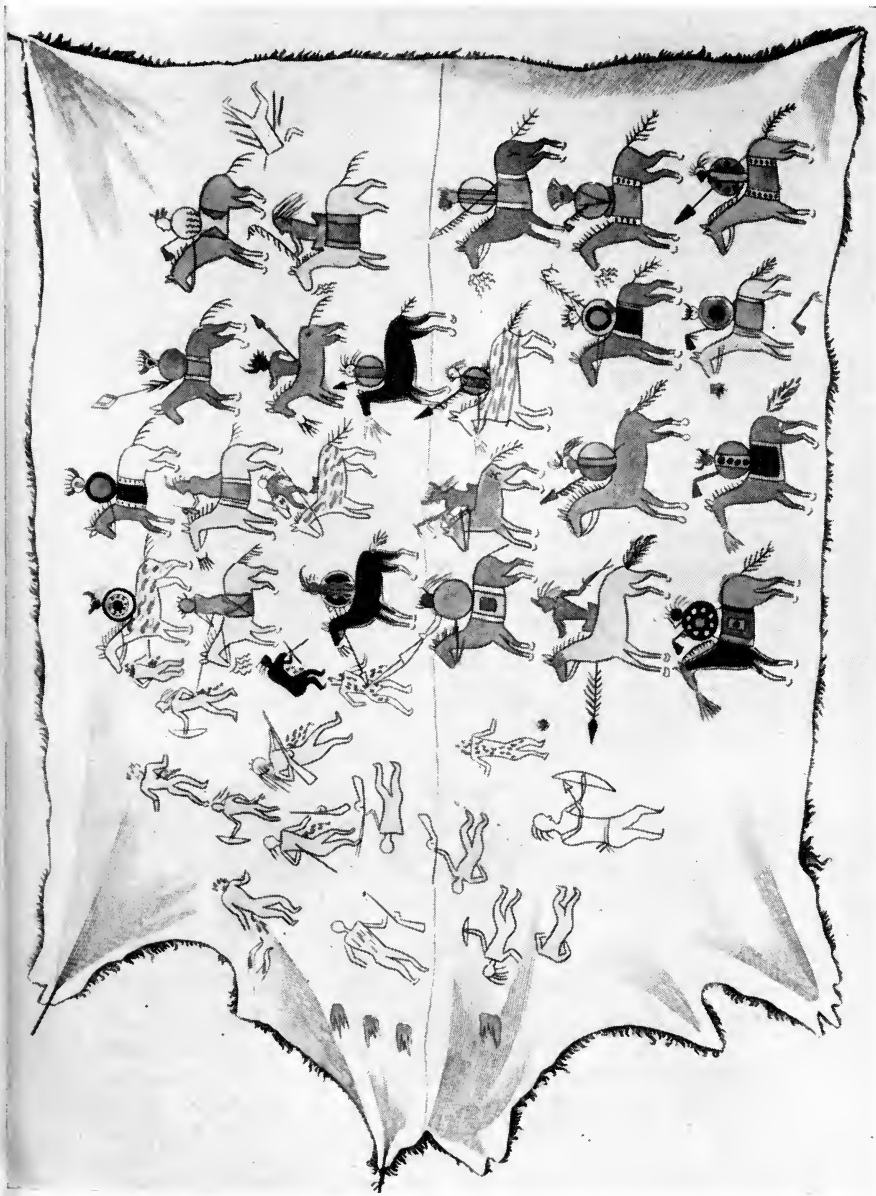
100

95

Between September and November, 1806, Capt. Zebulon M. Pike, First U. S. infantry, spent eight weeks or more in present Kansas. His Osage guides, on the journey to the Republican Pawnees' town on the Republican river, carefully avoided the country of the Kansa—their enemies. (But Pike arranged a tentative Osage-Kansa peace treaty while at the Pawnee village when a small party of Kansa visited him there.)



Between May and July, 1811, George C. Sibley, Fort Osage factor, spent about six weeks in present Kansas. With Osage companions he visited the Kansas and the Pawnees. (In the five-year interval—1806-1811—notable changes had occurred: the Republican Pawnees had moved to the Loup Fork of the Platte; Fort Osage had been established; and a permanent Kansa-Osage peace had been effected—through Sibley's efforts.)



Pawnee pictograph of a Pawnee-Kansa battle which occurred (at some time prior to 1819) when 18 Kansa warriors, approaching a Pawnee town on foot to steal horses and take scalps, were discovered, attacked, and killed to the last man in a stubborn fight, by a larger, mounted band of Pawnees. (See, also, the following page.)

Auguste P. Chouteau (headed west with Jules de Mun and some trappers) first crossed present Kansas in the fall of 1815. His fight with Pawnees during an early-1816 trip down the Arkansas led to the naming of "Chouteau's Island" in what is now Kearny county. Returning to the mountains, Chouteau, de Mun, and party fell into Spanish hands during the winter of 1816-1817; were jailed for 48 days; had their furs, equipment, and best horses confiscated. Chouteau then concentrated on trade with the Osage Indians. In 1821 (and probably in earlier years) he accompanied the Osages on their summer hunt in what is now Kansas.



← Photograph of a hand-colored engraving which reproduced Artist Titian R. Peale's 1819 sketch of the Pawnee artist's pictograph portrayed in bright red, yellow, green, and black on a buffalo robe presented to Agent Benjamin O'Fallon at a Pawnee council in 1819. The engraving was published in 1822 in the volume of maps and illustrations which accompanied the first (1823) edition of Edwin James' *An Account of an Expedition* [by Maj. S. H. Long] *From Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*.

Sixteen of the Pawnees are armed with shields. The heads of many of them are decorated with buffalo horns and feathers, or feathers only. They are armed with spears, battle axes, and one or two with firearms. One carries a flag of feathers; another a whip. In the original pictograph the Pawnee figures were marked so they could be identified. Many of the horses are shown with human scalps hanging from their mouths (a common ornament for warriors' horses); two have brands. The Kansa are armed with bows and arrows, and firearms. Nine are shown headless; wounds are indicated by the flowing of blood from the wounded part.

Of the great untimbered area he had traversed, it was Pike's opinion:

. . . These vast plains of the western hemisphere may become in time equally celebrated with the sandy deserts of Africa. . . . But from these immense prairies may arise one great advantage to the United States, viz., the restriction of our population to some certain limits, and thereby a continuation of the union. . . .

¶ Nearing home after two years of travel and exploration in the West, the Lewis and Clark expedition, descending the Missouri, passed by the mouth of the Kansas at 11 A. M. on September 15. It was reported "very low at this time." Next day they met a boat with eight traders bound for the Pawnee village "on the river Platte about seventy or eighty miles from its mouth," and two hours later "a batteaux and two canoes going up to the Kanowas [Kansa] nation" on the Kansas river. (While coming down the Missouri, the Lewis and Clark expedition met, in all, 11 trading parties bound upstream.)

Ref: Thwaites' . . . *Journals of Lewis and Clark* . . . , v. 5, p. 385; Patrick Gass' *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels* . . . *Under the Command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke* . . . (Pittsburgh, 1807), p. 261.

¶ Lt. James B. Wilkinson, five soldiers, and two Osages left Pike's Arkansas river camp [in the present Great Bend area] on October 28 and started downstream in two makeshift canoes. In the shallow water the boats soon grounded and had to be pushed or dragged along the river bed. After a severely cold night, the Arkansas was so full of ice they could not proceed. Abandoning the canoes, they set out October 31, to "course the river by land," their only provisions "half a dozen tin cups of hard corn for each man."

They marched for a week through a desolate area, but on November 8 came to the region of game, where, according to Wilkinson:

. . . the herds of buffalo, elk, goat [antelope], and deer, surpassed credibility. I do solemnly assert, that if I saw one I saw more than nine thousand buffaloes during the day's march.

A week later, finding timber of sufficient size, they stopped to construct canoes, and to hunt for a "winter store of meat." When they set out again ten days later, shallow water again slowed their progress. They passed the "Negracka" [*i. e.*, the Ninnescah—in present Sumner county] on the 26th. A canoe-upset on November 28 caused them to lose most of their meat and ammunition. But they met a party of Great Osages on the 30th [probably south of the Kansas-Oklahoma boundary] and camped with them till December 2. (Wilkinson marched 20 miles across a prairie to visit The Wind, Little Osage chief, lying ill in a winter village.)

On December 23, after three weeks of severe hardship, Wilkinson and his half-frozen men reached the winter camp of the "Arkansas band" of Osages (whose permanent village was on the Verdigris—near present Claremore, Okla.). Four days later they passed the mouths of the Verdigris and the Grand. Making better time on the lower river, and in milder weather, they reached Arkansas Post on January 9, 1807.

Ref: Wilkinson's report, dated April 6, 1807 (written at New Orleans where he had arrived in February), published in Appendix to editions of Z. M. Pike, *op. cit.*

1807

¶ On March 3 Meriwether Lewis was commissioned (by President Jefferson) governor of the Territory of Louisiana, to succeed General Wilkinson. On March 7 William Clark was appointed (by the secretary of war) agent of Indian affairs for the nations (except the Osages) in the Territory of Louisiana. Pierre Chouteau's authority (*see* 1804), on the same date, was limited to the agency for the Great and Little Osage Indians. (Chouteau continued as Osage agent till 1818.)

Ref: *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 14, pp. 107-110, v. 15, p. 384.

¶ Manuel Lisa's first upper Missouri trading expedition (42 men in a keelboat) left St. Louis early in May and went far upriver. After successfully negotiating with the Aricara Indians, who threatened trouble, Lisa ascended to the Yellowstone river, went up it to the mouth of the Big Horn and established a fur post—Fort Manuel [in present Montana].

(Lisa's party, with a load of furs, returned to St. Louis in the summer of 1808.)

Ref: *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, Lincoln, v. 20, p. 1; *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, v. 2, pp. 201, 202.

¶ About 95 persons were in an expedition which ascended the Missouri in the summer. They included young Auguste P. Chouteau's party of 32 (intending to trade with the Mandans); "young" Dorion's outfit of ten (headed for the Sioux country); Mandan chief Shahaka and party, also 24 Sioux Indians (all homeward-bound); and a military escort for the Indians (Lt. Joseph Kimball, Ens. Nathaniel Pryor, and some 20 men).

The Sioux were returned safely to their country. But when Ensign Pryor and troops (with the Mandans), in company with Chouteau's traders, reached the Aricara village in September, those Indians (and Sioux cohorts) forced a fight, and the retreat of the whole party. Chouteau lost four? men, and several in the expedition were

wounded. (Chief Shahaka was returned to St. Louis. He finally reached home in 1809.)

Ref: *Annals of Iowa*, Des Moines, 3d ser., v. 1 (1895), pp. 615-619; W. B. Douglas' editorial note in Thomas James' *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans* (St. Louis, 1916), p. 258; H. M. Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1935), v. 1, pp. 119-123.

¶ Francis Derouen [Dorion], to trade with the "Kaas [Kansa], Ottoes and Panis," and Pierre Montardy, to trade with the Kansa, were granted licenses on August 24. One-year hunting licenses on the Kansas river were given to B. and J. Vallett (on August 31); to Lebeeche and Derchette, and Louis Gonoville (on September 12).

(The trading license lists for the April-September, 1808, period contained no reference to the Kansa or their river. But Dorion apparently traded with the Kansa in the winter of 1809-1810. In 1819, "Mr. Gunville" [Louis?], a French trader, was living in the Kansa village when Say's party was there in August. See, under 1819.)

Ref: T. M. Marshall, ed., *The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates* (St. Louis, 1926), v. 1, pp. 202, 204, v. 2, pp. 31-33; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 34, p. 453.

1808

¶ Gov. Meriwether Lewis, on July 1, wrote the secretary of war concerning frontier problems:

The Kanzas, Panis Republic, a considerable body of the Great Panis, the Woolf Panis, Mahas and Poncarras have all declared in favour of the Spaniards. Our friends on the west side of the Missouri are consequently reduced to the little Osages, the White Hair's party [of Big Osages], the Ottoes, Missouries and a part of the Big Panis [Grand Pawnees], not amounting to more perhaps than one thousand warriors, and those even doubtful unless measures be taken to retain them by establishing trading posts on the Missouri. . . . last winter the Mahas killed two engages, robbed their traders and sent me an insolent message. the Kanzas have also robbed their traders and have been extremely insolent. . . .

The Osages generally, the Kanzas, Panis republic, and a majority of the Great Panis are by appointment at this time assembled at the Great Saline about 300 miles West of the Osage villages. The purpose of this meeting is to hold a council with the Spaniards and as it is understood by invitation of the latter. . . .

Ref: *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 14, pp. 198, 199. (The Great Salt Plains meeting was probably in Alfalfa or Woodward county of present Oklahoma.)

¶ In the early autumn, Capt. Eli B. Clemson's company of First U. S. infantry began work on a fortification (Fort Osage) on a 70-foot-high bluff of the Missouri about 340 river miles above St. Louis, and over 40 miles by water below the mouth of the Kansas. This post (first called Fort Clark) was on a site chosen by William Clark (who also supervised the start of its construction). Established for the protection of the Osage Indians, it was formally

named Fort Osage on November 10. Clemson's company garrisoned the post while George C. Sibley, as factor, ran the government's trading post.

(Evacuated in June, 1813, as a War of 1812 tactic, Fort Osage was reoccupied in 1815. Until 1819 a few troops were stationed there. In 1822 the government factory system was discontinued, and in 1825 the post was abandoned officially.)

Ref: *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, v. 1, p. 765; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 34, pp. 439-488 (for Kate L. Gregg's "The History of Fort Osage"), v. 54, pp. 343, 344. (Today, an authentic reconstruction of Fort Osage [with block houses, factor's house, officers' quarters, barracks, interpreter's house, and stockade] stands on the original site near Sibley, Mo.) According to a table of distances on the Missouri (published in B. F. French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana* [Philadelphia, 1850], pt. 2, p. 300), based on findings of Long, Nicollet, and others, from the mouth of the Missouri to Fort Osage (at low water) was 340 miles, and from the fort to the mouth of the Kansas was 42 miles. Other tables vary considerably.

¶ At the new post Fort Clark (Fort Osage) on September 27, Factor George C. Sibley counceled with chiefs and warriors of the Osage and Kansa tribes. The Indians smoked the peace pipe and effected what proved to be a permanent peace between their nations. Also, the Kansa professed to be sorry for past offenses (especially the ill treatment given their traders), and Sibley granted them permission to move near the fort. On October 10 about 1,000 Kansa arrived in the vicinity and soon began trading. Six days later their "insolent and violent conduct" caused the factor to bar them from the post.

(William Clark reported, from St. Louis on December 2, that "strong and well built" Fort Osage was nearly completed; and that Sibley's policy of refusing to trade with the Kansa was having "a very good effect," and they were "becoming verry humble" and had "given up several horses, to pay for the horses and property which they have robbed the citizens of this Territory of lately.")

(Ref: *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 34, p. 445; *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 14, p. 242.

¶ On November 10 (about the time "Fort Clark" became Fort Osage) a treaty was concluded at the new post between the Osage Indians (Great and Little) of the Osage river country, and the United States (Pierre Chouteau acting for the government).

In return for the friendship and protection of the United States, a small annuity, and other promised aid, the Indians ceded millions of acres of land in present Missouri and Arkansas. In what is now Missouri they retained only a strip along the western boundary (the area south of the Missouri river and west of a line running straight south from Fort Osage).

First to sign for the Great Osages was their grand chief Papuisea

(White Hair). Nicheumaneé (the Walking Rain) led the Little Osage signers.

(On August 31, 1809, the "Arkansas band" of Osages [on the Verdigris, near present Claremore, Okla.] had the treaty read and explained to them by Gov. Meriwether Lewis. The first to sign was Clermont. Casheseagra, nominal leader, was the second signer. The United States ratified the treaty on April 28, 1810.)

Ref: C. J. Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), v. 2, pp. 95-99; Kate L. Gregg, ed., *Westward With Dragoons* . . . (Fulton, Mo., 1937), pp. 69-75; *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, v. 1, pp. 763, 764; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 54, p. 343.

1809

¶ The St. Louis Missouri Fur Company (an association of former fur trade rivals, organized in the winter of 1808-1809) sent its first expedition up the Missouri in the summer, to establish trading posts on the river's upper waters.

Pierre Chouteau headed the expedition (of about 150 men, in ten goods-loaded boats), but comembers Manuel Lisa (soon the company's dominant figure), Andrew Henry, Pierre Menard, and Auguste P. Chouteau were in the party; as were, also, 17-year-old Auguste A. and Paul Liguette Chouteau (cousins); and a Doctor Thomas (who kept a journal of the trip). Aboard, too, was Mandan chief Shahaka's party, homeward bound.

Reaching Fort Osage on July 8, they found (as Pierre Chouteau later reported) "the Panis, Otto and Kansas tribes . . . waiting . . . with loud Complaints because there were no merchants among them, and praying that some might be sent."

Moving on, the expedition reached the Platte on August 1; continued, with no particular trouble, to the Mandan nation and delivered Shahaka and party safely home in the latter part of September. Henry, Menard, and most of the trappers remained in the upper Missouri country, but Lisa, the Chouteaus, and Surgeon Thomas returned to St. Louis in November.

(William Clark, Benjamin Wilkinson, Reuben Lewis, Sylvestre Labbadie, and William Morrison were other members of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company. After three years of moderate success there was a reorganization under the name "Missouri Fur Company.")

Ref: *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 14, pp. 343-352; Thomas James, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-92; *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, v. 2, p. 202; *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, p. 2 (for a part of Doctor Thomas' journal). In the Kansas State Historical Society's manuscript collection are two volumes of Missouri Fur Company records. One contains the original "Articles of Association" (January 24, 1812) and board meeting minutes (January, 1812-January, 1814), together with signatures of the members; the other is an account book.

¶ By a route later described by John Shaw as in the vicinity of the 37th parallel [the Kansas-Oklahoma boundary of today], Shaw, Peter Spear, and William Miller traveled overland with pack horses from the Cape Girardeau (Mo.) area to within sight of the Rocky mountains in the spring and summer of 1809?. Hostile Indians thwarted their plan to continue to the Pacific. Returning to what is now "eastern Kansas, and western Arkansas, and Missouri" they hunted till the spring of 1811?. Moving their furs and a quantity of bear oil by pack horses to the White river headwaters, the trio made canoes and journeyed down the White, Arkansas, and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans.

Ref: *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 2, pp. 199-201 (for Shaw's reminiscences, 1855). See, also, *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, St. Louis, v. 4, p. 197.

¶ J. McLanahan, Reuben Smith, and James Patterson, with a Spanish guide, left the Ste. Genevieve (Mo.) area in November, on a trading venture to New Mexico. (Their route is not known.) In the summer of 1810 they were arrested by the Spanish on the headwaters of Red river, taken to Chihuahua (Mexico), and imprisoned for two years.

Ref: Appendix to Thomas James, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-292; *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 5, p. 170.

1810

¶ The advance party of the "overland" Astorians (John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company men) started up the Missouri in three boats on October 21. Arriving in mid-November at a point above the mouth of the Nodaway [and across-river from present northeast Doniphan county] they encamped for the winter. There were over 40 men in the party, led by Wilson P. Hunt, with copartners Ramsey Crooks, Donald McKenzie, and Joseph Miller. Another partner, Robert McClellan, soon joined them.

Leaving the Nodaway camp on January 1, 1811, Hunt and eight other men walked to Fort Osage, where Hunt obtained horses and reached St. Louis on January 20. His recruiting of more personnel, and other preparations for an early spring start upriver, were only slightly hampered by the delaying tactics of rival fur trader Manuel Lisa (of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company).

Ref: Washington Irving's *Astoria* . . . (Philadelphia, 1836), v. 1.

1811

¶ On the present Oregon coast, the *Tonquin*, carrying an Astor-financed Pacific Fur Company expedition, arrived at the mouth of the Columbia river in late March (after a journey from New York around South America), and, in mid-April, a trading post—Astoria—was begun.

Ref: *Ibid.*

¶ The "overland" Astorian expedition, led by Wilson P. Hunt, started up the Missouri from St. Charles in four keelboats on March 14. Aboard as Hunt's guests for the river trip were two "scientific gentlemen"—English-born Thomas Nuttall, and Scottish-born John Bradbury (botanist and traveler). The latter's *Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811* (London, 1817) contained an account (largely in journal form) of the voyage upstream (and his journey back to St. Louis in mid-summer—*see* next entry). Bradbury made a brief reference to present northeast Kansas [the Doniphan area] when he wrote under date of April 15:

We passed the scite of a village which formerly belonged to the Kansas Indians. I had an opportunity of going ashore, and found the soil to have the appearance of the greatest fertility.

Two days later, across the river from what is now northeast Doniphan county, the Astorians reached the camp of the vanguard party which had wintered above the Nodaway's mouth. On April 21 the whole company (nearly 60 men) proceeded upstream. Six weeks later (on June 2), the one-boat expedition of Manuel Lisa (*see* next entry) caught up with them. After a truce was arranged between the rival fur company leaders, the two parties continued onward together to the Aricara village, arriving June 12.

The Astorians spent over a month outfitting for the overland journey to the Pacific. Their party of 60 men, with 82 horses, left the Aricara village on July 18. Six months later, after a journey of hardships and difficulties, most of the expedition reached Astoria (near the mouth of the Columbia river)—in January and February, 1812.

Ref: Bradbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-189; and Irving, *op. cit.*, v. 1, chs. 13-30, v. 2, chs. 1-8. In Irving's work, first published in 1836, is the most complete account of all phases of Astoria's history. (He had access to company records and available source materials in preparing his narrative.)

¶ With an inexperienced crew of 20 to handle his one keelboat, Manuel Lisa, and four other persons, started up the Missouri on April 2, some 23 days behind Hunt's larger and better-manned expedition. Since it was vital that his small St. Louis Missouri Fur Company party catch up with the Astorians before reaching hostile Sioux country, the journey was a race against time. Aboard as Lisa's guest was an American traveler and writer, Henry M. Brackenridge, whose journal of the voyage was later published in his *Views of Louisiana* . . . (Pittsburgh, 1814). He noted, on April 24 (as they neared Fort Osage):

Passed a canoe with four men, who had wintered up the Kansas, about five hundred miles: they had beaver, and other furs. . . .

On the afternoon of April 30 Brackenridge wrote that they:

. . . had a view of the old Kansas village . . . [the same Doniphan county scene commented on by his friend Bradbury of Hunt's party]. It is a high prairie; smooth waving hills, perfectly green, with a few clumps of trees in the hollows. But for the scarcity of timber this would be a delightful situation for a town. . . .

Over a month went by before Lisa's boat finally caught up (on June 2) with the Astorians. The rival fur traders agreed to a truce, and the combined force proceeded upriver, arriving at the Aricara village on June 12.

After supplying some horses (from his fur post above the Mandan village) to the Astoria-bound expedition, in trade for two of Hunt's no-longer-needed boats, Lisa arranged to send his company's collected furs downriver, placing the boats in Brackenridge's charge. John Bradbury and Amos Richardson were other passengers for the journey. Leaving the Aricara village on July 17, this small expedition reached St. Louis early in August, making the 1,440-mile trip in a little over two weeks.

Lisa (and also Thomas Nuttall of Hunt's party) remained in the Upper Missouri country, and Lisa eventually made rendezvous with his mountain partner Andrew Henry.

Ref: Brackenridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-264; Irving, *op. cit.*, v. 1, chs. 19-22.

Factor George C. Sibley, with a servant, two interpreters, and 11 Osages (one of them war chief Sans Oreille) left Fort Osage (Mo.) May 11 on a journey to the Kansa and Pawnee villages. His mounted party headed "South 60° West, about 75 miles, along the Osage Summer hunting trace," then "North 70° West, about 65 miles" to arrive on May 19 at the Kansas river bank opposite the Kansa village [two miles east of present Manhattan]. Of the surroundings on the latter stage of the journey [Wabaunsee and southeast Riley counties of today], Sibley wrote:

This [is] a very wild but extremely beautiful and high prairie country—pretty well watered and variegated with strips of woodland, ranges of lofty rugged, naked hills, overlooking extensive tracts of meadow ground. Deer and elk are plenty, and I observed some antelope skipping among the verdant hills.

Grand Chief Shone-ge-ne-gare and more than 100 mounted Kansa warriors forded the river to assist the party in the rather difficult crossing. At the 128-lodge village, Sibley found U. S. flags flying, and the Indians both hospitable and friendly. (He had recently had occasion to deal harshly with the Kansa, and the festive reception was a pleasant surprise.)

Sibley described, at some length, the scene about him (mistakenly referring to the near-by Big Blue tributary as the Republican fork!). The town, he wrote:

. . . is built without much regard to order; there are no regular streets or avenues. The lodges are erected pretty compactly together in crooked rows, allowing barely space sufficient to admit a man to pass between them. The avenues between . . . are kept in tolerably decent order and the village is on the whole rather neat and cleanly than otherwise. Their little fields or patches of corn, beans and pumpkins, which they had just finished planting, and which constitute their whole variety, are seen in various directions, at convenient distances around the villages. The prairie was covered with their horses and mules (they have no other domestic animals except dogs).

The "stout, hardy, handsome" Kansa were "fast reforming from their brutal state," but still at war with all their neighbors except the Osages (and only recently friends with them). He estimated they had "about 250 fighting men, with a full proportion of women and children."

With five Kansa added to his party, Sibley set out on May 22 for the Pawnee villages, traveling "North 40° West about 120 miles" [150?—it could have been no less in a straight line to the Platte] over a route "all prairie." Crossing the Platte "about 140 miles above its junction with the Missouri" he traveled 10[?] miles to the Loup fork, and forded it to reach the crowded 170-lodge village of three Pawnee bands (Grand and Republican) recently reunited under "venerable old Chief" Cher-a-ta-reesh (Sharitarish). [This Loup fork village may have been the "Horse Creek site," nine miles southwest of present Fullerton, Neb.] Two of the bands had lived until "about two years ago" on the "north branch of the Konsee River" [*i. e.*, the Republican] when "successive incursions of the Konsees obliged them to abandon their old towns."

Sibley (welcomed and well treated by the Pawnees) remained in the village from May 28 to June 4. When leaders of the Loup band (living some 10? miles upriver) arrived, he called a grand council, presented flags and medals to chiefs of the four Pawnee bands; and effected a treaty of peace between the Pawnees, and the Osages and Kansa.

On a course "south about 16° East" Sibley and his party then headed for the Little Osage summer hunting camp on the Arkansas river [probably entering present Kansas in Republic county]. They crossed the Republican and "two other considerable forks of the Konsee [the Solomon and the Saline] and a number of smaller streams that flow into them," and the "same range of hills that we crossed

fifty[?] miles southeast at the Konsee town." Sibley described the "enchancing prospects afforded from these heights":

. . . we overlooked a vast extent of level meadow ground to the North and Northeast, through which were to be traced a great number of rivulets and creeks, glittering in the sunshine and hastening to the main branches of the Konsee. Numerous herds of elk and antelope were frisking in the gay flowery plain, giving life and animation to the charming scene. From where we crossed the Konsee [*i. e.*, the Smoky Hill—in McPherson? county] to the Arkansas, it is about thirty-five miles and the country is much more level and less interesting. . . .

The day before reaching the Arkansas, Sibley's party came to a Kansa hunting camp "on a beautiful high spot near a small creek," and stopped overnight to help celebrate a successful kill of more than 100 "fat buffaloes." Among the Little Osages (whose camp on the river—in Reno?, or Sedgwick? county—was reached the next afternoon), Sibley spent some ten days—part of the time on the march as the Indians moved "south 50° west about thirty miles to a small prairie creek, south of the Arkansas."

From that place he rode "south 40° east" for 30 miles, to the Great Osage camp; and the next day (after a ride of "20 miles south 15° east") reached a third Osage camp—that of the "Arkansas band." With eight men (six of them Osages), Sibley then set out on a nearly-due-west course for the Grand Saline some 40 miles away. After a tour of the Saline [in present Alfalfa? county, Okla.] about June 24, he returned to the Little Osages' camp. (They had moved, meantime, near the Grand Saline and may have been on the Salt fork of the Arkansas.) Sibley, his servant, and Sans Oreille then accompanied a "war party" of 94 Little Osages on a journey of about 75 miles "south 40° West" to visit the famed Rock Saline, or "Salt Mountain."

Following this final excursion into present northern Oklahoma, Sibley began the trip (of some 300? miles) back to Fort Osage, arriving on July 11—after a two-months' and around 1,000-mile journey.

Ref: Sibley's diary, as printed in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 5, pp. 196-218; W. R. Wedel's . . . *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology* (Washington, 1959), pp. 41, 42; George E. Hyde's *Pawnee Indians* (Denver, c1951), p. 105. Sibley's too-conservative mileage estimates are not compatible with actual distances traveled in any instance where comparison can be made.

¶ Scientific traveler-geographer-author Alexander von Humboldt's *Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne* was published in Paris during the year; and in New York an English translation of his compendious *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* also appeared. In the atlas volume was Humboldt's map of

New Spain (drawn in Mexico in 1803)—the first map to present a reasonably accurate geographical view of the American southwest of today.

In writing of the province of Nuevo Mexico, Humboldt stated that within its bounds were three villas (towns), 26 pueblos (villages), three parishes, 19 missions, and no ranchos (solitary farms). He gave population figures of the towns as: Santa Fe 3,600, Albuquerque 6,000, and Taos 8,900.

Ref: Humboldt's work, American edition (as noted above), v. 2, p. 216 (for the statistics).

1812

¶ Early in May a trading expedition (two boats) of Manuel Lisa's Missouri Fur Company started up the Missouri. Clerk John C. Luttig kept a journal of the voyage (and later events) which included these June entries:

Monday. 8th fine weather, at 8 A. M. a fair Breeze sprung up. though feeble, we made 18 Miles distance, Killed 3 Deer 3 Bear, caught 17 fish, camped 2 Miles below the old Cansas Village [in Salt creek valley, Leavenworth county]. . . . [On the 9th they "made only 9 miles," but traveled 19 miles on June 10.]

Thursday the 11th, fine weather head wind but still, all hunters out, passed the upper old Cansas Village [present Doniphan area], Killed 7 Deer, distance 15 Miles. [By the 18th they had reached the mouth of Wolf river—in northeast Doniphan county—where they camped on a sand bar.]

Indian harassments (British-influenced) evidently forced an end to the Missouri Fur Company's upper river activities in the late winter of 1812-1813. (Luttig's journal ended abruptly March 3.) The *St. Louis Missouri Gazette* of June 5, 1813, reported Manuel Lisa's recent arrival from the Mandan villages; and indicated that the Aricaras, Cheyennes, Gros Ventre, Crows, and Arapahoes were arrayed on the side of the British who were inciting them to war against the Americans.

Ref: Stella M. Drumm, ed., John C. Luttig's *Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri 1812-1813* (St. Louis, 1920), pp. 14, 15, 36.

¶ Robert McKnight, James Baird, Samuel Chambers, and nine? others, left the Missouri settlements in May on a trading expedition to New Mexico. (They were at Fort Osage on June 4.) Following Pike's directions (but by a route not recorded) they made their way safely to Santa Fe, only to be jailed as spies, and their goods seized. Most (or all?) members of the party were held in a Chihuahua prison for nine years—released only when the Mexican revolution of 1821 succeeded.

Ref: *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, v. 4, pp. 207-213; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 34, pp. 455, 456; Luttig, *op. cit.*, editorial note on pp. 35, 36; *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 15, pp. 173-189.

¶ By congressional act of June 4, the Territory of Louisiana became the Territory of Missouri, with Benjamin Howard as first governor. (The change of name was necessitated when the Territory of Orleans was admitted to the Union as the state of Louisiana on April 8.) Missouri territory's population, as of 1810, was close to 20,000. On July 1, 1813, following Howard's resignation, William Clark was appointed governor and served till Missouri became a state in 1820.

Ref: *Historic Missouri* (Columbia, Mo., c1959), p. 12; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 54, p. 279.

¶ The United States declared war on England on June 18. (The "War of 1812" lasted for two and a half years, officially ending with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent on December 24, 1814.)

¶ Published during the year was the sixth edition of Jedidiah Morse's *The American Universal Geography* (first issued in 1789). Morse, the "father of American geography," made use of the latest information he could find on the Missouri and Arkansas rivers. But he devoted part of his comment on the Missouri to criticism of Lewis and Clark:

Had that [exploration] been made by men whose science, judgment, and accuracy could be relied on, we should have no difficulty in giving a complete description of the Missouri. But the latitude and longitude of no one place is calculated; a connected chain of distances is not given; nor are we informed on what authority a great many facts, which the travelers did not witness, are reported. . . . We ourselves believe, that the length of the Missouri . . . is, probably about 2400 miles. The waters of this river are remarkable for their muddiness and salubrious qualities. . . . The Missouri being much larger than the Mississippi branch some modern geographers are beginning to give the whole river the name of Missouri, which is probably its proper name. . . .

And from Morse's geography, students of the 1812 era learned that:

The Arkansas . . . is navigable 500 or 600 miles. It rises in Mexico. Humboldt [see 1811] supposes that it may be the same with Napestle [first mentioned in this chronology under 1706], a river which rises, according to his map, in lat. 40° N., lon. 106° W. . . . and pursues for a while a S. E. course towards the Mississippi. The Arkansas having been explored a great distance, is found to run where it should have been expected to run, if it were a continuation of the Napestle, and no other outlet for this last is known. If this be its real source, the Arkansas must be at least 1500 miles long.

Ref: Morse's . . . *Geography*, 6th ed. (1812), v. 1, pp. 122, 123, 598. In defense of Lewis and Clark, it should be noted that the complete narrative of their expedition was not published until 1814; however, some of Morse's comments have been echoed by other critics. One (W. P. Webb, in his *The Great Plains* [1936], pp. 143, 144) has referred to the explorers' journals as "meager and unsatisfactory," and noted their "lack of specific detail," the "vagueness," etc.

1812-1813

¶ Between June 29, 1812, and April 30, 1813, young Robert Stuart (eastbound with reports for John J. Astor in New York), and a small party (seven in all) of "returning Astorians" made a hazardous, difficult journey up the Columbia, across the Rocky Mountains (of eastern Oregon, Idaho, and Wyoming of today), down the Sweetwater to the North Platte, down the Platte to the Otoe village (some 45 miles above the mouth), and by canoe down the Missouri to St. Louis. (The total distance, by Stuart's calculation, 3,768 miles.)

Stuart's party (Ramsey Crooks, Robert McClellan, Joseph Miller, and three hunters) may have been the first white men to cross the Continental Divide by way of South Pass (or in its vicinity). It was the first to discover and use the Sweetwater-North Platte route which later became a section of the famed Oregon trail. Robert Stuart has been credited as "the first to find and follow a route from the Pacific to St. Louis that could be utilized by wagon trains."

He kept a journal (rewritten and expanded between 1813-1821 as "Traveling Memoranda") which included observations on various Indian tribes. During the last stage of the trip, as his party traveled by canoe down the Missouri in April, 1813, a stop was made at Fort Osage (Mo.) on April 24 and 25. That post, commented Stuart, was chiefly for the Osage Indians but:

. . . has been the means of reducing the turbulent Kanzas to a proper sense of the true relation in which Indians stand with their civilized neighbors.

The "returning Astorians" reached St. Louis May 2, and Stuart continued eastward to New York.

Ref: K. A. Spaulding, ed., *On the Oregon Trail* [Robert Stuart's "Traveling Memoranda"] . . . (Norman, Okla., c1953).

1813

¶ By canoe, trapper Ezekiel Williams set out alone from an Arapahoe camp on the Arkansas headwaters the first of March, in an attempt to reach Missouri territory. He left behind two companions (in the camp) and a cache of furs (in the mountains of present Colorado). Trapping as he proceeded down the Arkansas, Williams traveled for some 400 miles—till shallow water halted his progress. When the spring rise came (around June 1) he continued his river journey and was "within about 150 miles of the Verdigrise" [and apparently in present southern Kansas] when captured, on June 23, by a party of Kansa. As reported (in November) by Factor George C. Sibley, of Fort Osage, the Indians:

. . . robbed him of all he had with him, and very much abused him, as he says, and kept him prisoner to about the 15 Augt. when they released him and restored the greater part of his property. The balance (except a few articles they deny having taken) I have this day [November 30] caused the Kansas to refund and pay for.

(Ezekiel Williams had become a "mountain man" when he went up the Missouri with the fur company expedition of 1809?, or 1811?. After two? winters on the upper Missouri he accompanied a party of trappers Manuel Lisa sent southward towards the Arkansas headwaters. When Indian harassment began, following their first winter in the Arapahoe country, the trappers separated. Some were killed by Indians. Williams, and two others, finally took refuge in an Arapahoe village during the winter of 1812-1813.)

Ref: *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 4, pp. 194-208; Luttig, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19, 35; *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, v. 8, pp. 17-33.

¶ As late as September, 1811, there were only three bands of Osages. George C. Sibley called them the Bar-har-che (Great Osages), the Eu-jet-ta (Little Osages)—both living on the Osage river [in present Vernon county, Mo.]; and the Cha-neers (the Arkansas band) dwelling on the Arkansas [*i. e.*, on the Verdigris, near present Claremore, Okla.]. He also commented that the Osages were all "friendly and intimately connected" and the terms "Great" and "Little" referred only to the size of their towns—not to their "personal corporosity."

But Agent Pierre Chouteau's 1813 report (dated July 29) indicated a change had occurred. The Little Osages had left their "ancient village" [perhaps in 1812?]. One band (about 60 men) had reunited with the Great Osages [a move of not more than six miles]. The other band (about 150 men) was "on the great river a Branch of the arkansas River" [the Grand or Neosho—in present Neosho? county, Kansas].

When, in 1815, the west-bound Chouteau-de Mun party was at the Great Osage village, de Mun wrote (in his journal, on October 2) that it was so called "to distinguish it from that belonging to the Little Osage, and that of the Grosse Côte [Big Hill]" [The Big Hill band later lived near Clermont's town.] He then confirmed the residence of the Little Osages on the Neosho [in present Kansas] in his journal (October 13):

. . . towards eleven o'clock we arrived at the *Grande Rivière*, which hunters called the *Nioncho* [Neosho or Grand] on the western bank of which is situated Liguette's Village [Paul Liguette Chouteau, Osage subagent, and trader] which we found deserted, the Indians having gone to hunt. This village is charmingly situated. . . .

And, in 1816, on his return journey through the same area, de Mun wrote (on March 26):

About two o'clock we reached the Nioncho; near the village we recognized an Osage family who told us that the old[!] village was no longer inhabited, that they had made a new one about two miles lower down. . . .

Gov. William Clark reported, in 1816, that the Great Osages on the Osage river numbered 1,600; that there were 1,800 Little Osages on the Neosho river; and that the "Arkansas band" on the Verdigris had increased to 2,600 persons.

Ref: *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 5, p. 212 (Sibley); Superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, "Records" (in Kansas Historical Society, Ms. div.), v. 2, pp. 21-24 (Chouteau); *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 5, pp. 191, 192, 315 (de Mun); Grant Foreman's *Indians and Pioneers* . . . (New Haven, 1930), pp. 26, 27. See, under 1820, changes among the Osages in the 1814-1820 period.

1814

¶ Heading west to recover his cached furs (*see* 1813), Ezekiel Williams and two companions (Morris May, Braxton Cooper) left the Missouri settlements in mid-May and journeyed across present Kansas, following up the Arkansas to its headwaters.

Traveling in company were Joseph Philibert and his party of 18 hunters, bound for the Arapaho country on a trapping and trading venture. (Philibert returned to Missouri territory in 1815 to get pack horses, and supplies, for his men in the mountains.)

On the upper Arkansas, Williams retrieved his furs and hired Michael LeClerc (of Philibert's party) as an extra hand for the homeward trip. (He had learned from the Arapahoes that the two companions of 1812-1813 he had left at their village were dead—killed by Indians.)

Williams, May, Cooper, and LeClerc brought the peltries down the Arkansas for about 500 miles, but then were compelled to re-cache them [in southern Kansas?] because of low water, and continue homeward.

(Learning, during the winter, of a plot [involving Michael LeClerc] to steal the cached furs, Williams, together with Joseph and William Cooper [brothers of Braxton], went from the Missouri settlements, by way of the Little Osage village [in present Neosho? co., Kan.], to the cache early in 1815. When the spring rise came, Williams was able, at last, to take his furs down the Arkansas to "the settlement" [presumably Arkansas Post, about 55 or 60 river miles from the Mississippi].)

Ref: *Missouri Historical Collections*, v. 4, pp. 200, 205-207; Luttig, *op. cit.*, p. 155; *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, v. 8, pp. 17-33.

¶ Gov. William Clark wrote the secretary of war on September 18:

[The British] . . . are making great exertions to gain over the Osage, Kanzis, Ottoes, & Seioux of the Missouri, which I am trying to prevent.

To deal with more distant Indian tribes, Clark earlier had appointed Manuel Lisa subagent for the nations living on the Missouri

above the mouth of the Kansas. Lisa had gone upriver on his assignment August 14. (He continued as subagent till July, 1817.) An 1815 report on Indian agents stated that Manuel Lisa:

. . . has been of great service in preventing British influence the last year [1814] by sending large parties [of Indians] to war [against each other, or against tribes allied with the British, is implied].

Ref: *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 14, p. 787; *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, v. 2, p. 76; *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 3, p. 374. The treaty ending the War of 1812 was signed December 24, 1814.

¶ Published at Philadelphia during the year was a work entitled:

History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark, to the Sources of the Missouri, Thence Across the Rocky Mountains and Down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean. Performed During the Years 1804-5-6. . . .

With its printing, the explorers' narrative at last became available to the public in complete form. Accompanying it was:

"A Map of Lewis and Clark's Track, Across the Western Portion of North America From the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean . . . in 1804, 5 & 6. Copied by Samuel Lewis From the Original Drawing of W^m Clark."

More contemporaneous than its title indicated (William Clark had added data from Pike, the Astorians, etc., as current as 1812) this "cartographic achievement" was the "progenitor of many later maps, and one of the most influential ever drawn."

Ref: Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (San Francisco, 1957), v. 2, pp. 31, 57, 58, for map data and quote.

1815

¶ Between July 18 and September 16, at Portage des Sioux [on the west side of the Mississippi, not far above St. Louis], U. S. commissioners (Gov. William Clark, of Missouri territory; Gov. Ninian Edwards, of Illinois territory; and Auguste Chouteau, of St. Louis) negotiated treaties of peace and friendship with a number of Indian nations (most of whom had been allied actively with the British in the War of 1812). They were the Pottawatomie, Piankashaw, Teton, Sioux of the Lakes, Sioux of St. Peter's river, Yankton Sioux, Maha, Kickapoo, Great and Little Osage, Sac, Fox, and Iowa tribes. (Several more nations signed like treaties in 1816 and 1817.)

And at Spring Wells [near Detroit, Mich.] on September 8, other U. S. special agents made a peace-and-friendship treaty with the Wyandots, Delawares, Senecas, Shawnees, Miamis, Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies—nations living in Ohio and the territories of Indiana and Michigan.

The last of the 1815 treaties was negotiated at St. Louis—with the Kansa Indians—on October 28. (Edwards and Chouteau were agents for the government.) Nineteen chiefs and head men signed the document—the first formal peace agreement between the Kansa and the United States. The first seven Indian signers were: Cayezettanzaw (or the big chief), Needapy, Hazeware, Wahanzasby, Cayebasneenzaw (or the little chief), Manshenscaw (or the white plume), and Cayegettsazesheengaw (or the old chief).

Ref: C. J. Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), v. 2, pp. 110-124.

¶ In the autumn Auguste P. Chouteau and Jules de Mun obtained a trading license, outfitted a small expedition in St. Louis, and started for the Arapahoe country on the Arkansas headwaters. Their party included some independent hunters and a few Shawnee Indians. With them went Joseph Philibert (returning to his company of trappers in the mountains). On the way west, Chouteau and de Mun purchased of Philibert "his furs, goods, horses, &c., and the time of his men."

Their route took them by way of the Great Osage village [in present Vernon county, Mo.], and "Ligueste's Village" of Osages [see 1813] on the Neosho river. (They had entered present Kansas, presumably in Bourbon county, on October 12.) On the 21st they camped "on a fork of the Arkansas and in sight of that river" [probably the Little Arkansas, near present Wichita]. They followed up the Arkansas, and as de Mun reported:

It being late in the season, we had great difficulties to encounter; some of our horses giving out every day, we had to walk more than one-half of the way to the mountains, where we arrived on the 8th of December.

(Philibert's men were not at the rendezvous point—the mouth of Huerfano creek [some 20 miles below present Pueblo, Colo.]. In January, 1816, Jules de Mun went to New Mexico, located them, was well received in Santa Fe, and returned with the men to where Chouteau was camped in February.)

Ref: *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 5, pp. 167-208; *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 15, p. 85 (for trading license item).

1815-1816

¶ Caleb(?) Greenwood and three companions who had left "Boon's Lick" (Mo.) early in September "to hunt on one of the forks" of the Arkansas, joined forces *temporarily* with the Chouteau-de Mun party on November 27, 1815, when they met on the upper Arkansas.

On March 26, 1816, Jules de Mun apparently encountered Greenwood and his friends (who had recently arrived at the Little Osage village), when he reached the Neosho river [in present Neosho?

county] on his trip east [*see* next entry]. As de Mun somewhat skeptically recounted it, Greenwood's party had met a band of Pawnees:

. . . that they had pillaged them and taken even their rifles, that they had walked for 18 days [across present Kansas] to reach this village, eating only roots on the way. . . .

Ref: *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 5, pp. 171, 207, 208, 315.

1816

¶ Jules de Mun, Joseph Philibert, and some others, left the Chouteau-de Mun camp at the mouth of Huerfano creek [in present Colorado] on February 27, bound for Missouri territory. With pack horses and mules, they followed down the Arkansas (and across present Kansas) in March, finding the prairies barren of pasture for their horses, and proceeding sometimes at night to avoid Pawnee war parties.

On March 18 (the day they left the Arkansas and crossed to the Little Arkansas) they were near what is now Wichita. On the 26th they reached the Neosho, and on March 29 were at the Great Osage village. In April, after a 46-day journey, they arrived at St. Louis.

Ref: *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, v. 4, pp. 211-213; *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 5, pp. 174, 175, 311-318.

¶ Four young members of the Chouteau family were among those granted Indian trading licenses during the year:

License	Name(s)	To Trade With:
Mar. 12	Gabriel S. Chouteau (22, son of Auguste)	Sacs and Foxes on Osage river
June 13	Jules de Mun, and Pierre Chouteau, Jr. (27)	Arapahoes, Comanches, [Auguste P. Chouteau, 30, another son of Pierre, Sr., was de Mun's actual partner] etc.
Aug. 17	Gabriel S. and Francis G. Chouteau (19, son of Pierre, Sr.)	Osages, Kansa, and Pawnees
Aug. 17	Paul Liguette Chouteau (24, son of Pierre, Sr.)	Great and Little Osages

(Two more of Pierre Chouteau, Sr.'s., boys were yet to enter the Indian trade—Cyprian and Frederick, aged 14 and 7 in 1816.)

Ref: *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 15, pp. 190, 191; Paul Beckwith's *Creoles of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1893) for Chouteau family data.

¶ Probably as early as March, Auguste P. Chouteau and some 20? trappers left the upper Arkansas to bring down their furs. In present southwest Kansas, "Republican Pawnees, Ottos, and Rees," "about two hundred in number" attacked them. Taking refuge on a tree-covered island in the river [five miles southwest of present Lakin,

Kearny county] they "made a sort of rampart out of their packs, forming three small redoubts, with the horses in the intermediate space," and fought off the Indians. They "had one man killed and three wounded; five Pawnees remained on the spot, and a great many wounded." The refuge was known, thenceforth, as Chouteau's Island.

Being too early for a rendezvous (on the lower Kansas) with his partner de Mun, Chouteau continued down the Arkansas to the mouth of a fork [the Little Arkansas?] and established a camp [near present Wichita?].

On July 31 Jules de Mun (camped about seven miles above the mouth of the Kansas), learned the location of his "lost" partner. See next entry.

Ref: *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, v. 4, pp. 211-213; *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 5, pp. 323, 324. For text of the "Chouteau's Island" historical marker, see *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 10, p. 344; and see, also, v. 23, p. 145 (for note on the "island" today). On the location of Chouteau's Island see Kate Gregg, ed., *The Road to Santa Fe* . . . (Albuquerque, c1952), pp. 256, 257.

¶ Jules de Mun's west-bound party, heading for a Kansas river rendezvous with his partner Chouteau (bringing furs from the upper Arkansas), reached Fort Osage (Mo.) in early July. Some of his men had traveled up the Missouri in a barge; the rest, with the pack horses, made the journey from St. Louis overland. Several Kansa chiefs were at the fort, and one—White Plume—offered to go ahead with the pack horses to the river. De Mun and the rest of the company continued upriver in the barge, and entered the Kansas on the morning of July 11. They "went up about 3 leagues [seven or eight miles] as far as the big bank . . . [and then] were obliged to stop for lack of water."

They camped [probably on the south bank, a mile or so below, and across the river from, present Muncie, Wyandotte Co.]. De Mun noted in his journal: "The antelope seems to be in great abundance here; our men killed three." On July 13 White Plume and the party with the horses arrived. Baronet Vasquez and some others left on July 15 to go towards the Arkansas in search of de Mun's partner Chouteau. But it was White Plume, who, two weeks later, brought word (from the Little Osages) of Chouteau's location on a fork of the Arkansas [probably near present Wichita].

Chouteau apparently joined de Mun in August. The latter wrote: "At the Kansas river we found ourselves forty-five. We shipped the furs to St. Louis, and started again for the mountains." (No record of the journey has been found, but logically their route to the Great Bend of the Arkansas, from near the mouth of the

Kansas, would have been that of the pathway soon to be known as the Santa Fe trail.)

(The Chouteau-de Mun party reached the upper Arkansas, wintered in the mountains, and accumulated furs. On May 24, 1817, by order of the Spanish governor, the whole company was arrested, taken to Santa Fe, and imprisoned for 48 days. The furs and outfit were confiscated—de Mun estimated the loss at over \$30,000. Released from prison, the men were permitted to leave “each with one of the worst horses we had.”)

Ref: *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 5, pp. 318-326 (Jules de Mun's journal of June-August, 1816); *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, v. 4, pp. 209-213.

¶ By the Comanches' own estimate, 4,000 of their people died in a smallpox epidemic during the year.

(In 1804 Pierre Chouteau had estimated the Laytanne [Comanche] population as 15,000. Despite the 1816 losses, Lt. Col. William A. Trimble's 1818 report indicated they remained the “largest and most warlike nation” in the country.)

Ref: Nasatir, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 760 (for Chouteau); Jedidiah Morse's *A Report . . . on Indian Affairs* . . . (1822), p. 259 (for Trimble).

1817

¶ Indian trading licenses granted during the year included:

<i>Issued</i>	<i>Name(s)</i>	<i>To Trade With:</i>
Aug. 23	Chouteau & Rivar	Great and Little Osages
Sept. 4	Francis Chouteau	Kansa and Little Osages
Sept. 23	Hugh Glenn	Cherokees and Osages
Sept. 23	Joseph Robidoux & Co.	Indians on the Missouri and its waters
Sept. 30	Cyrus Curtis	Indians on the Missouri and its waters
Oct. 6	Joseph and Francis Robidoux	Great and Little Osages

Ref: *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 15, p. 378.

¶ At “Belle Point” on the Arkansas [near the western border of what, in 1819, became the territory of Arkansas], in December, Maj. Stephen H. Long selected a site for the military post which subsequently was named Fort Smith. (By 1822 it had been only partially completed.)

1817-1818

¶ The Western Cherokees (those Cherokees who had recently moved west of the Mississippi to the Arkansas river), with allied Delawares, Shawnees, Quapaws, and some Americans, went up to the Osages' country on the Verdigris and raided Clermont's village [near present Claremore, Okla.] in the absence of the warriors. It was reported they killed more than 80 old men, women, and children and took over 100 prisoners; as well as firing the town and destroying provisions. This occurred apparently in October, or early November.

(On October 6, 1818, at St. Louis, the Cherokees and their allies (of the one part) and the Big and Little Osages (of the other part) signed a peace-and-amity treaty. But warfare was soon renewed and continued, intermittently, for several years—see 1821-1822.)

Ref: R. G. Thwaites' *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, v. 17, pp. 19, 20; *American State Papers; Indian Affairs*, v. 2, p. 172; Superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, "Records," *loc. cit.*, v. 2, p. 93; Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

1818

¶ It was reported that some 400 Pawnees ambushed a party of Osages within 50 or 60 miles of the Arkansas in the spring, and only one of 48 Osage warriors escaped. In another spring engagement, seven of a party of Spaniards on a hunting expedition "in United States territory" [possibly in present Kansas] were killed by Pawnee Loups. A ten-year-old Spanish boy taken captive (to be used in a Loup sacrificial rite) was ransomed by a trader and subsequently purchased by Manuel Lisa.

Ref: *Missouri Gazette* . . ., St. Louis, June 19, 1818 (or, see *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 3, p. 388); Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 15, pp. 154, 155.

¶ Chiefs and head men representing four Pawnee bands journeyed to St. Louis in the late spring and signed a peace-and-friendship treaty with the United States (William Clark and Auguste Chouteau were the U. S. commissioners.) The Grand Pawnees signed on June 18; the "Noisy Pawnees" or Pitahauerats on June 19; the Pawnee Republic band on June 20; and the Pawnee Mahas (Loups) on June 22.

Ref: Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 156-159.

¶ On September 25, at St. Louis, William Clark negotiated a treaty with the Osages which, as he put it, ceded to the United States:

. . . the country North of Arkansas [river—in present Arkansas] from their old boundary line [of 1808], to the three forks [the treaty read ". . . up the Arkansas and Verdigris, to the falls of Verdigris river; thence eastwardly . . ."], with a width of Sixty Miles, which will include a large body of very fine land.

Ref: *Ibid.*, p. 167; *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 15, p. 454.

¶ When the Kansa visited Fort Osage in the fall, to trade, Factor George C. Sibley (acting on William Clark's orders) made a *provisional* (and never official) treaty with the chiefs and head men, on September 30, to buy a part of the lands claimed by the Kansa. The *western* limit of the area to be ceded was described as:

Beginning at the mouth of the Nodaway river on the Missouri [across from present northeast Doniphan county] and running from thence direct to the mouth of the River La Plane a Branch of the Kansas River [possibly the Delaware river of today], thence due South to the Neeozho river. . . .

The document provided some information about Kansa leaders of 1818. First to sign was Sho-ge-ne-gare (head chief), followed by Ca-he-ga-wa-ton-e-ga (a son of the head chief), Waw-kun-nicha (2d chief); warriors Big Neck [Long Neck?], Big Soldier, Petit ma[i]gre [Little thin one], and several others.

(Seven years elapsed before the signing of a treaty by which the Kansa actually ceded any lands claimed by them.)

Ref: Superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, "Records," *loc. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 127-136.

¶ Cantonment Martin (the first U. S. military post in present Kansas) was established in October, 1818, on the upper, timbered end of Isle au Vache or Cow Island [on the "Kansas" side of the Missouri's channel at that time; about equidistant from Atchison and Leavenworth of today].

Captains Wyly Martin (senior officer, for whom the post was named), Matthew J. Magee, and Bennet Riley, with three companies of riflemen, arrived in keelboats. A little earlier (by October 18), Sutler John O'Fallon and three Indians had reached Isle au Vache overland from Fort Osage (about 80 miles away), bringing cattle and horses. By mid-November the 260 troops (an advance battalion for the proposed "Yellowstone expedition" in 1819) had completed log warehouses and winter quarters. Hunting, both a sport and a necessity (to supplement meager rations), became the riflemen's chief occupation during the months Cantonment Martin was occupied. It was reported they killed "between two and three thousand deer, beside great numbers of bears, turkeys, etc."

Lt. Col. Willoughby Morgan arrived (overland from Fort Osage) on April 13, 1819, to take command at the post.

(For the first military post in present Kansas *see* 1744.)

Ref: "Napton Collection" (in the Society's manuscript division) for copies of O'Fallon letters (from the originals in the State Historical Society of Missouri); *KHC*, v. 1-2, p. 233, v. 8, pp. 436-441 (article on Isle au Vache); *KHQ*, v. 2, pp. 115, 116.

(Part Four Will Appear in the Winter, 1961, Issue.)

Some Notes on Kansas Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters—*Continued*

NYLE H. MILLER and JOSEPH W. SNELL

MASTERSON, WILLIAM BARCLAY—*Concluded*

(1853-1921)

AS FAR as Sheriff W. B. "Bat" Masterson was concerned the year 1879 started off auspiciously. On New Year's Day he journeyed to Trinidad, Colo., after one of the West's most wanted men, Dutch Henry.

This man was then considered to be one of the most successful horse thieves, escape artists, and all round outlaws in the West. His fame approached that of Jesse James and the Younger brothers back East. Naturally the capture of such a character would be quite a feather in most any law man's hat.

Officers of Trinidad arrested Henry on Bat's telegraphic request. When it was found that no money was offered the Trinidad police were reluctant to turn the prisoner over to Bat. The *Dodge City Times*, January 4, 1879, said:

DUTCH HENRY.

Sheriff Masterson learning that Dutch Henry was under arrest at Trinidad, proceeded to that place Wednesday. He telegraphed County Attorney Sutton as follows: "Sheriff wont deliver up Dutch Henry unless I pay him \$500. He says he can get that fer him in Nevada." So Mr. Dutch Henry is high priced and the silver State can take him.

Three days later, January 7, the *Ford County Globe* announced that Bat had brought Henry to Dodge:

CAUGHT AT LAST.

THE RENOWNED DUTCH HENRY, THE OUTLAW CHIEF, HAS FALLEN.

Hearing that this great king of outlaws was in the hands of the Las Animas county officers, at Trinidad, Sheriff Masterson went up last Wednesday to see what he could see, and, if possible, secure the prisoner and bring him to Ford county to answer for the many "irregularities" in his conduct toward the owners of horseflesh in this vicinity. The following is from the *Trinidad Enterprise*, which explains what action was taken there:

"Dutch Henry," the man who seems to be wanted in different states and territories for a variety of crimes, such as horse-stealing, mail robbery, and

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NOTE: These articles on Kansas cowtown officers and gun fighters, with additional information and an index, are expected to be reprinted and offered for sale under one cover, upon completion of the series in the *Quarterly*.

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even murder, and of whose arrest here we gave an account in yesterday's Enterprise, was brought before Judge Walker to-day, upon complaint of Sheriff Wootton, that he is a fugitive from justice in Ford county, Kansas, charged and indicted for grand larceny. The sheriff of Ford county, Mr. W. B. Masterson of Dodge City, was present as a witness. Mr. Caldwell Yeaman appeared for the prosecution, and Mr. Salisbury for the defense. We learn that in the course of the proceedings there was some sparring between one of the attorneys and the visiting sheriff from Dodge, in which the legal gentlemen became considerably excited by unwarrantable mention of "unmentionable" matters by the witness. Now it is generally the witness who gets badgered and excited, and it may be well enough for gentlemen of the legal persuasion to happen upon a witness who can give them an opportunity to know how it is themselves. The result of the examination was that "deutcher Heinrich" was bound over to appear at the March term of the district court, and it was ordered that in default of bail he shall be confined in the Bent county jail. A motion was made by the prisoner's counsel that the case be referred to Judge Henry in chambers at Pueblo, and Justice Walker took the matter under advisement. "Dutch Henry" is rather a genteel looking man for a horse-thief, road-agent and murderer. He has black hair and eyes, black moustache, long face and Roman nose. His eyes are bright and penetrating, and indicate quick intelligence. He is dressed in a good suit of black, white shirt and other corresponding clothing.

Sheriff Masterson arrived with Dutch Henry in charge last Monday morning and how he obtained possession of him we will relate below. Masterson received news that Dutch Henry was at Trinidad in company with Charley Morrow, Mysterious Dave [Mather?] and others, and had been there several weeks. Masterson telegraphed the officers to arrest Henry, which they did, and after doing so telegraphed to various parties to find out what reward was offered; but they were disappointed in finding any reward whatever. Then they agreed to release Henry if he would pay expenses of arrest, etc., which Henry agreed to do, and would have done [so] had not some stock men prevailed upon the officers to hold the prisoner until news could be received from Ford county. As soon as Masterson arrived Henry was tried on the charge of being a fugitive from justice, and bound over in the sum of \$500 bail, in default of which he was ordered committed to the jail in West Las Animas. Masterson desired to bring the prisoner to Dodge, but having no requisition from the Governor of Kansas, was in a bad fix, and when the subject of bringing him here was first spoken of Henry made a talk for himself, in which he took recourse to threats of exposure, etc. This made Masterson all the more determined to bring him and he finally succeeded in making an arrangement by which he was given possession of the prisoner, and he is now safely ensconced in our jail. When the officers went to arrest the notorious Henry he was in a saloon watching a pool game, and was evidently off his guard, making no resistance whatever. He is now suffering from sickness, and has very little to say to any one. His trial will take place as soon as the witnesses for the state can be subpoenaed.

DUTCH HENRY.

A GLOBE representative visited Dutch Henry in the county jail this morning. Henry was lying on a mattress, and on inquiry as to his health said he was feeling better than on the previous day, but was still far from well. He talked

very composedly and when his probable trial was referred to did not seem uneasy in the least. Said he thought the officers arrested him more to make capital for election purposes than anything else. (This may be a little policy talk, but we give it as part of his conversation.) He says he had been at Trinidad several weeks and was well acquainted with everybody there, including the sheriff and officers, and never had any suspicions of any intent to arrest him, and never carried arms; was not armed when the officers arrested him. Says he was thinking of going into business at Las Vegas, New Mexico. He spent last summer catching wild horses, and last fall killed and dried a load of buffalo meat which he sold in New Mexico. He says his character as a horse-thief is greatly over-estimated, and it has become the custom of all the thieves in the country to saddle their crimes upon him. Says he never stole a white man's horse in his life. Says there are many old settlers here who have known him heretofore and who he thinks will not believe all the stories told about him. For these parties he seems to have a warm regard and says he has saved Dodge from ashes several times, when some of his associates wanted to burn the town to get revenge for treatment from some of the citizens. Of his early history Henry has but little to say, as he does not wish his friends in his eastern home to identify him. During a recent visit home, where he remained several months, he frequently received papers from the west, containing accounts of horse-stealing, etc., which was all charged to Dutch Henry, while in reality he was a thousand miles away. He says he could make some revelations but does not wish to, and will not if he is treated fairly.

The appearance of Dutch Henry is that of an educated German-American, and his language is very slightly broken. His career opened in the west in 1867, when he joined the Custar expedition, since which time he has been a roving plainsman. He says no one in the west knows what his real name is. His examination, on the charge of stealing Emmerson's mules, about a year ago, takes place as soon as the witnesses arrive. Parties who claim to know say that Henry's real name is Henry Borne.

The Dodge City *Times*, January 11, 1879, reported:

DUTCH HENRY.

The ubiquitous individual who wrestles with horse flesh, under the well-known sobriquet of "Dutch Henry," is again in the toils. He was brought to this city and placed in jail by Sheriff W. B. Masterson, Sunday night last. Dutch Henry was arrested in Trinidad, Colorado, and the subjoined account is taken from the Trinidad Enterprise. Sheriff Masterson deserves a great deal of credit for the venture, and it is only one of the many successful official moves he has made since holding the important office of sheriff.

Dutch Henry has become famous in the western States and Territories, and has made many bold and successful escapes from justice. He has broken jail and escaped from officers no less than three times within a year; but he has found himself within the iron grasp of a vigilant and brave officer, and will no doubt receive a sentence for one of his many crimes.

How Bat got possession of the prisoner without the payment of a reward and without a gubernatorial requisition, will probably be explained in one of the pages of a yellow-backed story book, which will detail the mysteries and crimes of the early settlement of this border. We are not curious to know

just now. History will give us all the enlightenment we care to know. That is one of the things we hand down to posterity. But here is the interesting account from the *Enterprise*. It seems Bat was a match for that squalid lawyer. . . .

From this point the *Times* reprinted the same *Enterprise* article that the *Globe* used on January 7.

Two short items from the *Trinidad News* were copied in the *Globe* on January 14, 1879:

Considerable merriment was created in Justice Walker's court on Saturday, during the hearing of Dutch Henry's case, by Sheriff Masterson of Dodge City, Kansas, insinuating that the attorney for the defense, Mr. Salisbury, had left Kansas under a cloud. The answer made by the sheriff was under oath, and may have caused some to believe that there was truth in it. But we happened to overhear Mr. Masterson say to a party of friends that night that there was not a word of truth in it; that he was driven into a corner by Salisbury, and had to say something to let himself out. We make this statement not because we have any reason to think that any person would seriously believe that there was anything in it, but because it is due to Mr. Salisbury that any false impression should be removed.

Dutch Henry has left Colorado and returned to Kansas. He agreed to waive his rights and to save the trouble and delay of having a requisition made upon the governor by the governor of Kansas. Accordingly he went east with Sheriff Masterson on Sunday morning. Of course he was not ironed, and was really not a prisoner. If he should undertake to violate his promise and to walk off while still in Colorado a serious complication might arise. He would have a strict legal right to do so, but it is hardly probable that Sheriff Masterson would consent to follow a policy of masterly inactivity in such an emergency. It is more probable that he would himself become a violator of the law, and would make Henry his prisoner whether he "could" or not.

On January 11, 1879, the *Times* said that "they tried to habeas corpus Dutch Henry before Judge Peters, but it didn't take," and "the preliminary trial of Dutch Henry will be had before Justice Cook this Saturday." The *Globe*, January 14, 1879, reported Henry's examination:

A large crowd assembled at the Court House yesterday to hear the preliminary examination of Dutch Henry, who was arrested on a charge of grand larceny about a year and a half ago, but who at that time made his escape through the key-hole of the jail door. He was again arrested and brought here from Trinidad, Col., by Sheriff Masterson. He waived a preliminary examination and the court bound him over for his appearance at the next term of the district court in the sum of \$600, in default of which he was committed [to] jail.²⁶

Henry was tried at the adjourned term of the Ford county district court. The *Times*, January 25, 1879, recorded:

Dutch Henry's trial occupied two days of the time of the court, and Thursday night the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. The prisoner was charged with horse stealing. Insufficient evidence and barred by statute of limitations, though the latter point was negatively decided by a jury, probably led to the prisoner's acquittal. Colborn and [Thomas S.] Jones conducted the prosecution and [H. E.] Gryden and Hurd for the defense.

So Henry was released. He eventually traveled to Wichita where he was arrested by Deputy United States Marshal C. B. Jones and delivered to the sheriff of Shawnee county to answer another charge of jail breaking.²⁷ Thus continued the career of Dutch Henry *ad infinitum*.

Back in Dodge City—the January, 1879, term of the Ford county district court was convened by Sheriff Masterson on January 7. The *Times*, January 11, 1879, reported the early days of the session:

DISTRICT COURT.

The January term of the Ford County District Court, S. J. Peters, Judge, presiding, convened Tuesday afternoon. The following officers were promptly at their posts:

County Attorney—M. W. Sutton.

Sheriff—W. B. Masterson.

Clerk—H. P. Myton.

Tuesday afternoon the time was occupied in the usual preliminaries required for the working order of the court.

Wednesday morning, the case of James Skelly, charged with stealing a horse and gun, was taken up. The prisoner was found guilty of the charge.

Wednesday afternoon, the trial of Dan. Woodard, charged with assault with intent to kill, took place. The prisoner was defended by H. E. Gryden. The prosecution was conducted by County Attorney Sutton, who made a vigorous and able argument against the "pistol practice" in Dodge City. The jury was out but a short time and brought in a verdict of guilty. The defense moved for a new trial.

Frank Jennings, charged with horse stealing, was found guilty.

James A. Bailey plead guilty to the same charge.

H. Gould, alias Skunk Curley, plead guilty to the charge of assault with intent to kill.

In the case of Thomas O'Haran, charged with the murder of H. T. McCarty, a motion for a change of venue was filed [see the section on McCarty].

The trial of M. A. Sebastian was being had Friday, but up to the time of going to press no verdict had been reached. Sebastian and Bill Brown are charged with stealing twenty-seven sacks of corn. The trial of Brown will follow that of Sebastian.

The next cases on the docket are those of G. U. Holcomb and G. A. Watkins, charged with stealing cattle.

The trial of Dutch Henry will close the criminal docket. This may not be had until the adjourned term of the court [see above].

The sentences of the several convicted prisoners will be passed before the adjournment of court.

The following attorneys were in attendance: E. F. Colborn, Thomas S. Jones, H. E. Gryden, Nelson Adams, Geo. A. Kellogg, D. M. Frost, Judge [J. C.] Strang, Judge W. R. Brown.

There was a large attendance during the entire session of court. Many of the spectators were interested parties, as jurors, witnesses, &c.

The large criminal calendar suggests the "probability" of an "endeavor" on the part of the officers to do their duty. To an unprejudiced person, somebody has been making things lively. Sheriff Bat Masterson, Under Sheriff Bassett, and Deputies Duffy and [James] Masterson, have evidently earned the high praise accorded to them for their vigilance and prompt action in the arrest of offenders of the law.

The energy of the indomitable and untiring worker, County Attorney Sutton, is manifested in the successful prosecution of these cases. Mike certainly "got to the joint" in his accustomed and able manner, and is deserving of the many good words spoken in his behalf for his efficient services in the cause of justice.

The court adjourns this Saturday evening, until week after next, when the remainder of the criminal cases will be tried and the civil docket disposed of.

On Saturday, just before the court was adjourned, Judge Peters passed sentence upon the six who had been convicted. The *Ford County Globe*, January 14, 1879, reported:

THE WAY OF THE TRANSGRESSOR.

To all who witnessed the scene in the court room last Saturday evening, the proof was positive that "the way of the transgressor is hard." The room was crowded with curious spectators, who had heard that the convicts were to be sentenced that evening, and as sentences in this community have been almost as rare as angels' visits in the past—few and far between—it was natural for the people to assemble as they would to witness a contest in the arena. The Judge was seated at his desk, his grave and solemn countenance told that his thoughts were stern and decisive. Groups of attorneys conversed in low whispers within the railing, all of whom, save one—the prosecutor—had failed to get the ear of the jury, and their spent eloquence was as pearls cast before swine—trampled and trod upon. In a row in front of the Judge sat the six sinners for whom they had labored; all were convicted, and from their features every ray of hope had fled. The whispering was hushed in the room as Judge Peters finished writing, laid aside his pen and reflecting for a moment, said, "James A. Bailey, you may stand up." The first of the six slowly rose to his feet. He was a man of fine appearance, and to questions propounded by the Judge, answered that he was born and raised in New York; was 42 years of age; had received an education, and before coming west was employed as traveling salesman for his brother. When asked if he had any reason to offer why sentence should not be pronounced, he said he had none, as he had plead guilty; but in view of the fact that he was already advanced in years, he hoped the Judge would not sentence him to a long term, as he would be unable to survive it. He asked that the fact of his being under the influence of liquor be considered in mitigation of his crime.

He had stolen a horse.

Frank Jennings was next called up. He was from Pennsylvania; was

26 years old; had been in Kansas five months; has a mother living; by profession a house carpenter. Was under the influence of liquor. Begged the Court to treat him with leniency. His offense was horse stealing.

James Skelley, convicted of stealing a gun. Was 27 years old; been in the west two years; from Illinois; parents both living; by trade a glass blower; uneducated. Was under the influence of liquor; hoped the Court would be lenient.

H. Gould, assault and battery with intent to commit murder. Mr. Gould wore a smiling countenance, and did not seem to fully comprehend his situation. Was a native of Kansas; by occupation a herder of cattle; age, 24 years. Was influenced by liquor. In view of his tender years he asked the court to be merciful.

Mr. Sebastian, charged with stealing 26 sacks of corn, was the only one of the six who claimed to be innocent, 31 years of age.

Mr. John Brown, charged with the same offense as Sebastian, said he supposed, from the evidence he was guilty. Was 36 years of age and by trade a butcher. Was intoxicated at the time of the theft.

After the prisoners had all been thus questioned, Messrs. Gryden, Jones and Kellogg, in behalf of their respective convicted clients, argued to the Judge, and directed his attention to the "brightest spots" in the lives and acts of the criminals, and asked that mercy be shown them. The Judge then passed the following sentences, the date of imprisonment to commence Jan. 7th, 1879; Bailey, two years and six months; Jennings, two years and six months; Skelley, two years and three months; H. Gould, two years and three months; Sebastian, eighteen months; Brown, two years and three months.

The remarks of Judge Peters on this occasion were very appropriate, and the advice he gave should be followed by all who heard it and witnessed this sad scene. It was long after lamplight when court adjourned, and the crowd dispersed, free to go where they pleased, while the doomed six filed out under heavy guard to seek what comfort they might within the narrow bounds of their lonely prison cells.²⁸

"Sheriff Masterson, City Marshall Bassett, [County] Commissioner [A. J.] Peacock, and District Clerk [H. P.] Myton started to the Leavenworth penitentiary last Saturday evening [January 11] with the six prisoners," said the *Globe*, January 14, 1879.

About the time he delivered the six prisoners to Leavenworth, Bat revoked the appointment of his deputy sheriff in Spearville township. A local correspondent of the *Times* reported, January 18, 1879:

The action of Sheriff Masterson in revoking the appointment of Murray Wear as Deputy, is approved by all citizens in this township, and all are satisfied that he could make no better selection than to choose the portly L. M. Deputy as the successor of Wear.²⁹

In the same issue, January 18, 1879, the *Times* recorded the fact that "Sheriff W. B. Masterson has been appointed Deputy U. S. Marshal."³⁰

After the adjourned session of the January, 1879, term of the Ford county district court, Bat had more prisoners to take to the state penitentiary. The *Leavenworth Times*, January 28, 1879, said of the sheriff:

FORD COUNTY'S CONTRIBUTION

SHERIFF MASTERSON AND UNDER-SHERIFF BASSETT BRING UP ANOTHER INSTALLMENT OF DODGEITES TO THE STATE PENITENTIARY.

Sheriff W. B. Masterson and Under Sheriff Bassett, of Ford County, arrived on Sunday from Dodge City with another installment of prisoners for the State Penitentiary, turning their charges safely over to the authorities of the prison. During Sheriff's Masterson's term of office he has contributed liberally to the State's boarding house and has kept things as straight as a string in his county. He is one of the most noted men of the southwest, as cool, brave and daring as any one who ever drew a pistol. He was with Gen. Miles' expedition in 1874, and was present at the time of the capture of the Germain children. He was also one of the twenty-six who defended the Adobe Walls in 1874, against some eight hundred Indians, and although he has been in many a tight place he has always managed to save his scalp. Under-sheriff Bassett is also well-known, and has a good record. They left for Kansas City Sunday afternoon.

"M. W. Sutton, W. B. Masterson, C. E. Bassett, tarried in Topeka, after safely lodging the prisoners in the Leavenworth prison. They are Senator lobbying," said the *Dodge City Times*, February 1, 1879.

From Topeka Bat visited his home near Wichita, returning to Dodge February 10, 1879.³¹ On his way to Leavenworth Bat had stopped at Kinsley and placed this notice in the *Edwards County Leader*, February 6, 1879:

NOTICE OF APPLICATION FOR PARDON.

Notice is hereby given that on the 14th day of February, A. D. 1879, application will be made to his excellency John P. St. John, Governor of the State of Kansas, at the executive office in the capitol building in the city of Topeka, in the state of Kansas, to pardon and set at liberty one Thomas Gott, who was convicted of an attempt to rob the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company, at the June term of the district court held within and for Edwards county, Kansas, in the month of June, A. D. 1878.

Dated at Kinsley, Kansas, this 28th day of January, A. D. 1879.

W. B. MASTERSON,
Sheriff Ford County, Kansas.

Although the petition asking for Gott's pardon has not been located in the files of the Historical Society, letters written by Governor St. John indicate that the petition was received, that the pardon was considered but that it was turned down. In a letter to Sheriff Masterson dated June 25, 1879, the governor gave Bat this rather confusing explanation: "I have examined into the application of Gotts for pardon but cannot find it consistent now with my duty

to turn him loose at present. The fact is the population in the penitentiary is increasing so fast that I am compelled to go very slow about issuing pardons.”³²

In February, 1879, there began in Kansas an interesting phenomenon somewhat akin to the war crimes trials of the post World War II era. It will be recalled that in September, 1878, the last Indian raid was made through Kansas by a group of Cheyenne expatriates who were attempting to return from their reservation in the Indian territory to their former home in Dakota territory. Led by Dull Knife and Little Wolf the Cheyennes threw the western portion of Kansas into a frenzy of excitement by their depredations which included at least 40 Kansas deaths. The small band was eventually captured north of Kansas and the last Indian raid in the state was over. Naturally the pioneers of western Kansas did not then know that the Red man would never again threaten their families. Consequently stringent measures were proposed which would forestall future depredations. One solution was to punish, as criminals, the braves who were known to have participated in the raid.

Accordingly, on November 11, 1878, Gov. George T. Anthony had written the Secretary of War:

On mature reflection, and with thoughtful reference to the demands of law and justice, as well as the ends of public safety, I feel it an imperative duty to call upon you for a surrender to the proper officers of the civil courts of the State of Kansas, for trial and punishment under its laws, the principal chiefs, “Dull Knife,” “Old Crow,” “Hog,” “Little Wolf,” and others, whose identity can be established as participants in the crimes of murder and woman ravishing.

I believe there is a precedent for this demand, in the surrender to the civil courts of Texas of “Satana” and one other chief in the year 1872. But if there is no precedent public necessity and simple justice would, I believe, be ample justification for this demand.³³

On December 31, 1878, Maj. Gen. John Pope, commander of the Department of the Missouri, wrote this answer to Anthony’s plea:

I have the honor to inform you that I have received orders from the War Department to turn over to the civil authorities of Kansas, such of the Cheyenne prisoners en route to this place [Fort Leavenworth] as can be identified as the criminals who committed murders or other crimes during the raid of the Indians through Kansas in September last. As it is desirable not to keep these Indians here longer than necessary, I have to request that such persons as may be needed for the identification of the criminals be sent to meet the Indians on their arrival here. . . .³⁴

County Attorney M. W. Sutton, on January 15, 1879, had sent the governor, now John P. St. John, a letter enclosing warrants for the

arrest of Dull Knife and other Cheyenne Indians and requesting a requisition on the governor of Nebraska for their deliverance. St. John answered that the Indians were in the custody of United States military authorities and were soon to be in Leavenworth for identification. Possibly because of this early request on the part of Ford county, the trial of the Indians was to be held in Dodge City. At any rate, on February 6, 1879, the governor sent this telegram to Sutton:

All that is left of Cheyenne raiders will be at Leavenworth soon—What can be done from your section of the state to aid in Identifying them—Answer by mail.³⁵

Mike's answer was handed to the governor by Bat Masterson:

COUNTY ATTORNEY'S OFFICE
DODGE CITY KANSAS, FEB 11TH 1879

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

JOHN P. ST. JOHN.

GOVERNOR OF KANSAS.

DEAR SIR.

This will introduce to you the bearer W. B. Masterson Sheriff of Ford County, who has the witnesses with him to identify the Cheyenne Indian prisoners.

He comes to you for instructions, as to the manner of proceeding in this matter of identification, a subject which is new to me, and that I do not thoroughly understand, and hence am unable to advise upon.

I would suggest, if not improper, that the Adjutant Genl accompany him to Ft. Leavenworth, and assist him in the matter.

Respectfully yours—

M. W. SUTTON
County Attorney.³⁶

Bat must have visited the governor on February 12 for on that date St. John telegraphed for passes which would provide Masterson and his four witnesses transportation from Topeka to Leavenworth.

The Dodge City *Times*, February 15, 1879, published a resume of what had thus far been accomplished and identified Bat's four companions:

IDENTIFYING THE CHEYENNES.

The remnant of the Cheyenne band arrived this week at Fort Leavenworth, from Fort Robinson, Neb. This remnant comprises that portion of the Cheyennes that escaped the slaughter at Camp Robinson, a few weeks ago. There are seven bucks in the band, together with fourteen squaws and papooses. These Indians are the remaining ones of the band that made an incursion through Kansas last September. Their operations of murder and depredations are familiar to our readers.

It will be remembered that a few weeks ago County Attorney Sutton filed complaint against Dull Knife and his band for the murder of five persons, who were killed during the raid. The complaints were filed with the Governor, who is aiding County Attorney Sutton in bringing the murderers to justice. The prisoners are in the hands of the military authorities. With a view of transferring the prisoners to the civil authorities, an identification of the murdering savages has been required. For this purpose, Sheriff W. B. Masterson left Tuesday night for Fort Leavenworth. He was accompanied by Deputy Sheriff C. E. Bassett, James Masterson, Capt. A. J. French and Kokomo Sullivan, who, it is believed, can identify the prisoners. These gentlemen are all old timers on the plains, and are familiar with Indians and Indian ways. Kokomo Sullivan (the first name is a sobriquet,) was a long time engaged as a scout. Capt. French experienced an episode with the Indians last September, as they passed Meade City. The Indians did not harm the inhabitants of the village, but killed Washington O'Connor as they were retiring from the settlement. The Captain concluded he had marvelously escaped murder, as Dull Knife and his band were on their murdering and depredating tour. Jim. Masterson has had experience with Indians. Bassett's long experience on the plains and knowledge of Indians, will be of service in the identification. Sheriff Masterson has had many engagements with Indians, and will be able to discriminate with good judgement. The party stopped over at Topeka, Wednesday [February 12], for instructions from the Governor, and the next day proceeded to Fort Leavenworth. They will probably return by the time this matter appears in print before our readers. If the Sheriff succeeds in making a proper identification of the Indian prisoners, they will be turned over to his charge and brought to Ford county for trial, which prosecution will be conducted by County Attorney Sutton.

The prisoners were heavily ironed and are now at Fort Leavenworth. The trial of these savages will add no little to the zest of an exciting life on this frontier, and will generally excite comment and interest.

At Fort Leavenworth identification was made and a transfer from military to civil control accomplished. The *Leavenworth Times*, February 16, 1879, reported:

DUSKY DEMONS.

THE CHEYENNE ROBBERS AND MURDERERS FALL AT LAST
INTO THE HANDS OF THE CIVIL AUTHORITIES.
THAT THEY WILL NEVER AGAIN RAVISH WOMEN
AND KILL CHILDREN IS A CERTAINTY.
THEY WERE TAKEN AWAY YESTERDAY TO BE LODGED
IN THE FORD COUNTY JAIL FOR TRIAL.

Yesterday morning there gathered a throng of people about the Union Depot whose faces were a study; they had heard much of the atrocities committed by the renegade Cheyennes in Meade, Ford and other counties, and many of them being old frontiersmen said little. Their eyes betokened curiosity to see the devils who had desolated so many homes, and the firm set of lips of the "old timers," when their names were mentioned, indicated anything but a friendly feeling.

THE PRISONERS.

At ten o'clock, Lieut. Pardee, of the Twenty-third Infantry, in command of a strong guard of soldiers, arrived at the depot with the prisoners, seven in number, the guard and the prisoners being in government wagons, drawn by four mules each. The command was halted at the corner of Cherokee and Front streets, and the soldiers ordered to get out of the wagons and keep

CLOSE TO THE PRISONERS

while they were being transferred. The crowd of interested spectators meanwhile became so dense that it was necessary for the soldiers to use some force to keep the more eager men back. Lieut. Pardee, after examining a warrant presented by Adjutant General [P. S.] Noble, of Kansas, the following Indians were delivered from the military to civil jurisdiction:

Wild Hog, Old Crow, Big Head, Left Hand, Blacksmith, Porcupine and Nosey-Walker, making seven in all who had been identified except Old Crow, as participators in the crimes of murder, rape and robbery charged in the warrant. General Noble then transferred the prisoners to Sheriff W. B. Masterson, of Ford county, who took them in charge, and conducted them to one of the passenger rooms in the Union depot, all being in irons, except Old Crow. The latter is said by the army officers to have been a valuable, faithful and trustworthy scout of the Government, and one who bears a good reputation, and that belonging to the Crow Indians could have had no hand in the depredations of the Cheyennes.

WILD HOG,

who is reputed to have been the worst of the band, in getting out of the wagon was forced to use a long piece of board for support, being yet weak from a recent attempt to commit suicide by stabbing himself with a pair of shears. The others all alighted nimbly as could be possible shackled as they were.

IN THE DEPOT.

After they had been elbowed through the crowd into the passenger room, they were all seated in a row and it required all the patience that Sheriff Masterson's posse possessed to keep the crowd at a comfortable distance without force. Sheriff Lowe who was present knew some of the captives having at one time furnished them with beef, and in consequence had some conversation with them as did a *Times* representative. Mr. Lowe bought them some clay pipes, which after being filled were smoked by the prisoners with evident enjoyment.

One of the party, after passing the pipe to another, endeavored to say that he was no Cheyenne; that he was the baby of Three Bears, a noted Sioux. Old Crow, who is really an intelligent looking old fellow, had little to say, although he seemed to understand all that was going on about him. Wild Hog took a piece of silver, cut to represent the sun and attached to a chain from his neck, and handed it to Mr. Lowe, who read the words "Wild Hog," that were engraved on one side. He pretended to know no English, but Mr. A. J. French, who was one of the sheriff's posse, says he can speak the language very well.

The remainder of the prisoners seemed much broken down and sat with their heads resting in their hands, to all appearances unmindful of the excited audience about them. They were put on the train at 10:40 and under the care of Sheriff Masterson, his two brothers,³⁷ Mr. A. J. French and Mr. Bassett,

City Marshal of Dodge City, left for Topeka, from which place they will be conveyed to Dodge City, for trial, which will not take place until some time next June.

Traveling by way of Lawrence, Bat reached Topeka the first day and remained in that place overnight. The Topeka *Commonwealth*, February 16, 1879, described the journey that far:

DULL KNIFE'S BAND

The Indians who have lately been turned over to the county authorities of Ford County for trial were brought from Leavenworth yesterday, and placed in the Shawnee County jail over night. They are in charge of Sheriff W. B. Masterson, of Ford County, who is assisted by City Marshal Bassett, of Dodge City. The Indians are seven in number—all that remains of Dull Knife's band of ninety-one. The rest were killed at the time these were captured. Their names are Wild Hog, Old Crow, Big Head, Left Hand, Black Smith, Porcupine, and Nose Walker.

Big Head had one hand shot away and carries his arm in a sling. Left Hand and another were wounded in the legs, and limp painfully. All are heavily ironed, either hands or feet or both. They are strong, hard-looking men, with repulsive features, suggestive of their being murderers, as charged. The prosecution will probably be made for complicity in the outrages. Mr. Masterson and Mr. Bassett say positively that these are a part of Dull Knife's band. They were encamped at Dodge about a year, and they had frequent opportunities for becoming acquainted with them.

They are in a very desperate condition of mind, and would, it is thought, commit suicide if they had a chance. They will therefore not be allowed to use a knife and fork, but will convey the fare of the Hotel de Disbrow to their mouths with their dirty fingers.

The arrival of the Kansas Pacific train from the east was eagerly waited for by a crowd of probably one thousand people, who had come to see the "real live wild Indians." The prisoners were put into one of Terry's busses and conveyed to the jail.

Sheriff Masterson says that at Lawrence he had much trouble, and was obliged finally to fight his way. The first man he struck happened to be the City Marshal, who retaliated by taking Batt in charge. Explanations followed, and matters rightened. The prisoners will be taken to Dodge to-day via the Santa Fe.

The *Ford County Globe*, February 17, 1879, reported the band's arrival in Dodge City:

THE CHEYENNE PRISONERS.

PITIFUL REMNANTS OF A ONCE POWERFUL BAND.

THEY ARE BROUGHT TO DODGE CITY FOR TRIAL.

The seven Cheyenne Indian prisoners arrived from Fort Leavenworth last Monday morning, in custody of W. B. Masterson, Sheriff of Ford county, assisted by City Marshal Chas. E. Bassett and Deputy Sheriff James Masterson. The train arrived about 5 o'clock and there being no carriage in waiting to receive our distinguished visitors, the motley band was compelled to walk up to the jail, a distance of several hundred yards. This was the longest walk they

had taken since leaving Leavenworth and it proved too laborious for the delicate health of one of the wounded chieftains, who, after limping and struggling along for some distance, sank helplessly to the ground, where he remained until a wheelbarrow was procured, upon which he was placed, and carted to his destination.

The Indians were placed in the jail, where they still remain, their hands and feet closely shackled. They sit in a row upon the damp floor of the dim dungeon with sorrow and despair deeply engraven upon their manly countenances. All hope of future happiness in this wicked world has forsaken their breasts. Death in any form would be welcomed by them as a healing balm to their bleeding hearts. In this desperate state of mind they would commit suicide if the least opportunity presented itself. But not the least murmur or sign of complaint escapes them. Believing, sincerely, that the bloody deed with which their hands are stained, was committed in the sight of their Great Spirit, and sanctioned by that Deity, they will never repent. As they have no interpreter, they do not attempt to converse or make known their desires, save that they are anxious to have their wives and children near them. As is truly characteristic of the noble race, they wish it to be said of them, after their death, as uttered by the immortal Logan, "there runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature." Their preliminary examination will take place in a week or ten days. Wild Hog is the principle chief. He accepts the situation with the dignity of a conquered General and receives the fruits of disaster with a countenance stern and unyielding.

Below we publish extracts from Leavenworth and Topeka papers [printed above] indicating great excitement manifested by the semi-civilized natives of those towns. At every station a mob of hoodlums assembled and made such demonstrations in their eagerness to see the Indians that Sheriff Masterson was compelled to use physical means in preventing his pets from being trampled upon. At Lawrence the mob was almost overpowering, and our officers were involved in a fight which resulted in victory for Dodge City, as usual. The Mayor, City Marshal and a large portion of the able bodied braves of Lawrence undertook to capture Masterson and his outfit, but were repulsed in a very neat and workmanlike manner. The Indians think a great deal of the Sheriff and heartily welcome him when he visits their prison. In this most trying hour of the noble Indian's life it is a remarkable fact that his appetite remains intact, and he feasts heartily three times a day. Sheriff Masterson and Marshal Bassett have a very high opinion of both Governor St. John and Gen. Pope, from whom they received very gentlemanly treatment.

There is less curiosity to see the captured Cheyennes among the citizens of Dodge than any town in the State. The sentiment here is that curiosity would be better exercised in getting close enough to see the Indian when he is on the war path—close enough to get a sight on him with a rifle or six-shooter. Our people are not the kind to turn out en masse to gaze at sick and wounded prisoners, and the arrival of seven thieving Mokes would have excited just about the same interest.

As our readers are familiar, the charge against these Indians is that of murder, committed during their raid through Kansas last fall.

The Dodge City *Times*, February 22, 1879, pursued the same line as did the *Globe* in praising the officers and people of Dodge and condemning those of Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Topeka:

THE CHEYENNES.

THEIR SAFE ARRIVAL IN DODGE CITY AND CUSTODY WITHIN JAIL WALLS.

Sheriff W. B. Masterson and party, consisting of the City Marshal, Charles E. Bassett, officer James Masterson, Capt. A. J. French and Kokomo Sullivan, arrived in Dodge City Monday morning, having in charge the seven Cheyenne prisoners who were lately brought to Leavenworth from Fort Robinson. There was no demonstration in Dodge City whatever that awaited these prisoners, though their arrival was duly heralded. A solitary policeman, outside the usual depot attendants and passengers, was the only person who welcomed the gentle savage with a bloody stick to a safe lodgment in the Ford county jail. The prisoners were taken from the cars quietly and noiselessly, and thence to quarters in the jail, where they now remain.

The names of these red gentlemen, who some months ago paid the environs of Dodge City a visit, and who threw the city and country into such a tremor of excitement, are given in pure English as follows: Crow, Wild Hog, Tall Man, Old Man, Run Fast, Young Man and Frizzle Head. They are fine specimens of the genus Indian—stalwart braves—apparently comfortable under their distressing circumstances.

Some of these prisoners are suffering from wounds received during the slaughter at Camp Robinson. The wounds are not dangerous, however, and under proper treatment, which they are receiving, they will shortly recover. Wild Hog has an ugly wound in the left breast, caused by his own hand, while attempting to take his own life.

The prisoners are under the immediate charge of the humane jailor, Col. John W. Straughn, who will liberally provide for them in the comforts of prison fare, and such accommodations as are usually given prisoners. We visited the jail on Monday, in the capacity of a reporter, but we made no inquiries, and will give only such facts as we have learned through other sources. We know our anxious readers will look for elaborate details, but they must be content to feast upon a few bare facts. We have saved the labor of interviewing Mr. Lo, because we believe his broken English would afford little knowledge of his depressing condition. We know the prisoners will be kindly treated and amply provided for. An Indian is contented with a full stomach and plenty of tobacco. These luxuries will not be denied them. They will go far to render their condition comfortable, and thus allay any apprehension regarding an escape.

Sheriff Masterson and party speak in the highest terms of Governor St. John and Adjutant General Noble, for their kind treatment and assistance rendered them in executing the identification of the Cheyenne braves. Gen. Pope also treated the officers and identifiers with courtesy, and they are profuse in words of praise. But a couple of incidents occurred which marred the otherwise harmonious trip. The Sheriff of Leavenworth county and the Marshal and Mayor of Lawrence were more eager to pay homage to the stinking savage than render assistance to the officers. The ill-treatment and discourtesy by these officers is roundly condemned by Sheriff Masterson and party. Were they engaged in a similar service in Dodge City, no pains would be spared to make their work agreeable. But the infuriated mob, so anxious to feast upon a red savage, may in a measure be overlooked. It is not often such a curiosity is gratified, and while Sheriff Masterson and his menagerie of wild Indians were passing through the country, it is not to be wondered that somebody

"beat" his way to the show. And it happened to be the officers we mentioned.

The officers' account of the trip from Leavenworth to this city exhibits the morbid curiosity which seizes the noble denizen further down the plain. At every station, and far into the night, great crowds congregated at the depots, all eager to get a glimpse of the gentle savage. This was extremely embarrassing and annoying, and gave the party much trouble. The Indian took it, no doubt, as a great ovation intended for him. It is a proof of what penchant the American has for strange things, even if such things be no more than Indian savages and murderers. But it only excites the dread of these beings and renders fear more susceptible. How different with the people who have more knowledge of savage crimes and butchery. Not a ripple of excitement was observed as the Indian prisoners entered the village.

Mr. Lo, however, is not caring for all this. His inquiries are for Mrs. Squaw and Master Papoose. When the Indian dies he wants his family about him. He may little know the course he is to pursue; he awaits, nevertheless, with intense solicitude, having no knowledge, probably, what it all means. He is aware that he is disgraced by being in captivity. Could he wipe out that disgrace he would rapidly hie himself to the happy hunting grounds. The utmost precaution will be used, and to avoid suicide, the now tranquil savage will be carefully watched and no implement more dangerous than an iron spoon placed within his reach.

The preliminary trial of these prisoners will take place as soon as witnesses reach here. The examination will be conducted by County Attorney M. W. Sutton, whose recent successful prosecutions have been the admiration of a law-abiding people and a terror to evil-doers.

The chains which bound the Cheyenne prisoners belonged to the state of Kansas and not until he was reminded by Adjutant General Noble did Bat remember to return them to Topeka. He sent this letter of apology:

DODGE CITY KANSAS FEB. 20" 1879

P. S. NOBLE Esq
Topeka, Kansas
FRIEND NOBLE

I am In receipt of your letter this morning and I am Sorry I was So dilatory in Sending back the hand cuffs and leg Irons however I have Expressed them to your address [to]day and hope you will receive them all right. the Indians are all well and in good spirits but want their Squaws and papooses, which I am in hopes they may get

I am very respectfully
W. B. MASTERSON,
Sheriff Ford County³⁸

The Cheyennes were given their preliminary examination in Dodge City but were granted a change of venue to Lawrence. On June 26, 1879, Governor St. John sent Bat passes on the railroad to transport the braves and five guards to their new place of trial. Bat and Charley Bassett returned to Dodge on June 29. The Indians were released in October, 1879, but their Ford county in-

carceration had a telling influence on the November election for sheriff.³⁹ This will be mentioned later in this section.

While Sheriff Bat Masterson was in eastern Kansas securing the Cheyenne prisoners two of his jail prisoners escaped in Dodge City. The *Globe*, February 17, 1879, said:

JAIL DELIVERY.

Last Saturday [February 15] evening about 8 o'clock two prisoners escaped from the Ford county jail and, like the Arab, folded their tents and silently stole away. Their names are G. U. Holcomb and Geo. Watkins. They were both under arrest for stealing about 75 head of cattle from Dunham & Ward, south of Cimarron station. The means by which they escaped was as follows: They were not considered desperate men and were accordingly allowed to remain in the outer prison during the day time. The iron cells or cages into which they were placed at night are about seven feet high and reach to within one foot of the ceiling of the jail. The ceiling is ordinary pine ceiling. On the day in question one of the prisoners secured some kind of a knife and climbing on top of the cell cut a hole through the thin ceiling and also through the floor above. Through this hole the two men crept and found themselves in the County Treasurer's office, which was unoccupied. They then gently opened the window on the east side of the room which opens out on an old shed on the east side of the Courthouse. Climbing out on the roof and from thence to the earth, they found themselves free men, with darkness to assist them in their escape.

It is a great wonder that prisoners have not taken advantage of this mode of escape from the jail before this, as the work of cutting a hole through two thicknesses of pine boards could be accomplished in one hour's time. By all means the county jail should be lined overhead with iron or something that would be proof against an ordinary pocket knife. Holcomb is a lawyer who practiced some time in Cimarron. Watkins was also a resident of Cimarron where his family now reside. Watkins was foolish for escaping, as he would not have been sentenced for more than a year, and then could have returned to his family. Now he is a fugitive and if he attempts to go to his family or have them come to him he will almost certainly be recaptured. His wife spent several weeks here and worked hard to secure leniency for her husband. She went to the cattle men from whom he had stolen the cattle and plead with them until she aroused their sympathy and made them promise to deal gently with her erring husband.

We cannot see any occasion to censure the officers. The commissioners should either make the jail more secure or employ a guard to watch the prisoners.⁴⁰

Bat recaptured Holcomb on February 21. The *Ford County Globe*, February 25, 1879, reported:

A JAIL BIRD CAPTURED.

G. U. Holcomb, who escaped from the Ford county jail about ten days ago, was captured in Pueblo, Col., by Sheriff Masterson. The sheriff received news that Holcomb was traveling west by freight and took the first train in pursuit. When he arrived at Sherlock, fifteen miles this side of Lakin, he learned that

Holcumb had boarded the freight a few hours ahead. Masterson went on to Pueblo, where he arrived about the same time Holcumb did, and after a short search found him in South Pueblo. He immediately took the young truant under his wing and placed him in the Pueblo jail until the next train went east, when he escorted him to Dodge. The Pueblo officers were very obliging and offered all the assistance they could. Holcumb said he was expecting some money by mail to Pueblo and as soon as it arrived he intended to light out for the mines and mountains of Leadville. Alas, how his fond hopes were shattered.⁴¹

A week later, on February 26, Bat took Holcomb to Topeka to appear before the supreme court. The Topeka *Commonwealth*, February 28, 1879, told why:

Geo. Holcom, who was brought here by Sheriff Masterson, of Dodge City, on Wednesday, was taken before the Supreme Court yesterday on a writ of *habeas corpus*. The charge against him is stealing eighty head of cattle, in one of the Counties attached to Ford County for judicial purposes. The stock was driven into Ottawa County, and Holcom arrested. The legal point to be decided was the legality of the act attaching the County referred to, to Ford County, and so, the right of Ford County officials to detain him.

The *Commonwealth* mentioned the case again on March 1, 1879:

AN IMPORTANT CASE.

The *habeas corpus* case before the Supreme Court, which we mentioned yesterday morning, is likely to be a most important one, affecting persons who have heretofore been arrested for misdemeanors in the counties attached to Ford County for judicial purposes, and in case Holcom is released, the decision will cause the release of the remaining members of Dull Knife's band of Cheyennes, now in jail at Dodge City, awaiting trial. It is evident that if Ford County has no jurisdiction over the counties attached for that purpose to it, there is no county in the State which has. Nelson Adams, of Larned, is the attorney for Holcom. The State asked and obtained two days' time in which to file briefs. The opinion will be delivered today perhaps, and perhaps not until Monday. Hon. J. G. Mohler, of Salina, has been retained to defend the Indians.

Bat brought his prisoner back to Dodge City on March 5. The Dodge City *Times*, March 8, 1879, said:

THE HABEAS CORPUS CASE.

Sheriff Masterson returned from Topeka Wednesday morning, with the prisoner, G. U. Holcomb, who had been taken before the Supreme Court under a writ of *habeas corpus*. The point the prisoner's attorneys wished to determine was the constitutionality of the act attaching unorganized counties to Ford county for judicial purposes. This matter involves the legality of the conviction of prisoners who were tried at the last term of the District Court, and the arrest of those now awaiting trial. The matter for the State was presented to the court by M. W. Sutton, County Attorney, and Gen. H. B. Johnson, of Topeka. The court will render a decision on the 31st of March.

The opinion of the court, delivered by Associate Justice David J. Brewer on April 25, 1879, was that "the petitioner [Holcomb] is not entitled to his discharge, and must be remanded to the custody of the sheriff of Ford county; and it is so ordered."⁴²

Holcomb was not tried at the June term of the Ford county district court. His ultimate fate remains unknown.

The March, 1879, resignation of County Commissioner George Cox revealed the less than cordial relations which existed between the commissioners and Sheriff Masterson, a situation which had not before been mentioned in the papers. The *Globe*, March 18, 1879, reported:

RESIGNATION OF GEO. B. COX.

By reference to the official proceedings of the Board of County Commissioners, it will be seen that Geo. B. Cox, chairman of the Board, has resigned and that his resignation has been accepted. The cause of his resignation, as he states in his letter, is a lack of harmony between other county officers and the Board which, he says, would deter him from discharging his official duties. For a long time the relations of the Sheriff and the Board have not been amicable, and frequently high words have been spoken. Mr. Cox being naturally of a very retiring disposition and not, like most men in office, always ready to maintain his opinions and enforce his ideas at all hazards, just quietly resigns and will have nothing more to do in an official capacity. Many will regret very much to hear of his resignation, as he is a leading business man, a large property holder and a man in whom the people have confidence. His place on the Board will be supplied by J. B. Means, the County Clerk, until the Board see fit to appoint some one to fill the vacancy, or an election is held.

When the Santa Fe railroad contested right of way through the Grand Canyon of the Arkansas—the Royal Gorge—with the Denver and Rio Grande Western Bat Masterson was asked for help. The *Ford County Globe*, March 25, 1879, failed to mention how the sheriff of a Kansas county could legally aid a private corporation in another state:

TROUBLE AHEAD.

Last Thursday evening Sheriff Masterson received a telegram from officers of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe road at Canon City, asking if he could bring a posse of men to assist in defending the workmen on that road from the attacks of the Denver and Rio Grande men, who were again endeavoring to capture the long contested pass through the canon. Masterson and Deputy Duffey immediately opened a recruiting office, and before the train arrived Friday morning had enrolled a company of thirty-three men. They all boarded the morning train, armed to the teeth, Sheriff Masterson in command, and started for the scene of hostilities.

The Denver News of Wednesday published an item to the effect that trouble is again brewing between the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe folks and the D. & R. G. road with regard to the right of way through the Grand Canon of

the Arkansas. Litigation has been pending several months, and the News declares that the Rio Grande people want to break the recently entered into lease, and if the decision of the U. S. court is in their favor they will hold the canon. The Santa Fe folks are arming their men with weapons and making every arrangement to repel with force any attempt of the Rio Grande people to take possession of the canon upon order of the court. On Saturday last a train left the end of the Santa Fe's track for Grand Canon loaded with provisions, tents and a force of men, ostensibly laborers. Since that time until yesterday a number of cases of ammunition were sent after the men, and the intent of this action is clearly plain. The whole proceeding has been conducted with great secrecy, and to keep the knowledge of it from the Rio Grande men a new force of employees was put in charge of the trains.

If the decision of the Supreme Court is in favor of the Rio Grande, the managers of the road are going to take possession of the canon. They had a little experience in hold-out against an armed Santa Fe force some time ago, and stood the siege pretty well. Gen. Palmer is at Colorado Springs, aware of every move taken by the Santa Fe people, though they are carrying them on so secretly.

"Sheriff W. B. Masterson and thirty men left Dodge Saturday last [March 22], for Canon City, where they were called in anticipation of railroad troubles, but we do not hear of any," said the *Dodge City Times*, March 29, 1879.

On April 5 Bat and his boys came back to Dodge for a weekend. The *Globe*, April 8, 1879, reported:

Sheriff Masterson and several of the boys returned from Canon City last Saturday evening, where they had been guarding the canon through which the A., T. & S. F. road is building its branch from Canon City to Leadville. The boys report having had an easy time, nothing to do, plenty of chuck and \$3 a day from the railroad company. They spent Sunday in the city and went back on Monday to resume their duties. So far there has been no trouble, and about five miles of the road is completed. About 100 men are employed just to see that no attempts are made by the Rio Grande men to drive the A., T. & S. F. workmen from the disputed canon.

The local papers did not state whether Bat went back to Colorado with the men but possibly he did for his name does not appear in the Dodge City press until the *Globe*, June 10, 1879, stated that he had again left for Canon City:

BOUND FOR THE CANON.

In response to a telegram from headquarters of the A. T. & S. F. railroad, Sheriff Masterson opened a volunteer recruiting office in this city, and half an hour from the receipt of said telegram he was whirling westward with an engine and one coach containing sixty men, at the rate of forty miles an hour.⁴³

Having left on June 9, Bat and his posse returned on June 12. The *Dodge City Times*, June 14, 1879, reported:

Sheriff Masterson and party of fifty men returned from Pueblo on Thursday

morning. He had been placed in charge of the railroad property there, but surrendered his authority upon writs being served by U. S. officers. The Denver & Rio Grand has possession. And "our boys" didn't smell any powder. Their voice is for peace.

More routine sheriff's duties now occupied Bat's time. On July 1 he delivered another prisoner to the state penitentiary. The *Globe*, July 8, 1879, said: "The only prisoner sentenced this term was Vanderhoff, for stealing \$25 of Mrs. D. B. Lewis. He went 'up' for one year. The Sheriff took him 'down' last Tuesday." ⁴⁴

The Leavenworth *Times*, July 6, 1879, apparently was a little confused by all the Mastersons when it reported:

James Masterson, the sheriff of Ford county, who knoweth not the name of fear, brought E. Vanderhoff to the penitentiary as his Fourth of July party, and turned him over. He has one year for grand larceny.

On July 22, 1879, the *Ford County Globe* reported that "W. B. Masterson, last week, purchased a house and lot of G. M. Hoover on 2nd avenue," and on August 2 the *Times* said that "Sheriff Masterson has taken a few days' visit to Wichita." ⁴⁵

Bat was soon back in Dodge and once again on the trail of horse thieves. The Dodge City *Times*, August 30, 1879, reported in its Spearville column:

A valuable team of horses was stolen on Sunday [August 24] from James Vandermark, six miles south of town. The owner and a neighbor, J. B. Gray, traced the thief across the river and then hurried to Dodge City, soliciting the aid of Sheriff Masterson, who at once recognized the rascal by the description given him, and is confident of his capture. On his advice the Board of County Commissioners offered a reward of \$50 for the apprehension and conviction of the horse thief.

County Attorney Sutton, Sheriff Masterson and Register Muller were down the road Wednesday [August 27] to make arrangements for the capture of horse thieves.

Another of Bat's prisoners had made a break for freedom on August 25 but this time not for long. The *Times*, August 30, 1879, put the blame on the board of county commissioners:

A prisoner broke from the Ford county jail on Monday last, but was promptly captured. We are not surprised at this, for the walls of the jail are barely security against the escape of prisoners. With a board flooring above for a roof, and a dirt floor underneath, unless there is a constant and vigilant watch, the prisoners are liable to escape with little effort on their part. The prisoner on Monday escaped by digging a hole under the door. Some time ago two prisoners escaped by cutting a hole through the board floor above. The wretched and insecure condition of the jail is a matter that demands the serious attention of the Board of County Commissioners. Upon

them alone rests the responsibility of the security of the prisoners; for the insecure jail is no fault of the sheriff's officers, who are liable for the safe custody of the prisoners. The people naturally look to the sheriff and deputies for a proper discharge of their duties; but under the present management of affairs the officers are almost rendered powerless. The entire community is at the peril of horse thieves and robbers. To the community the sheriff's officers are the protectors of the lives and property. These officers should have such means at their command to carry out the responsible duties of their trusts. The proper thing just now for the Board of Commissioners to perform, is to repair the jail quarters and render them fit for the confinement of prisoners.

Horse thieves again were on the young sheriff's agenda late in August. The *Times*, September 6, 1879, reported the capture of four:

CAPTURE OF HORSE THIEVES.

Sheriff Masterson and officers captured in the city, Friday last [August 29], two horse thieves, who had stolen stock nine miles north of Great Bend. The prisoners had a preliminary examination before Justice Cook, and were held over in the sum of \$800 each, but were subsequently taken to Great Bend, where they will no doubt be held for trial. A third person engaged in stealing with these two, managed to elude the vigilance of the officers and escaped. The prisoners gave fictitious names before their trial, thus attempting to avoid identification.

On Sunday two more persons were arrested, charged with horse stealing, and having in their possession fourteen head of horses, supposed to be stolen, which they had secreted on the range south. The prisoners were taken before Justice Cook, on Monday, but the trial was postponed for ten days.

On Wednesday Sheriff Masterson received a dispatch from J. B. Matthews, at Fort Griffin, Texas, telling him to hold the two men arrested by him on Sunday. The prisoners' names are Charley and Jack Lyon, and they had eight horses stolen from Matthews. These horses are in possession of the Sheriff.

Horse stealing has taken a fresh start in the country, and since the wholesale conviction of thieves last winter that crime had not been on the rampage until within the past few months. The officers of Ford county are on the alert and watch with a vigilant eye every suspicious character lurking in our midst.

"County Attorney Sutton and Sheriff Masterson went to Great Bend, Wednesday last, to be present at the trial of the horse thieves," said the *Dodge City Times*, September 13, 1879.

Bat visited Topeka on September 15, this time bringing with him an unfortunate person sentenced to the state hospital. The *Dodge City Times*, September 20, 1879, stated:

Louis Snizek, the person adjudged to be insane, was taken by Sheriff Masterson to the Insane Asylum, at Topeka, on Monday morning last. Snizek's case is a hopeful one, and he may soon be entirely cured of lunacy.⁴⁶

"Messrs. [C. E.] Beeson, Masterson and [G. M.] Hoover have gone to Kansas City to attend the fair," recorded the *Globe*, September 23, 1879.

In early October Bat was on the trail of some reward money which he apparently never obtained:

Dodge City Kan
Oct 2nd 1879

Gov. JOHN P ST JOHN
Topeka Kansas
Dr. Sir,

Will you be so kind as to inform me in regard to the reward offered for one Dan Henson—alias Cherokee Dan. . The reward was offered by Ex. . Gov. . Geo. T Anthony. . Amount \$500.00 five Hundred Dollars. . I think I can arrest him with some little Expence and if the reward is Still Standing I will make an Effort. . it was for the murder of one F. U Wyman in Commanche Co. Kan

You will oblige me by an immediate answer

Very respectfully
W. B. MASTERTON
Sheriff
Ford Co Kan ⁴⁷

On October 7, 1879, Bat wrote another letter to the governor this time asking for information concerning the reward offered for John "Scotty" Scott who murdered William Taylor on June 3, 1873. W. H. Ward, the governor's secretary told Bat the \$500 reward was still in effect.⁴⁸ There is no record of Bat's capturing Scott, one of Dodge's earliest murderers.

As November approached the newspapers of Dodge City featured more and more election news. On September 16, 1879, the *Globe* contained this letter from a subscriber:

CANDIDATES FOR SHERIFF.

Speareville, Kan, Sept 14.

EDITOR GLOBE:—Will you be kind enough to let the farmers of the east end of Ford county know through the columns of your paper who the candidates are that are seeking the office of Sheriff this fall, besides Masterson? We have enough of the Masterson rule.

SUBSCRIBER.

For the information of our subscriber we will say that as yet we have heard the name of but one man mentioned, aside from the present sheriff, and that is George T. Hinkel, of this city, who would make an excellent officer. He is not seeking the office, but would certainly make a strong candidate.

The *Times*, long a pro-Masterson organ, immediately came out with this rebuttal:

SPEAREVILLE, KAS., Sept. 17th.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

In reply to a communication published in the last issue of the Ford County Globe, in reference to candidates for the office of Sheriff, we beg to state that the most diligent inquiries among farmers and settlers in this neighborhood have thoroughly convinced us that W. B. Masterson is beyond doubt their

choice for the office. Judging from the fact, that no one acquainted with the excellent success with which he has so far discharged the duties of his office, could be induced to cast his vote for another candidate; and the high esteem and respect with which Masterson is regarded by all authorities, not only in this, but in other counties of this State as well, is sufficient guarantee of his superior qualifications for the office. Outside of a few soreheads, only the friends of evil-doers desire the election of a man who will as Sheriff be less dangerous to them and their associations.

W. H. LYBRAND,⁴⁹

Bat was nominated on an Independent ticket to run for re-election. The *Times*, October 25, 1879, said of the candidate for sheriff:

THE INDEPENDENT NOMINEES.

The Independent Convention, held at Dodge City, on Saturday last [October 18], was composed of the representative men of Ford county. Each precinct was fully and fairly represented by first-class and honorable men. The harmony of the proceedings and the unanimity by which the nominees were accepted, is a guarantee that there will be a triumphant success at the polls.

W. B. MASTERSON, the nominee for the office of Sheriff, is the efficient incumbent of that office. Bat is acknowledged to be the best Sheriff in Kansas. He is the most successful officer in the State. He is immensely popular and generally well liked. Horse thieves have a terror for the name of Masterson. He was the unanimous choice of the convention, and will be elected by a heavy majority. Every hater of horse thieves will rejoice over Bat's triumphant election; and the friends of good order and peace will contribute to his success.

The election was hotly contested. Bat's opponents used the expensive Cheyenne Indian trial as a major issue against his re-election. The *Ford County Globe*, a determinedly anti-Masterson paper, opened the ball with this preparatory statement of October 21, 1879:

AT LIBERTY.

As will be noticed by an article from the Lawrence Tribune on the fourth page of this paper, the Cheyenne Indians have been released from custody and are now at liberty. A large number of witnesses were present and the defendants were ready for trial. The prosecution was almost entirely abandoned, only a faint effort for a continuance being made. There is a suit now pending against Ford County for a large bill of costs in this case, and as will be seen by the proceedings of the Board, J. G. Waters, of Topeka, has volunteered his services to defend the county against paying these costs, amounting to several thousand dollars. The suits against the county are brought by W. B. Masterson, Sheriff.

Next week, the *Globe* began to take pot shots at Masterson and his Independent cocandidates:

Just think of Ford county having to pay \$4000 for the simple arrest of seven lousy Cheyenne Indians and that without even an effort to convict them. Hoover is against all such frauds. Don't his vote show it on Sheriff's bills?

Masterson and Sutton made it hot for the Nations Wards whom they so cunningly conspired against, and brought to Ford county for the people to look at. They now desire to make it hot for the poor tax payers of the county, by getting them to pay the bills incurred in their innocent amusement. The Governor has gone back on them. He hasn't any funds on hand to give them so they have to fall back on the dear people of Ford county. Let them appeal to the Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz.⁵⁰

Other expenses must have played a part in the campaign for on October 25, 1879, the *Times* said: "Bat Masterson is Sheriff of thirteen unorganized counties. Of course it costs something to run so much territory."

In northeast Ford county the *Speareville News*, October 25, 1879, also used the Cheyennes as ammunition against the Independent ticket:

Mr. Masterson has already received about three hundred dollars on the Cheyenne Indian account, and he and some others have instituted suit against Ford county for twenty-one hundred dollars more. Joe Waters, attorney for the Santa Fe, has volunteered to defend the county. Where is Mr. Sutton?

R. B. Fry, new editor of the *News*, pulled no punches in his campaign against Bat. On November 1, 1879, he published several items designed to injure the sheriff's chances at the polls:

DODGE-OZED.

The little Bull dozed on us the other night, because we saw proper to use our influence against him in the coming election, by using such weapons as he has deliberately placed in our hands. And we here emphatically reiterate that we never have, to our knowledge, nor never will support a man for an official position the second time, that during that time, has been a law breaker himself. And now voters' for the "Doze" "I am going to make this a personal matter and follow you up and if I hear you saying any thing more about me I will shoot you through the g-t-s, and when I come, you be prepared". Personally we have nothing against Mr. Masterson, officially we have; and whenever Mr. Masterson or any other man places themselves before the public, they become public property, and we shall handle them as such, in accordance with their deserts.

N. B.—For the want of space, and the respect we entertain for our patrons, we omit the obscene portion of the "doze."

We understand that "Bat Masterson" is going to shoot his way into the office of sheriff. This manner of conducting a canvass may do in Mississippi, but not in Ford county; many that had intended to support "Bat" will not do it now.

H.

We understand that Mr. Masterson has introduced the Yazoo plan in Ford county.

D.

There is a report being circulated that J. M. Stevenson had to pay Mr. Masterson for hunting and catching his horse, and thief. We are informed by Mr. Stevenson that such is not the case, it is also substantiated by Mr. Myton, who was present at the time Mr. S. offered to pay him. We make this voluntary correction, through justice to Mr. Stevenson, and Mr. Masterson as well, notwithstanding we are opposing Mr. M's reelection, we propose to be fair in the matter, and use such weapons, only, as he has forged himself.

Mr. Stevenson himself came to Bat's aid through the *Dodge City Times*, November 1, 1879:

I desire to inform the people of Ford county that all parties circulating the report that Bat Masterson charged me \$25 or any other amount, for the finding and return of my stolen pony last fall, is telling an unmitigated falsehood as was ever uttered by any evil-minded persons. My transactions with Mr. Masterson have always been perfectly satisfactory. I expect to vote for him and work for his election.

JOHN M. STEVENSON.

SPEAREVILLE, Oct. 29, 1879.

The combination was too great, however, and the Independent ticket went down to defeat on November 4, 1879. Bat was beaten in all six of Ford county's voting areas. His final tally was 268 votes to George T. Hinkle's 404. Whether Bat was beaten as an individual or because he was one of the "gang," as represented by the Independent ticket, is a matter of open speculation. At any rate the entire party fell, soundly defeated by the "Peoples'" ticket.

The *Times*, November 8, 1879, mused over the blow:

There is a good deal of speculation as to the causes of the late defeat in Ford county, of the Independent ticket. The reasons given would fill a large volume; but we conjecture the most powerful influence was in the beer keg; and of course people fighting for honesty and reform wouldn't use money.

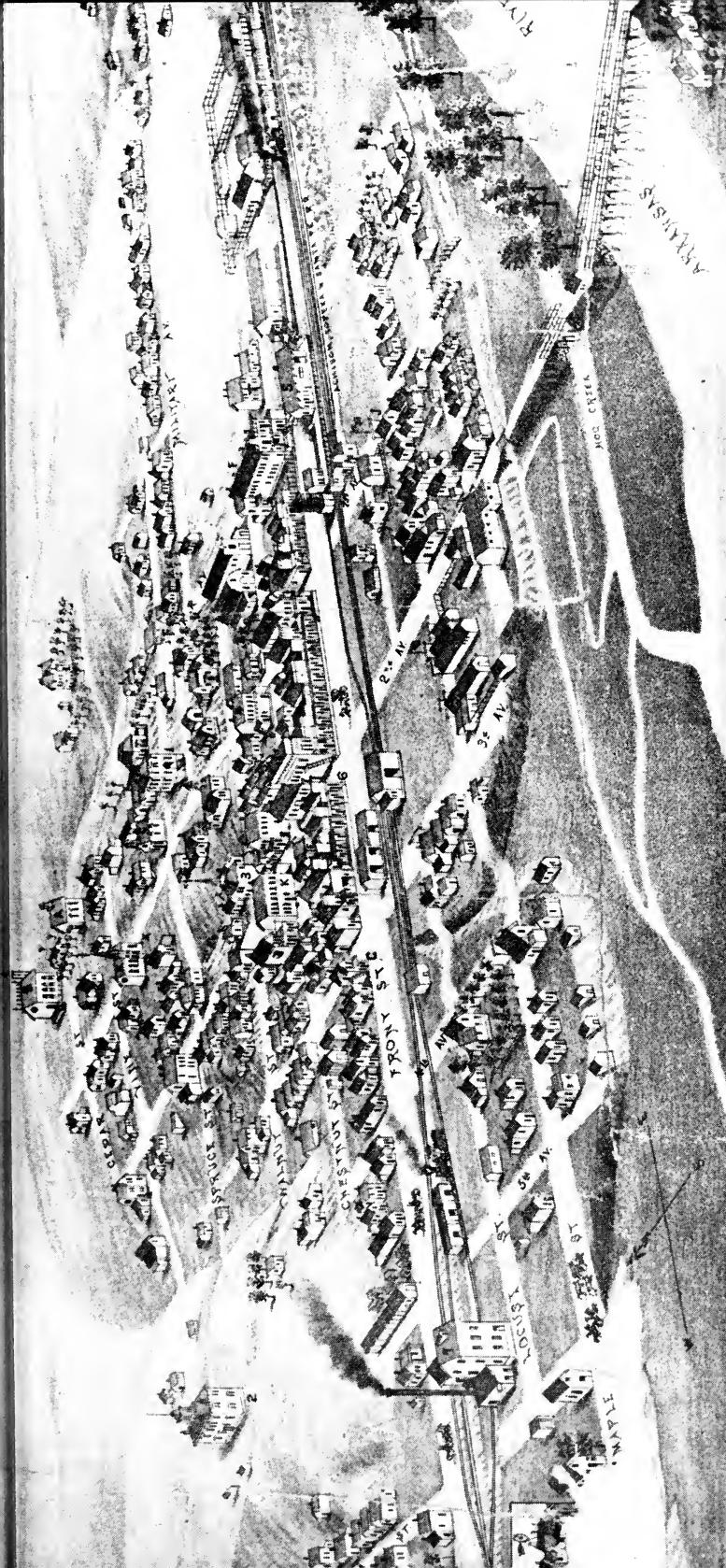
According to the *Times*, November 15, the Peoples' party was not the only group glad to see the defeat of Sheriff Masterson:

Since the success of the Peoples' ticket horse thieves have become emboldened. A fine span of mules was stolen from J. H. Werner in the Windthorst settlement, a few nights ago. The thief had previously held a parley with the owner of the mules, and the thief expressed satisfaction over the defeat of Sheriff Masterson. That night the mules were stolen.

Bob Fry of the *Speareville News* continued to publish articles detrimental to the character of Bat Masterson even after the election was over. Two of them appeared in the November 8, 1879, issue of the *News*:

We hear that Bat. Masterson said he was going to whip every s--- of a b---- that worked and voted against him in the county.

The above was given us on the best authority and taking into consideration the source of our information and the fact that two or three citizens already



BIRDS EYE VIEW OF

DODGE CITY, KANS.

COUNTY SEAT OF FORD COUNTY

1882

POPULATION '200

- D—Dodge City Times, N. B. Klaine Ed'r and Prop.
- E—Ford Co. Globe, Frost & Shinn, Ed's and Prop's
- F—Dodge House, Cox & Boyd, Prop's.
- G—Iowa " W. C. Beebe, Prop.
- H—South Side House, South end of Bridge, (Wm. States, Prop)
- J—Great Western Hotel.
- K—Wright House.

- 1. Court House.
- 2. School House.
- 3. U. S. Signal Service Office.
- 4. (Old) Fellows Hall.
- 5. A. T. & S. F. R. R. Depot.
- 6. Post Office, Lloyd Shinn, P. M.
- 7. Dodge City Grist Mill, H. F. May & Co., Prop's.
- X—Methodist Episcopal Church.
- A—Presbyterian "
- B—Roman Catholic "
- C—Union "



Survivors of the last Indian raid in Kansas (September, 1878), these seven Cheyennes were photographed April 30, 1879, on the steps of the Ford county courthouse at Dodge City where they had been taken to stand trial for murder.

Various authorities have identified them as: top row—Tangled Hair (or Frizzle Hair or Wakabish), Left Hand (or Manitou or Rain in the Face), Crow (or Old Crow), Porcupine (or Left Hand or White Antelope); bottom row—Wild Hog, George Reynolds (interpreter), Old Man (or Noisy Walker), Blacksmith (or Muskekon). The bearded man at the top is probably Franklin G. Adams, first long-time secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society.

have been fearfully beaten, by himself and friends, would give the above statement a credence, that but few would attempt to deny. We publish in this issue, a statement of Chas. Roden, one of the men that he should have assaulted, of the manner in which he was attacked, also after he had went out on the street, he was searched for pistols and his discovery afterwards, that his pocketbook was missing, carries with it a degree of conviction that the above threat was made and deliberately being carried out. We have talked with several of Mr. M[s]. supporters and everyone without an exception, condemn such a course on his part. The question remains, if the above reports are true, how long will the citizens of Ford County permit this to go on.

(CORRESPONDENCE)

SPEAREVILLE, Nov. 6, 1879.

EDITOR NEWS: Being in Dodge City on a visit in company with some ladies, and while walking down Main street and in front of Col. Jones office. Mr. Jones called me in to have a little talk. When all at once Sheriff Masterson came in, stepping in front of me and said: "You have been doing good work down in the East end," and before I had time to reply, he struck me several times; after I had got out on the street, some official, I believe it was the sheriffs brother, searched my pockets, he said to see if I had any pistol, but did not find any. When I got ready to go home I felt in my pocket for my pocket-book to pay my bills and found it gone. I would advise every person from the East-end, that voted the Peoples' ticket to be on their guard.

CHAS. RODEN.

It seemed that Mr. Roden was telling something less than the truth for on November 15, 1879, the *News* published a letter from Col. T. S. Jones, a prominent Dodge City attorney and owner of the office in which the altercation took place, which placed a different light on the matter:

EDITOR SPEAREVILLE NEWS: In justice to myself, as well as to Mr. Masterson I wish to correct some erroneous impressions as to the difficulty which took place between Mr. Chas. Roden and Sheriff Masterson in my office a few days since, an incorrect report of which was given in the last Speareville News signed by Roden containing statements untrue and unjust.

Mr. Roden and myself were engaged in a friendly conversation when Mr. Masterson entered my office, in response to an invitation extended him during the early part of the afternoon, as I wished to see him in reference to a matter of business. Roden was standing up and in the act of leaving, when Masterson came in, they met face to face and to all appearances the greeting between them was mutually friendly, soon after which a conversation commenced between them, in which Masterson accused Roden of using language against him before the election, which was untrue and which he had no right to do. Roden replying, that was alright.

They then assumed the attitude of belligerents, Roden putting his right hand in his rear pocket, evidently for the purpose of intimidating Masterson and making him believe he intended something more serious. Masterson immediately seizing him by the hand dealt him several severe blows, saying at

the same time "pull it, if you can." Roden finally made an unceremonious exit from the scene of strife into the street and from thence into Mr. Mueller's shoe shop. Masterson was unarmed. While fighting is to be deprecated, frankness impels me to the belief, that in this instance, there was a merited rebuke visited upon the person of the wrong-doer. Your

T. S. JONES.

The above communication from Col. Thomas S. Jones of Dodge City puts a different feature on the case. The columns of the *News* are always open for controversy in a courteous manner.

A footnote to the character of Bat's accuser, Charles Roden, was printed in the *Speareville News* just two weeks later, November 29, 1879. Roden, it seems, had been engaged in thievery at Speareville, storing the loot in his house. When arrested he gave bond to appear the next day but skipped town singing, according to Editor Fry, "Oh! for a lodge in some vast wilderness."

Of course, Bat was not one to take the accusations of Bob Fry charitably. He sent this rebuttal through the editor of the *Dodge City Times*, November 15, 1879:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

In answer to the publication made by Bob Fry of the *Speareville News*, asserting that I made threats that I would lick any s-- of a b---- that voted or worked against me at the last election, I will say it is as false and as flagrant a lie as was ever uttered; but I did say this: that I would lick him the s-- of a b---- if he made any more dirty talk about me; and the words s-- of a b---- I strictly confined to the *Speareville* editor, for I don't know of any other in Ford county.

W. B. MASTERSON.

Bat's retort had its effect. The *Times*, November 22, 1879, reported that "Bob Fry, of the *Speareville News*, exhibited to the Hon. Nelson Adams, while on the train going west the other evening, a self-cocking pistol, that he was carrying for Sheriff Masterson. Better hitch yourself to a cannon, Bob."

Next, Bat was caught up in the tangle of jurisprudence. The *Ford County Globe*, November 18, 1879, reprinted an article from the Buckner (later Jetmore) *Independent* and added some comment of its own:

THE HORSE THIEVES RELEASED.

It seems that there were some thirty horses stolen from Milton Harrison, of the Pan Handle, who with a few companions followed and found the horses in the vicinity of Hays City, in the possession of W. B. Rogers and four other men, who were and are supposed to be the thieves who stole the horses from the Pan Handle. He took his horses and the thieves and arrived at Hays City on election day; lodged the prisoners in jail and had them detained a couple of days.

For some reason unknown to us and to the sorrow of every law-loving citizen, Mr. Harrison and party pursued their journey without obtaining the proper papers to take the prisoners to Texas, and arrived at Dodge City on the evening of the 13th inst. They turned the prisoners over to W. B. Masterson, sheriff of Ford county, who, Mr. Harrison says, promised to return them to him. But the prisoners succeeded in getting the ear of M. W. Sutton, the County Attorney of Ford county, who filed a petition before the Hon. Probate Judge of said county, asking for a writ of habeas corpus. The said sheriff made the following answer.

STATE OF KANSAS, Co. of Ford.

To the Probate Court: I hereby state that I hold the within named parties without any authority whatever; that I have had no commitment of them.

W. B. MASTERSON,
Sheriff.

We are informed that the sheriff did not notify Mr. Harrison that the writ was served on him until some time after the prisoners had been released.

This release may be justifiable under the law, for the reason that Mr. Harrison ought to have obtained, to say the least, a warrant, if not a requisition at Hays, to give him the authority to remove the prisoners. But notwithstanding Mr. Harrison did not fulfill the requirements of the law, his intentions were undoubtedly to do so, and we look upon it as Mr. Masterson's express and official duty to have notified Mr. Harrison of the writ, and we can not understand why he did not so do.—Buckner Independent.

The above detailed statement as given in the "Independent" is substantially correct as far as the theft is concerned, and the arrest of the guilty parties and lodging them in our jail for safe keeping as well as the release that followed. We think that there are other officers that are equally as liable for this wholesale jail delivery as Mr. Masterson, our Sheriff. We find that the county-attorney Mike Sutton lent a willing hand to assist these thieves out of their trouble—instead of informing Mr. Harrison that he was doing an illegal act and instructing him how to proceed, so that he might bring to justice the parties who had robbed him out of all he possessed; instead of counseling the thieves,—we say it would look much better if Sutton had been on the other side of the question, but he was not, as the facts in the case will show.

He filed with the Probate Court, N. B. Klaine, publisher of the Times, (a man that talks about "rings, fraud," etc.) an affidavit setting forth the illegal restraint and incarceration of these thieves, and prays that a writ of habeas corpus issue from said court so that these parties may have a hearing and show cause why they should not be released. The court promptly issued said writ and a hearing was had, and, of course, the parties were released, as they say, "on the ground that they were illegally held and that no one appeared against them." That, also, may be true. Not a single attorney in the city knew anything about this case outside of Sutton. The probate court didn't even continue the case sufficiently long to get word to the party that brought them here so that he might give an explanation of his acts, and we doubt very much whether Mr. Klaine cared to do so.

The whole transaction was done after night or so early in the morning that none but the trio know what was being done in this honorable (?) court. At all events it was done before the time had arrived for Mr. Harrison to go to the Sheriff and reclaim the parties he had turned over to him for safe keeping

and when he did go, imagine his surprise, when he is informed by the Sheriff that they had been legally released. Klaine may possibly be enabled to explain to the people in his next issue that this was a square deal, right and just and all that sort of thing; but we venture the assertion that this is a far greater ring than he would have the people believe was inaugurated at the late election.

Bat answered the charges in the *Dodge City Times*, November 22, 1879:

A CARD.

"We are informed that the Sheriff did not notify Mr. Harrison that the writ was served on him until some time after the prisoners had been released."

The above quoted words are from the *Buckner Independent* and commented on by the *Ford County Globe*. In response thereto, I will say that I had a writ of habeas corpus served on me in the evening about 5 o'clock, and issued by the Probate Judge of Ford county, commanding me to have the defendants B. W. Rogers et al, before the Probate Court at ten o'clock the following day, and to show by what authority I held the above named defendants; and I will state here my reasons for not informing the parties plaintiff in the above cause: that when the hour of ten o'clock came the following day, that none of the parties plaintiff could be found, with the exception of one, and he was in such a beastly state of intoxication that he could not be aroused; and I am positive that if I had been able to have got him on his feet he would not have known the difference between a writ of habeas corpus and a Texas steer. When he turned the prisoners over to me he conducted himself in a turbulent and quarrelsome manner.

The defendants told me while in my charge that they were willing to be turned over to some legal and responsible officer, and be taken back to Texas for trial; that they had not stolen the horses, and were prepared to prove it; but they did object to being turned over to a drunken mob, and be taken out and hung without jury or trial, as the party in charge had threatened to do so as soon as they were far enough away from Dodge to be safe.

W. B. MASTERSON.

Retaliation of a sort occurred on November 30 when Bat swore out a warrant for the arrest of the *Globe* editor, D. M. Frost. The *Globe*, on December 2, 1879, was the first to report the arrest:

ARRESTED.

Again the *GLOBE* has a choice morsel of news for its readers. The election excitement had about subsided, the *Times* had exhausted its stock of weeping and wailing, and a quiet spell seemed inevitable, when, on Sunday evening last, W. B. Masterson, Sheriff of Ford county and Deputy United States Marshal, relieved the monotony by arresting D. M. Frost, one of the editors of this paper, on a United States warrant, issued by United States Commissioner R. G. Cook. The complaint, or information upon which the warrant was issued was signed and sworn to by W. B. Masterson, and charges Mr. Frost with having violated that portion of the United States Statutes which prohibits the buying or selling of stolen government property. The date of the transaction is something over a year ago, at which time it is alleged that Mr. Frost

received some government stores from Sargeant Evarts, an employee of the Quartermaster's department at Fort Elliott, Texas.

Mr. Frost was taken before his Honor, United States Commissioner R. G. Cook, who set December 18th as the time for holding the preliminary examination, and required the defendant to give a bond for his appearance on that day in the gentle sum of five thousand dollars. The value of the goods alleged to have been purchased was about one hundred and forty dollars. The bond was given with neatness and dispatch, and it would have been just as promptly forthcoming had it been fifty thousand instead of five.

We do not know whether it is the intention of the prosecuting parties to hang the defendant on a sour apple tree, burn him at the stake, or imprison him for life in the bastille on a bread and water diet, but it is evident that they would "smile all over their faces and half way down their backs" to see him in either of the above predicaments, as their love and affection for him is not of that tender and sympathetic nature which is said to have existed in the breast of the Saviour when he sacrificed his life to save a lost and ruined community.

The affair is liable to cause Mr. Frost considerable trouble and expense, but his vast fortune will be poured out like water from the clouds to secure his vindication. But if, on the other hand, it shall be proved that he has been systematically plundering the government of the United States and wearing government socks purchased from one of the brave defenders of his country, then we shall be tempted to place our right hand upon our left breast and swear a mighty oath that the human race has lost its virtue, the devil is a saint and "things are not what they seem."

The *GLOBE* will endeavor to keep its numerous intelligent readers posted on the progress of the case and large posters will be struck announcing the locality and hour for the hanging to take place.

And now in conclusion we will suggest that if the great and good Nancy Balderstone of the *Times* wishes to offer an exhortation on the subject of honesty, morality and the degeneration of our race, the present is a fit moment for him to "shoot his little wad."

The *Dodge City Times*, December 6, 1879, went to great pains to report the arrest as if the principal were not the editor of a rival newspaper but merely another unfortunate:

ARREST OF D. M. FROST.

D. M. Frost, editor of the *Ford County Globe*, was arrested on Sunday last by W. B. Masterson, Deputy U. S. Marshal, and taken before R. G. Cook, U. S. Commissioner, to answer to the complaint sworn to by W. B. Masterson, which alleges that on the 1st day of May, 1878, D. M. Frost did obtain 300 pounds of white lead, two gallons of varnish, three kegs nails, a lot of stationery, to the value of \$127 54, the property of the United States; and that he did unlawfully, wilfully, feloniously, knowingly steal, take this property contrary to the statutes, peace and dignity of the United States, obtaining said property of Jos. Evarts, a soldier of the 19th Infantry, employed and entrusted with the care of said property belonging to the United States; said Frost knowing that said Evarts was a soldier and employed by the Government, that said Jos. Evarts had no right to sell the property of the United States; and that

Frost did conceal and aid to conceal, with intent to convert to his own use, the articles mentioned; that said property had been embezzled and purloined by Jos. Evarts, said Frost knowing said property had been embezzled, purloined and stolen; said Frost knowing it to be the property of the United States.

Frost gave bail in the sum of \$5,000, for his appearance before Commissioner Cook, on the 18th of December, to answer to the charges set forth in the complaint, when a preliminary examination will be had. Jos. Evarts, the soldier mentioned, is now serving a sentence of three years imprisonment in the military prison at Fort Leavenworth. His trial took place at Fort Elliott only a few months ago.

Frost was indicted by a grand jury at Topeka on April 14, 1880. On August 18, 1880, a petition signed by prominent Dodge City residents was presented to Charles Devens, attorney general of the United States, asking for a dismissal of the charges. The ultimate fate of the case is not known, but to all appearances it did not injure the career of D. M. Frost.

In December, 1879, Bat learned that the county clerk, John B. Means, had forged county scrip in the sheriff's name. The *Times*, December 27, recounted the story:

FORGED COUNTY SCRIP.

John B. Means has resigned the office of County Clerk. The reason for Mr. Means' sudden termination of the office so close to the end of his term, was from the fact that he had forged two pieces of county scrip; one for the sum of \$256 60, in favor of W. B. Masterson, Sheriff, "for services in conveying prisoners to the penitentiary." Another piece of county scrip, for the sum of \$278 25, in favor of Hamilton & Co., stationers. How the discovery of the forgery transpired may be briefly stated as follows: On Monday night Means was pretty well "boozed," as the saying is, and was bantered to make a bet on a game of billiards; and not having the "needful" he drew forth the first mentioned piece of scrip and called the game. This was a grand mistake—undoubtedly the wrong piece of scrip was put up as a wager. Some cunning eye noticed the large amount for which the scrip was drawn, and the name of W. B. Masterson being thereon, suggested the fact that "Gid" was dealing in "crooked" county indebtedness.

Sheriff Masterson was immediately apprised of the circumstance; and confronting Means inquired if any of his bills had been allowed for which he had not yet received the county warrant. Means replied no. Masterson then demanded the piece of scrip bearing his name, saying it was a forgery. Upon further investigation it was found that Means had the second piece of scrip above described, which also proved to be a forgery.

The two county commissioners residing here were immediately notified, and they peremptorily demanded Mr. Means' resignation. An examination of the scrip book did not disclose the forgeries, because the forged pieces were issued on numbers properly drawn. Means states that these two pieces are the only ones "out" that have a crooked imprint. The name of "A. J. Peacock, Chairman," was signed by him, which he states was done at a time when several parties were waiting to have scrip filled out, and he signed several blank pieces

in order to facilitate business. The name of "C. H. Lane, Treasurer," in the registry of the scrip is a skillful forgery.

The scrip purports to have been issued on the 6th of July and registered on the 11th of that month. Mr. Means fully exonerates Mr. Peacock of any knowledge in the matter, and says that gentleman signed blank scrip at his request, as he desired to fill out scrip for jury fees. No one had complicity in this fraudulent scheme.

His intention was to dispose of these forged pieces of scrip after his term of office expired; but being well up in his "cups" he inadvertently unearthed his own rascally action. Gid is not a shrewd forger. The State and not the county pays the Sheriff for conveying prisoners to the penitentiary. He should have carefully concealed the forged pieces. "They will not do to bet on."

Means makes a humble confession of his guilt. He is really to be pitied; and we exceedingly regret that we are compelled to make these statements of his conduct. But poverty stared him in the face. He is broken down physically; is subject to epilepsy and boozeism. The man's deplorable physical condition excites sympathy, and for this reason no prosecution will probably be made; notwithstanding the offence is a grave one, and one deserving punishment.

We presume the Board of County Commissioners will present a complaint to the District Court which will be in session week after next.

Means was not jailed for his misdeed but was permitted to leave the city. By late January, 1880, he was as far west as Santa Fe, N. M.⁵¹

Apparently the effort of Joseph G. Waters to defend the county against payment of Sheriff Masterson's Indian bills failed, for on January 5, 1880, the board of county commissioners allowed Bat over \$1,000 expenses in the case.⁵²

On January 6, 1880, Bat opened the January term of the Ford county district court⁵³ and then on January 10 departed on his last official duty as sheriff of the county. The *Times*, January 17, 1880, said:

Sheriff Masterson went to Leavenworth Saturday night last, having in charge George Parker and Fred L. Baldwin, charged with horse stealing, and convicted at the last term of the Ford county District Court. They were sentenced to twelve and sixteen months imprisonment respectively.

Ex-Sheriff W. B. Masterson and Ex-Deputy Chas. E. Bassett, returned from the Leavenworth prison, having safely lodged the two prisoners, Baldwin and Parker. This is Bat's last official act as sheriff.

Early Dodge Citians were famed for the jokes they pulled on one another and on strangers who seemed to ask for the full treatment. A "practical joke" on a so-called "doctor of medicine," was recorded in the *Ford County Globe*, February 17, 1880:

IN AND OUT OF DODGE.

EXPERIENCE OF A SCIENTIFIC M. D. ON THE LECTURE PLATFORM.
PISTOLS, POWDER AND PRIVATE DISEASES.

Dodge City has been shaken from center to circumference during the past week by the advent of a gentleman of distinction who bore the unassuming name and title of Meredith, M. D. He was what the boys would call a "daisy." The general outlines of his outward appearance did not indicate that he had ever finished his education with foreign travel, or that he had at any time during his earthly career peregrinated with a circus—therefore he was not thoroughly posted on the modes and costumes that prevail in chaste and civilized cities with advanced ideas, such as Dodge possesses, and to all appearances is wonderfully proud.

The Doctor had written to some of our citizens wishing to know whether Dodge would be a good field for his line of science, which he designated as Phrenology and the treatment of certain diseases which it is not here necessary to mention in detail. He was encouraged to come, and recommended to Major James Dalton and Mr. Luke McGlue as prominent citizens who would be likely to take a deep interest in his cause. Immediately after his arrival he determined to deliver a lecture defining his particular sphere that the public might understand his great mission and come unto him to be cured and to have their organs examined.

The old Lady Gay dance hall was engaged for the occasion and thither at early candle-lighting a large concourse assembled. Mr. W. B. Masterson, Esq. was chosen to act as chairman and introduced the speaker in a few neat and well chosen remarks.

Dr. Meredith opened his address by saying that he had not intended to deliver a lecture, but "at the urgent solicitation of numerous prominent"—

"You lie!" shouted some one in the audience.

Chairman Masterson rebuked the insult, and when order was restored the doctor began again. Proceeding further in a like manner, he was again interrupted by an insulting remark from one of the audience, and it was only by stern commands and threats of annihilation that the chairman brought the house to order.

Again the Doctor proceeded and was just wading deep into a scientific problem when a loud, profane and fiendish yell from Luke McGlue turned the house into an uproar of excitement, and all efforts to restore order were in vain.

Just at this critical moment a southside exhorter with one eye in a sling made an effort to drag the orator from the stand, whereupon Chairman Masterson drew from beneath his coat-tails a Colt's improved, nickel plated, size 44 shooting instrument and formed himself in a hollow square in front of the horrified Doctor, determined to defend or die! A crash was heard—the lamps went out instantaneously, windows were smashed, missiles flew through the darkness, the air was filled with demoniac yells and shooting commenced in rapid succession. In the language of the poet we may well exclaim

"What a row was that, my countrymen!"

It was only after all the ammunition in the house was expended that the murderous carnival ceased and a lamp was lighted by which to remove the dead and wounded. But the dead and wounded had ere this time escaped and even the Doctor was nowhere to be found. Search was made, and at last

he was discovered coiled up under the speaker's stand with his hands over his marble features and a ghastly bullet hole through the crown of his hat.

The meeting adjourned sine die.

Following the completion of his term as sheriff, the gold fields in Colorado next attracted Bat. On February 28, 1880, the *Times* reported: "W. B. Masterson, formerly sheriff of Ford county, left for Leadville Wednesday morning, where he will remain a short time. Bat has many friends who wish him a successful career, and trust he may shortly return."⁵⁴

The young ex-sheriff returned to Dodge on March 6 or 7, depending on whether one consults the *Times* or *Globe*. "W. B. Masterson returned from Leadville last Sunday and gave a glowing account of the immense business of that mushroom city and the richness of its mineral surroundings," said the *Globe*, March 9, 1880. "W. B. Masterson returned from Leadville on Saturday last. Bat says there is going to be some big openings in the Gunnison country. Things are getting to a solid basis in Leadville. It takes money to make money," reported the *Times*, March 13, 1880.

On March 10, 1880, Bat donated \$20.00 to the defense of his friend J. J. Webb in Las Vegas, N. M. Of 42 donors, Bat was one of four who gave such a large sum.⁵⁵

Bat continued his interest in politics. He attended the county Republican convention on March 20 and the state convention at Topeka on March 31. He was firmly for Grant, the *Globe* indicated.⁵⁶

"W. B. Masterson has gone to take a look on the Gunnison country. We hope he will 'strike it big,'" said the *Times*, April 17, 1880.⁵⁷

On May 4, 1880, the *Globe* repeated a rumor involving Bat: "A report reached the city yesterday from Colorado that Ex-Sheriff W. B. Masterson had made a big commotion up about Buna Vista by a dexterous use of his revolver. As the report has not been confirmed we can give no particulars."

The gold bubble soon burst for Bat. On May 29, 1880, the Dodge City *Times* mentioned a letter he had written concerning the value of the Gunnison country:

W. B. Masterson writes to M. W. Sutton that he is in Denver and will probably return to Dodge City this week. He says "the Gunnison is the worst fraud he ever saw. There are no mines anywhere near Pitkin or Gunnison City, the closest being Ruby City, and there is three feet of snow in the streets, and it will be impossible to do anything there before the middle of July." Bat advises his friends to keep away from the Gunnison country, if they have any show of making a living, where they are living.

"W. B. Masterson returned from Colorado Tuesday morning [June 1]. Bat. does not give a glowing account of the Silver State," said the *Times*, June 5, 1880.⁵⁸

Bat arrived in Dodge just in time to be enumerated in the tenth United States census. His occupation was listed as laborer, his age as 25 years. The census taker also stated that he was living with one Annie Ladue, a 19-year-old concubine. The date of the enumeration was June 22, 1880; the enumerator—it should be pointed out—was W. C. Shinn, brother of one of the *Globe's* coeditors, Lloyd Shinn.

On July 6, 1880, the *Globe* reported that "W. B. Masterson has gone to Ogallala, Nebraska." According to Robert M. Wright, an old time Dodge resident—the Wright of Wright, Beverley & Co.—Bat made the trip at the instance of his friend Ben Thompson to rescue Ben's brother Billy who had been wounded in a gun fight in that Nebraska cowtown. This was substantiated several years later by Thomas Masterson, Jr., Bat's brother.⁵⁹

It was recorded in the local press at the time that Bill Thompson was wounded in an Ogallala gun battle, and was reported in the *Times*, June 26, 1880:

Wm. Thompson had a difficulty with a Texas man in Ogallala, a few days ago. A number of shots were fired. Billy received five shots. He was not dangerously hurt.

It was also recorded that when Bat came back to Dodge City he shared his wagon with Bill Thompson. The *Times*, July 17, 1880, reported his return:

W. B. Masterson arrived from a visit to Ogallala, this week. He says Nebraska is dry and many people are leaving the State. He came by wagon, and was accompanied by Texas Billy Thompson. The latter has recovered from his wounds.

Beyond that the Dodge City newspapers had nothing to say about Bat's "rescue mission" to Ogallala. Latter-day writers, however, have contended it was a daring whisking away of a man from under the law's snout.

Bat's name did not again appear in the papers of Dodge City until December 7, 1880, when the *Globe* said that "Ex-Sheriff W. B. Masterson arrived in the city a few days ago." The *Times*, December 11, stated that "he lives in Kansas City. Bat was welcomed by a host of friends."

Apparently Bat remained in Dodge for about two months and then on February 8, 1881, left for Tombstone, Ariz., "where he expects to remain next summer."⁶⁰

The Dodge City *Times*, February 24, 1881, reported that "C. M. Beeson received a letter from W. H. Harris, who states that W. B. Masterson arrived at Tombstone, Arizona. The old Dodge boys are seeking fortunes in the gold fields of Arizona."

In April, 1881, Bat was suddenly called home to Dodge to aid his brother Jim, now ex-marshal, in a difficulty with Al Updegraff and A. J. Peacock. The *Ford County Globe*, April 19, 1881, printed the first of many articles on the affair:

THE FESTIVE REVOLVER.

AGAIN ITS MUSICAL VOICE IS HEARD IN THE LAND.

SHOOTING ALL ALONG THE LINE AND ONLY ONE MAN HURT.

Last Saturday about noon one of the most daring and dangerous shooting scrapes took place that Dodge City has ever experienced.

The facts as near as we can gather them are about as follows:

A. J. Peacock and James Masterson have been partners in the dance hall and saloon business in Dodge City, and for some time past their business relations have not been as smooth as polished glass.

A few weeks ago Mr. Al Updegraff was employed as bar tender in the dance hall, and it seemed he was a strong friend of Peacock's.

Something occurred last week which caused an open quarrel between Masterson on the one side and Updegraff and Peacock on the other. Pistols were drawn and several shots fired, but no one was hurt.

It appears that immediately after this quarrel Masterson telegraphed to his brother, Bat Masterson, in New Mexico, asking him to come to Dodge and help him out of his difficulties. In response to the invitation Bat came on the first train, arriving here last Friday morning about 11:50. About the first objects that met his eyes were Peacock and Updegraff walking across the street. He followed them up, hailed them, and immediately the shooting commenced. Masterson fortified himself behind an embankment near the railroad track, while Peacock and Updegraff took shelter behind the corners of the calaboose building. Both sides continued to shoot for about three or four minutes, during which time the excitement along the street was rather lively, as the shots from the calaboose party were in direct range with the stores and business houses. One bullet passed through the front of Dr. McCarty's drug store, one through the Long Branch, and one through the front of G. M. Hoover's wholesale liquor store. Some unknown party was at one time seen to fire two or three shots from a point to the right of Masterson's position, at the Peacock party, and then disappeared to be seen no more. It is asserted, and is probably true, that several shots were fired by other parties along the street at Peacock and Updegraff. When the shooting, which lasted but a few minutes, had ceased, it was found that the pistols of Masterson and Peacock were empty, while Updegraff had one shot left. Updegraff was the only man hurt. He was shot through the lungs, the ball passing entirely through his body. The wound was at first thought to be fatal, but there is now fair prospect of his recovery.

Masterson was arrested by the city officers and fined in the police court for disturbing the peace. A State warrant was issued later in the evening

for several parties connected with the affair, but they were allowed to leave town, with the understanding that they were not to return.

Great indignation was manifested and is still felt by the citizens against the Masterson party, as the shooting was caused by a private quarrel, and the parties who were anxious to fight should have had at least a thought for the danger they were causing disinterested parties on the street and in business houses.

Such was the nature of the affair that the officers thought best not to undertake the process of criminal prosecution, although many advised it. At any rate the citizens are thoroughly aroused and will not stand any more foolishness. They will not wait for the law to take its course if such an outrage should again occur.

A correspondent's article appeared in several Kansas newspapers. The following copy was printed in the *Caldwell Commercial*, April 21, 1881:

THAT LITTLE AFFAIR AT DODGE CITY.

DODGE CITY, KAS., April 17.—The new administration, with A. B. Webster at its head, has taken charge, and law and order is the watchword. This, however, was sadly violated yesterday, when a remarkable fight and killing occurred. It seems that for some time trouble has been brewing between A. J. Peacock, Al. Updegraff and James Masterson, proprietor of the Lady Gay dance hall. This culminated several days ago in Masterson being shot at a number of times and slightly wounded. The Mastersons have a fighting reputation, the eldest, Edward, having been killed while Marshal, and all having been shot and wounded at divers times. W. B. Masterson, who is the "boss," and has been Sheriff of this county and Marshal of this city, was telegraphed for at Tombstone, N. M., to come and settle the trouble. He came at noon yesterday, and while taking a drink with some friends seen Updegraff and Peacock crossing the railroad. He immediately followed them, and, coming within twenty feet, said: "I have come over a thousand miles to settle this. I know you are healed; now fight."

All three immediately commenced firing, Masterson having the advantage of a slight embankment at the railroad track, while Peacock and Updegraff retreated to the corners of the city jail and fired from there. Two other parties opened fire from the saloon on the north side, while Masterson, thinking he was fired on from behind, laid down to reload, when he again commenced firing. Updegraff, who was shot through the right lung, retreated, and Mayor Webster, with Sheriff [Fred] Singer, coming up with shotguns, compelled Masterson to give up his pistols. This happening in the heart of the city, with over a hundred people in sight, it is remarkable that only one was killed and two wounded. While lying down to reload, a bullet threw the dirt into Masterson's mouth, and rebounding struck James Anderson in the back. Several bullets entered the saloons and business houses, and there were many narrow escapes. The Mastersons were arrested, pleaded guilty, fined \$10 and costs, paid their fines and left on last night's train for the West. Fifteen extra police were on duty last night, but now all is quiet. It was the most determined fight made since the days of "Wild Bill" (Jim Hickok) and his celebrated fight at Springfield.

Even Bat's long time supporter, the *Dodge City Times*, could find little excuse for the ex-sheriff's actions this time. On April 21, 1881, the *Times* said:

Al. Updegraff, who was shot in the street recontre Saturday last, is recovering slowly, and will soon be well. The shot entered the lower part of the right lung, and shattered the ribs. The cause of the shooting arose from trouble between the proprietors of the Lady Gay dance hall. Al. is barkeeper of the house. He was shot by Bat. Masterson, who came up from New Mexico to take his brother's part. The firing on the street by Bat. Masterson, and jeopardizing the lives of citizens, is severely condemned by our people, and the good opinion many citizens had of Bat. has been changed to one of contempt. The parties engaged in this reckless affray were permitted to leave town, though warrants were sworn out for their arrest. Bat. Masterson, James Masterson, Chas. Ronan and Tom O'Brien were the accused, and there is good reason to believe they will never darken Dodge City any more. We believe the authorities did perfectly right in permitting these men to go. If they will remain away there will be no more trouble in Dodge City. Should they return they will be prosecuted.

By April 21 Updegraff was well enough to write a letter explaining his version of the affair to the *Ford County Globe*. It was published on May 10, 1881:

THE TRUE STATEMENT OF THE SHOOTING AT DODGE CITY.

MEDICINE LODGE INDEX.

DODGE CITY, KAN., APRIL 21, 1881.

EDITOR GLOBE: There having been several statements published relative to the shooting that occurred here, in which I was wounded, and as my relatives and friends live in your city, I desire to make a brief statement of the affair for the purpose of correcting the erroneous statement heretofore published, that all concerned may know that I am not entirely to blame for it all. When I arrived here from Medicine Lodge I went into the employ of Peacock & Masterson, as bar-keeper. During the time I was so employed a friend of Masterson's robbed a woman of \$80 by entering her room while she was absent. I advised her to have the party arrested, which she did, through the proper officers. Masterson thereupon came to me and insisted that I should make the woman withdraw the complaint, which I refused positively to do. He, Masterson, thereupon informed me that my services as bar-keeper was no longer needed, and I must quit. Mr. Peacock, the other member of the firm, thereupon insisted that I should stay, as I was right. Masterson having claimed to be a killer, then undertook the job of killing me, and attempted it on the following evening by coming into the saloon and cocking his revolver in my face. I got the best of him by a large majority, and notwithstanding his reputation as a killer, he hid out and was next morning arrested upon my complaint.

He or his friends then telegraphed an inflammatory dispatch to his brother, Bat Masterson, who arrived in due time, and met Mr. Peacock and myself midway between the two front streets and without any warning to us, commenced shooting at us. We of course returned the fire and soon drove Bat

Masterson behind the railroad embankment where he lay down out of range of our fire. We were then fired at by parties from the saloon doors on the north Front street, from one of which I was shot through the right lung, now six days ago. I feel that I will soon be around again, and will not die as the party wished me to. The parties who participated in the affair against me were by the citizens bounced out of town, and I invite anyone who doubts this statement, to correspond with any respectable man in this place, who, I am satisfied will corroborate this statement.

Respectfully yours,
AL. UPDEGRAFF.

In view of Bat's writing ability it is unfortunate that he did not offer for publication an explanation of his side of the shootout.

Bat again received notice in the May 24, 1881, issue of the *Globe* after his picture had appeared in the *Illustrated Police News*:

It must be very consoling to W. B. Masterson's friends to see his photograph by the side of a darky who is to be hung for murder, both of which figure very prominently in the late issue of the *Illustrated Police News*.

Bat was in Pueblo, Colo., when he received this letter which the *Times* reprinted June 9, 1881:

REACHING TO THE BOTTOM.

The following letter, which was addressed to W. B. Masterson, S. Pueblo, has been handed us for publication. The contents will be well understood by the citizens of Dodge City:

DODGE CITY, Kas., June 4, 1881.

DEAR BAT: I am sitting in Kelley's; we have just took a drink, and Jim says to drop you a word—the damn town has been torn up over the telegram of your coming. Webster telegraphed to Sargent and the shot gun brigade was up all night. They consisted of Webster, Singer, Bill Miller, Deger, Tom Bugg, Boyd, Emerson, Bud Driskill, Hi Collar, Peacock, Updegraff and others. Nate Hudson refused to support them. Kelley and myself will be up one of these days to see you. I have an annual and have written for a pass for Kelley. Dont give away what I tell you Bat; it is damn hard for me now to stay here, because I have pronounced myself in your favor; so has Kelley and Phillips, Mose Barber, Dave Morrow and several others. You ought to hear Old Dave ROAR. Charley Powell is here, the same good fellow as of old. Kelley is looking over my shoulder and says "tell him Sutton is at the bottom of it all, damn him."

Yours as ever,
H. E. GRYDEN.

The letter created so much interest in Dodge City that the *Times* printed it again on June 16, 1881, along with a version in rhyme:

REACHING TO THE BOTTOM.

Last week the following appeared in the *TIMES*. As there was considerable demand for the paper and we were unable to supply the call for extra papers, we reproduce the letter with a paraphrase in rhyme, written by a well known bard who was present last week. The "take off" is in the writer's most happy

vein, but he does not claim literary distinction on account of this local sensation.

[The letter above appeared here.]

The following lines in rhymes were written for the TIMES, and they will make you laugh until you feel sore, when you hear the roar:

"Better Walk 100 Miles to See a Man than Write a Letter."—VAN BUREN.

Dear Bat: I am sitting in Kelley's
And we are filling our bellies
With something to drink;
That is fair, we think.

Jim says to send you word,
For we have just now heard
That the damned town is humming
With the news of your coming;
They say that "the shot gun brigade"—
(Kelley bring me a lemonade,)
Was up all the night;
It was a hell of a sight
To see Webster, Singer and Bugg
Each biting off the very same plug,
And Deger, Boyd and Miller,
Fill up their glasses and swill'er
Down, while Driskill, Peacock and Collar
Were enough to make you holler.

Nat Hudson I know does not belong,
You hear me sound my gong.
I'll try my best and be up some day,
And from the looks of things I'll come to stay;
I'll get a pass for Kelley to ride on,
As sure as my name is Harry Gryden.

It's damned hard for me to stay here,
At night, by day in constant fear—
Have to stand them off for beer,
And the shot guns are always near.

And you may bet your belly
That I and Kelley,
And I state it flat,
Are for you, Bat;
And so is Morrow,
To his own sorrow;
And there is Barber,
They will not harbor,
Because he is sound and true
For truth, freedom and you.

It would make you sore,
To hear old Dave roar.

Let's have some beer;
Charley Powell is here,
He is not wise as he becomes older:
Kelley looks over my shoulder,
And says to send you a kiss,
And tell you, at the bottom of this,
Is that sinner and glutton,
Whom you know as Mike Sutton.

So be kind to yourself and clever,
And I am, Gryden, as ever.

Bat was becoming a legend in his own time. His skill with a six shooter was known throughout the West and, as with all legends, his prowess seemed to increase each time his story was told. One absurd yarn was printed in the *New York Sun* and reprinted in the *Ford County Globe*, November 22, 1881:

A MILD-EYED MAN,
WHO HAS KILLED TWENTY-SIX PERSONS.
LETTER TO NEW YORK SUN.

At Gunnison, Col., last August, while waiting for the small hours of the morning to come around, we were entertained with narratives illustrating the customs of the country, given by Dr. W. S. Cockrell, Lieutenants Febriger, Wagner and Wetherill, gentlemen connected with the United States army, and others familiar with life and death in the western wilds.

Dr. Cockrell, on being asked whether the reports of killing affrays were not greatly exaggerated, replied that some of them were, while in other cases the truth had never been told.

"There is a man," remarked the doctor, indicating a medium sized, mild-eyed person, who stood in the doorway looking into the billiard room of the Tabor House, "who has killed twenty-six men, and he is only twenty-seven years of age. He is W. B. Masterson, of Dodge City, Kan. He killed his men in the interest of law and order. Once he shot seven men dead within a few minutes."

"How?"

"While in a frontier town news was brought to him that his brother had been killed by a squad of ruffians just across the street. Taking a revolver in each hand, for he shoots readily with both, in this manner (the doctor here crossed his right wrist over his left in the form of an X), he ran over to avenge his brother. The murderers became terror-stricken when they saw him coming, and hastily locked the door. Masterson jumped square against the door with both feet, bursting it open at the first attempt. Then he sprang inside, firing immediately right and left. Four dropped dead in a shorter time than it requires to tell it. The remaining three ran for their horses in a vain attempt to escape from the town. He followed them up so closely that before they reached the outskirts all three had bitten the dust."

"At another time," continued the doctor, "two Mexican half-breeds, a father and son, became very troublesome in the mining camps. They were the sharpest shots in the country, working together with a precision that made

them invincible. As soon as one had emptied the chambers of his revolvers, he would reload under cover of the other. Many a miner had they murdered and relieved of his outfit and treasure. A standing reward of \$500 was offered for their bodies or their heads. Finally, Masterson resolved to kill the half-breeds. They occupied a cabin in a little clearing in an almost inaccessible place in the mountains. One morning, hours before daybreak, Masterson crept to the verge of the clearing with a repeating rifle in his hands. Hidden by a friendly bush, he reclined on a sack that he had brought from his horse, which he had fastened in a glen a mile away.

"Shortly after sunrise the door of the cabin opened wide enough to permit the shaggy head of the old man to protrude. After sweeping the boundaries of the clearing with searching eyes, the head was slowly withdrawn. In a few minutes the head reappeared, followed by a body with a belt of pistols strapped around its waist and a rifle slung over its shoulder. The old man carried a water pail, and at his side walked the son fully armed. Masterson covered the old man with his rifle over a path to and from a spring at a hundred yards or so from the cabin at right angles. The father and son were conversing earnestly, seemingly unwilling to re-enter the cabin, before the door of which they stood for some time. Thirty minutes passed, which seemed hours to Masterson, before he could obtain what he considered a favorable shot. Finally, the old man made a move which uncovered his son. Masterson took advantage of this opportunity, and the young man fell to rise no more. Before the smoke revealed from whence the shot had come the old man was a corpse alongside of his boy. Cutting off their heads, Masterson placed them in his sack, and started to exhibit his trophies in order to obtain the promised reward. A two-days' ride under a hot sun swelled and disfigured the heads so that they were unrecognizable, taking advantage of which the authorities refused to pay the reward."

After the story had appeared in the *Sun*, the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal* interviewed Bat who was then a visitor in the city. The interview was published in the issue of November 15, 1881:

BAT'S BULLETS.

A TALK WITH THE FRONTIERSMAN WHO IS "ON HIS THIRD DOZEN,"
OR AT LEAST IS SAID TO BE.

BAT. MASTERSON IS REFERRED TO—SOME OF HIS MORE TRAGICAL EXPLOITS.

The gentleman who has "killed his man" is by no means a *rara avis* in Kansas City. He is met daily on Main street, and is the busiest of the busy throng. He may be seen on 'change, and in the congregations of the most aristocratic churches. He resides on "Quality hill," or perhaps on the East Side, or again in the five story buildings which bear in letters of living light at the doorway: "Furnished rooms for rent, 15¢, 25¢, 50¢, and \$1.00 per night—reductions to regular lodgers." This ubiquitous individual may be seen almost anywhere. He may be found behind the bar in a Main street saloon; he may be seen by an admiring audience doing the pedestal clog at a variety theater; his special forte may be driving a cab, or he may be behind the rosewood counters of a bank.

If he has been here any great number of years, his "man" was

PROBABLY A PIONEER,

and died in the interest of "law and order"—at least so the legend runs. And no one dares dispute the verity of the legend, for behold the man who executed a violator of the law without waiting for the silly formalities of a judge and jury, mayhap now sits in a cushioned pew at an aristocratic church, and prays with a regularity, grace and precision only equaled by his unerring arm with a revolver, the great Western civilizer.

The gentleman who has killed his man is therefore a ubiquitous individual in this city, and may be met at every corner. He is usually quiet in demeanor, sober and thoughtful in aspect, somber in dress, and the last man on earth one would suspect of having notches on the butt end of his pistol. He may take a drink occasionally, but seldom gets drunk. He plays a game of pool at times, but never quarrels over the game. He perhaps goes down to West Kansas and tackles the tiger, but when there are loud words over the cloth of green he is not the man who utters them. He is quiet—fatally quiet. Your gentleman who has dropped his man is a blue eyed or gray eyed man in nine cases out of ten, and his hair and beard are brown, unless grizzled or whitened with the frosts of the many winters which have come and gone since the glories of the old Santa Fe trail began to wane.

Your gentleman who has dropped his man is, therefore, no uncommon individual, but when you see a man who has entered upon

HIS THIRD DOZEN,

it is about time to be civil, for he may begin to fear that material is about to run out, and may have an uncontrollable desire to hurry up and finish that third dozen. Such a gentleman was introduced yesterday evening to the iron-clad reporter of the JOURNAL, and the person referred to is none other than the famous H. [sic] B. Masterson, of Dodge City—known, by those whom he has not shot, as "Bat" Masterson. Mr. Masterson (it is well to be respectful) was met at the door of a Main street restaurant about 8 o'clock last evening. He was in company with Mr. H. E. Gryden, prosecuting attorney of Dodge City. An introduction all round followed, and the reportorial magnet was applied to Mr. Masterson to draw out whatever reminiscences he was willing to relate of his crusade in the interests of law and order. It may be well first to describe

MR. MASTERSON'S APPEARANCE.

He is a medium sized man, weighing perhaps 150 pounds, and reaching five feet nine inches in height. His hair is brown, his rather small mustache of the same tint, and his smooth shaven cheeks plump and rosy. His eyes are blue, and gentle in expression, his attire modest but neat, and withal he is about as far removed in appearance from the Bowery frontiersman as one could well imagine. Strange as it may seem, he is grave and quiet in demeanor, and polite to a fault. This latter characteristic was evidenced not only in his demeanor to the news man, but to an impertinent admirer (!) who wished him to go down the street and confine his attentions to him.

In answer to a very leading question, Masterson said he had not killed as many men as was popularly supposed, though he had "had

A GREAT MANY DIFFICULTIES"

and had in fact been tried four times for murder in the first degree and acquitted each time.

"How about shooting some Mexicans, cutting off their heads, and carrying the gory trophies back in a sack?"

"Oh, that story is straight, except that I did not cut off their heads," replied Bob [sic]. He then related the account of the "affair," which is in substance as follows:

A Mexican half breed and his son became very troublesome in the camp where Bat was then sojourning. They were good shots, and always worked together. They had murdered many a miner, and relieved him of his outfit and dust. A reward of \$500 was offered for their heads, and Masterson, both for the sake of the money and for the purpose of ridding the camp of their dreadful presence, concluded to annihilate them. [The remainder of the story was quite similar to that published in the *Sun* except that the sack upon which Bat rested while waiting for day light was changed to a blanket and that Bat was not mentioned as having cut off the heads of the two desperadoes. The *Journal* article then continued:]

On May 14, 1878, his brother Ed. was

MURDERED IN DODGE CITY.

Ed. had tried to arrest a man named Walker for some offense, and had grappled with him, seizing him by both shoulders. Walker was known to be a dangerous man, and meanwhile a desperado named Wagner had come to the rescue, "Bat" heard of the trouble, and rushed to his brother's relief. Meanwhile an army of roughs had gathered to the rescue of Ed.'s prisoner, and affairs looked dark. Just then Bat arrived, and taking in the situation, he shouted, "Ed., shove him away from you." At that moment Walker drew a pistol and shot Ed through the body, inflicting a wound from which he died in about fifteen minutes. Bat immediately began firing. His first bullet laid Walker low, his second struck Wagner in the breast and glanced around, inflicting a dangerous but not fatal wound. His third and fourth shots laid low two more of the mob, and three more were forever forbidden to come to Dodge City by Masterson. They walked out of town and never returned.

IN APRIL, 1881,

Bat's second brother was killed in Dodge City by two men named Updegraff and Peacock. These men remarked after the killing: "The Mastersons were born to run." Bat was then in Tombstone, Ari., and was telegraphed of his brother's murder. Though eleven hundred miles away from the scene of the tragedy, he packed his grip that day and started for Dodge City. On his arrival he learned that one of the men had said "the Mastersons were born to run," and this infuriated him more even than the death of his brother. The story is related in a very few words. Bat Masterson shot Peacock and Updegraff dead, disproving, at least, the assumption that "the Mastersons were born to run."

Regarding his exploit in Texas with the soldiers, Mr. Masterson was quite reticent. In answer to a direct question he said, "I had a little difficulty with some soldiers down there, but never mind, I dislike to talk about it." It is popularly supposed that he

ANNIHILATED A WHOLE REGIMENT

and this belief is strengthened by the fact that there was an urgent call for recruits about that time. Only West Point graduates escaped, and being officers they sought places of safety early in the engagement.

Alluding to the killing of Ed. Masterson, Mr. Gryden said: "The man walked some distance before he fell. I saw him coming, and in the darkness of the evening he seemed to be carrying a lighted cigar in his hand. I re-

marked to a friend that the cigar burned in a remarkably lively manner, but as the man drew near we saw that the fire was not at the end of a cigar but in the wadding of his coat. He fell dead at our feet.

THREE YEARS AGO

a gang of men attempted to rob a Santa Fe train near Dodge City. Bat, who was sheriff of that time, pursued them, and single handed and alone brought in three of the robbers at the muzzle of his revolver."

H. [sic] B. Masterson, the subject of the above sketch, came to Kansas in 1869. He is now but twenty-seven years of age, so that he was a mere boy of fifteen when he reached the state. For a time he shot buffalo for the government. In 1876 he was elected deputy marshal of Dodge City, and in 1878 sheriff of that county. He is a wonderful shot, and possesses the rare ability to shoot with equal precision with either hand. When he has a large audience to entertain he crosses his wrists like a letter X, and enters the action firing with two revolvers at once.

Masterson leaves the city to-day, but will return in a few days and make a brief sojourn here. Whether he has killed twenty-six men as is popularly asserted, cannot be positively ascertained without careful and extensive research, for he is himself quite reticent on the subject. But that many men have fallen by his deadly revolver and rifle is an established fact, and he furnishes a rare illustration of the fact that the thrilling stories of life on the frontier are not always overdrawn.

It is interesting to note that of the stories which could be checked, only the death of Ed Masterson falls anywhere near the truth—at least he did die. If Bat really told the other stories he obviously enlivened them in true Western story-telling style, perhaps in the same spirit as in later New York days when he would occasionally purchase a second hand revolver, notch the butt and give it away as his authentic "peacemaker."

The *Atchison Champion*, November 17, 1881, brought the whole thing back into focus with this amusing editorial:

TOO MUCH BLOOD.

THE CHAMPION is the last paper to discourage any citizen in a worthy pursuit, or to deprive any Kansan of the fruits of his honest toil, or of honors earned; but really the newspaper correspondents east and west credit some of our people with more bloodshed than rightfully or reasonably belongs to them. We do not stickle about a few tubs full of gore, more or less, nor have we any disposition to haggle about a corpse or two, but when it comes to a miscount or overlap of a dozen, no conscientious journalist, who values truth as well as the honor of our State, should keep silent. To credit unjustly a man with having killed thirty or forty people when his accomplished book-keeper, with the undertaker to check off, can only find two dozen has a tendency to bring Kansas statistics into disrepute, and also to discourage some humble beginner in the field of slaughter who has as yet sent only four or five to act as foundations for the daisies.

Somebody out at Pueblo, in a letter to the *New York Sun*, started the story that ex-Sheriff "Bat" Masterson, of Dodge City, had killed twenty-six men, and was as yet only twenty-seven years of age, with a long life of usefulness before

him. Two of the men were Mexicans, whom Mr. Masterson bagged at one hunt, and whose heads, we are informed, he cut off and carried to Dodge City to sell for whatever the market price was at that time. Mr. Masterson being in Kansas City since, in company with the celebrated romancist, Mr. Harry Gryden, a Kansas City paper comes out with the *Sun's* story greatly renovated, repaired and generally beautified. Mr. Masterson is represented as modestly disclaiming the statement that he decapitated the two Mexicans. The reporter had got ahead or, rather, two heads of him there, but, while he wished no public reception, brass band, or anything of that sort, he *was* the bright and morning star that had shone on twenty-six graves, besides a fight with a fragment of the United States army, which had led to Gen. Sherman's earnest request for more men.

Now this may all be so, but we "allow" that twenty six men is a good many. They would make a string about one hundred and fifty feet long, or well on to half a cord. Incorporated, they would make a city of the third class in Kansas, and the crowd largely outnumbers the Democratic vote in some counties, though not much "deader" than that party in some localities. Twenty-six, two dozen with two "brought forward!" It may be all right, but it seems too much for a small man only twenty-seven years of age, and we call for a re-count.

From Kansas City, Bat was next heard of in Denver. The *Leavenworth Times*, May 21, 1882, stated that "Bat. Masterson has been regaling Denver newspaper reporters with the stories of old times in Dodge City, when Bat. was city marshal, and had a private graveyard staked off especially for unruly cowboys."

In August Bat was in Trinidad. The *Dodge City Times*, August 3, 1882, mentioned that Bat had sent a letter of introduction to Luke Short:

Two Chinamen are added to the population of Dodge City. They are directly from Trinidad, and brought with them letters of introduction from Bat Masterson to Luke Short. They engage in the washee business. There are four gentlemen of the Celestial Kingdom now residents of Dodge. All are pursuing the wash business. Mr. Fred Wenie provided the new arrivals with quarters. Fred is chief mogul among the Chinese. He speaks their language fluently. But he can't go their diet of rats, mice and rice.

By 1883 the *Dodge City Times*, which had once been such a staunch supporter of Bat's, and the *Ford County Globe*, his one time political enemy, had reversed their positions. This switch became apparent with the *Times* of February 8, 1883:

Bat Masterson rescued a prisoner who was in the hands of an Iowa officer, at Trinidad, some days ago. Bat tried the means of false papers, but failing in that, he took the prisoner by force. There are some people in this city who would like Bat to return. We think Trinidad is more congenial to him.

The *Times* item naturally stirred up the Irish in Bat Masterson who immediately wrote a blistering reply which was published in the *Globe*, February 20, 1883:

EDITOR GLOBE:—Sir: Having noticed a short squib in the last issue of the Dodge City Times in reference to myself and as it was evidently written with a view of doing me a malicious and willful injury, I deem it as a duty devolving on me to refute the malicious statement contained in that short paragraph. I am actuated in writing this explanation of the rescue referred to by the editorial nonentity of the Times in order to give what friends I have left in Ford county who read the Times an opportunity to judge for themselves whether my statement or that of the Times is correct.

I am accused by old Nick of the Times of having rescued a prisoner from the custody of an Iowa sheriff by force and that I first tried to get possession of the prisoner by means of false papers and finding this could not be done, I resorted to force, which is as infamously false as it is ridiculous. I will dispose of the whole statement by saying that I had no false papers of any kind, and that I did not demand the prisoner from the Iowa sheriff or attempt to take him by force, and furthermore had nothing whatever to do with the prisoner, but simply went to the train in company with Miles Mix a deputy sheriff of Chaffee county, Colorado, who had a copias warrant for the arrest of the prisoner on a charge of murder committed in Chaffee county two years ago. I was solicited by Mix to accompany him to the train which I did as a matter of friendly courtesy and nothing more.

Mr. Klaine can ascertain the truth of this statement by referring to any official in this place, or to sheriff Landes of Iowa, if he feels so disposed, but I am satisfied he has no desire to do so, as he has never been accused of either telling or writing the truth by anyone who knows anything of his Missouri or Kansas reputation. He concludes his scurrilous article by saying that some residents of Dodge City are anxious that I should return but adds that Trinidad is a more congenial place for me. To this I will say that I have no desire to return to the delectable burg, as I have long since bequeathed my interest in Dodge City and Ford county to the few vampires and murdering band of stranglers who have controled its political and moral machinery in the last few years. In conclusion I will say that Dodge City is the only place I know of where officials have taken people by brute force and without the sanction of law, and that on all such occasions the officials who committed the unlawful act never failed to receive a laudatory puff from the long haired Missourian who edits the Times.

Respectfully,

TRINIDAD, COL., Feb. 12th, 1883

W. B. MASTERSON

In May, 1883, the "Dodge City war" broke out between Luke Short and the authorities of Dodge. Before it was settled Luke had enlisted the aid of such personages as Wyatt Earp, Bat Masterson, and possibly Doc Holliday. The difficulty was involved and the settlement long in coming but by June 10, 1883, Bat and Wyatt were on the Santa Fe headed back west. For the complete story of the war, including the part played by Bat, see the section on Luke Short.

Toward the end of summer Bat returned to Dodge in a more peaceable frame of mind. The *Ford County Globe*, September 4,

1883, noticed his coming: "Ex-sheriff Bat Masterson arrived in Dodge City a few days since. We understand he will engage in the mercantile business at this place."

It is doubtful that the mercantile business interested Bat as much as the approaching election. On October 16 sheriff candidate Pat Sughrue made a statement in the *Globe* that, contrary to rumor, if he were elected Bat Masterson would not be appointed under sheriff, "not that Mr. Masterson wouldn't be fully competent and acceptable. . . ." Bat, it seems, was considered a resident of Colorado by Sughrue and not available for the position.

Apparently Bat took an active part in the election through the pages of the *Globe*, at least the *Times*, November 1, 1883, thought so:

BAT MASTERSON

Col. Bat Masterson, a well known character in the west, has discarded his former illegitimate business and has adopted newspaper writing as a profession. While Col. Masterson's literary effusions do not have moral or religious tendencies, they are chaste productions in a literary way. The fine artistic style in which Col. Bat wields the pen is adding fame to his already illustrious name. Col. Masterson is now associate editor of the Ford County *Globe*, and the last number of that paper bears ample evidence of this statement. The *Globe* has long needed a brainy editor, and the substitution of brains for adipose tissue is certainly commendable, and must be highly appreciated by the readers of that journal. As a newspaper writer Bat is gaining distinction.

The *Globe*, November 6, 1883, answered:

We are charged with having an associate editor, to-wit: Mr. Masterson, and from the showing the *Time's* man gives the distinguished gentleman, we feel somewhat flattered. But as Mr. Masterson has left the city, the *GLOBE* will be rather a tame paper this week. Yet we have managed to put together a few sentences that may not set well on the opposition.

Though Bat had left Dodge he returned for election day with another ex-police officer. The *Globe*, November 13, 1883, reported:

W. B. Masterson, formerly sheriff and ex-city marshal, and Wyatt Earp, ex-city marshal of this city quietly and unostentatiously dropped in onto our inhabitants early last Tuesday morning, and their presence about the polls on that day had a moral effect on our would-be moral element, that was truly surprising. It is needless to say every thing passed off quietly at the city precinct on election day.

A few days later Bat headed for Texas. The *Times*, November 22, 1883, suggested he was going as another "peace commission" to aid the gambling element.

Gen. Bat Masterson, and Col. Luke Short, (the latter returned here for one day,) left on Friday [November 16] morning for Ft. Worth, Texas. The authorities in Dallas and Ft. Worth are stirring up the gambling fraternity, and

probably the celebrated "peace makers" have gone there to "harmonize" and adjust affairs. The gambling business is getting considerable "shaking up" all over the country. The "business of gambling" is "shaking" in Dodge. It is nearly "shook out" entirely.⁶¹

From Texas Bat went to Trinidad, Colo., where he was engaged in a controversy which was only partially explained by the Dodge City *Democrat*, January 12, 1884:

The always interesting, newsy and saucy Trinidad News, contains some letters signed W. B. M. and a reply from City Marshal Kreeger concerning the arrest of the alleged murderer, Hibbard. We are informed by under sheriff Fred Singer, that the statement of facts made by W. B. M. are verbatim et literatim, true. Yes, says Fred, and more too. But we enter our protest, and hope the News will chastise "Bat" for his deplorable carelessness in spitting out the truth about the "great and good." It was his great fault, here, and made him enemies, but the predominating streak in Bat's corporosity is that like Jim Bloodsoe, "he wouldn't lie and he couldn't flunk, I reckon he didn't know how."

In a controversy through the Trinidad Press, "W. B. M." shows himself almost as adept with the pen as he undoubtedly is with the six-shooter—a dual accomplishment much appreciated on the frontier. Won't "Freddie" take a hand in the writing as well as the chase?

Early in February Bat returned to Dodge. The *Democrat*, February 9, 1884, noticed his coming:

Col. Bat. Masterson, no doubt scenting a democratic victory in the breeze, dropped down from Trinidad on election day [township elections held February 5]. Bat looks as smooth, pretty and guileless as of old, and was heartily welcomed by his innumerable friends.

A few weeks later he again visited the Kansas cowtown. Said the *Democrat*, February 23, 1884:

The genial ex-sheriff, Bat. Masterson, is down amongst us. He was, we understand, drawn as a member of the Grand jury, soon to convene at Trinidad. Bat., who is constitutionally opposed to secret inquisition and condemnation courts, avoided serving as a juror by a visit to old Dodge. Better come to stay, Bat. What a genial City Attorney or rare old Police Judge you would make, eh?

By the time this notice appeared in the *Democrat*, May 3, 1884, Bat seems to have returned to Dodge City to stay:

Bat Masterson has the reputation of being able to face a six-shooter without flinching, but when a football patted him a gentle reminder under the left ear last Tuesday evening, he gracefully retired.

The same issue of the *Democrat* reported that Bat was one of the founders of a Dodge City base ball club and was serving as its vice-president. Other interested parties included Sheriff Pat Sugh-

rue, Robert M. Wright, A. B. Webster, and W. H. Harris. On May 17, 1884, the *Democrat* said that the driving park association, which was planning a gala Fourth of July celebration including a genuine bull fight, had named Bat to its committee on foot racing. Bat gained a little experience in the racing game by judging a contest on June 21. The *Globe*, June 24, 1884, reported the result:

A three hundred yard foot race for a purse of \$1,000, between a white man named Sawyer and a colored man named Hogan, of this city, took place last Saturday afternoon, on the railroad track below the depot. Hogan won the race by about three feet, and deceived a great many who had their money up on the white man. Over three hundred people turned out to witness the race, among whom were quite a sprinkling of the fair *Demi-monde*. "Bat" and "Til" [William M. Tilghman?] were the judges, therefore everything was on the square, and no grumbling was heard by the losers.

Though Bat was officially interested only in the foot racing aspect of the celebration he personally was so dissatisfied with the results of, or perhaps more correctly the judging of, the horse race that he wrote a fiery letter to the *Topeka Commonwealth* which was published July 6, 1884. The letter is particularly interesting in that it shows the earliest known attempt on the part of W. B. Masterson to write a descriptive sports article:

DOINGS AT DODGE.

A LIVELY HORSE RACE, IN WHICH DISSATISFACTION
EXISTS OVER THE DECISION OF TWO JUDGES.

DODGE CITY, July 4, 1884.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

The Dodge City Driving Park and Fair Association was opened on the 2d, the first thing on the programme being a three hundred yard horse race for purses amounting in the aggregate to \$150, divided into two purses, first money \$100, and second \$50. This race turned out to be the most interesting event of the day, as there were three entries in the race, and the horses were probably the fastest for that distance of any three in the country. The little sorrel horse, Billy Burt, and the bay mare, Lulu Mc, entered by Joe Blackburn, of Gainesville, Tex., are two of the fastest quarter horses in this or any other country. Arthur Gilson's big sorrel, Lazy Bill, was the other entry.

The horses were brought up to the score and "tapped" off, Blackburn's little sorrel, Billy Burt, getting about thirty feet the worst of the send off, but notwithstanding this, and also the fact that Gilson's horse fouled him by running him into the fence, he ran a dead heat and passed under the wire with his nose along side the Gilson horse, Lulu Mc leading them about one length and a half, taking first money, but instead of the race being declared a dead heat between the two horses, and as the Hon. R. M. Wright, who was one of the judges, said it certainly was the other two judges gave the second money to the Gilson horse, thereby committing one of the most flagrant injustices ever perpetrated on a race track.

It is needless to say that the two judges who rendered this decision were

prejudiced and favorable to the Gilson horse. Those who are charitably inclined attribute this action to ignorance of the rules in horse racing, while a great many are loud in their denunciation of the two men whom they claim were so biased that they were willing to stultify their honor and manhood in order to gratify their preferences. The latter is undoubtedly the case, as they both had money bet on the horse. If the directors of the association are not more careful in selecting judges, they will give this organization a bad reputation abroad. Drs. Cockey and Chouteau may be very efficient in rendering relief to any one afflicted, but their heads are too small for judges on a race track. The association had better dispense with the services of those two fop-tailed nonentities.

B. W. MASTERSON.

Bat, apparently, came to know racing, for on July 19, 1884, the *Democrat* reported that "Bat Masterson and Walter Hart won \$2,500 at the Newton races."

Also on July 19, the Dodge City *Kansas Cowboy*, carried this advertisement:

LOST.

Knights of Pythias watch charm. \$5.00 will be paid for it if returned to

BAT MASTERSON,
Lone Star Saloon.

Along with an active interest in sports, gambling, and social fraternities Bat still had a yen for politics. The Dodge City *Times*, July 24, 1884, mentioned that Bat, heretofore a stalwart Republican, had switched to Democrat George W. Glick in the upcoming gubernatorial race:

Such men as Sheriff Sughrue, Judge R. G. Cook, Bat Masterson, and a dozen others, the backbone of the Republican party in this county, say they will support Glick for governor.—Dodge City Democrat.

We regret that the "backbone" has become weakened by this bolt. If the party can worry through the summer with a weak backbone probably a November breeze will stiffen the demented anatomical member.

When T. C. Nixon was killed by Mysterious Dave Mather on July 21, 1884, Bat was one of the first to arrive on the scene. For the testimony Bat gave at the preliminary examination see the section on Mather.

And midst all Bat retained his reputation as one who was ready to defend himself with anything handy. The *Cowboy*, September 27, 1884, reported a refurbishing of this reputation:

A LITTLE MELEE.

Quite a little "unpleasantness" occurred in a saloon in this city. We could not learn the cause of it, nor that there was any cause. There was a trial, however, and that developed the fact that one Mr. A. J. Howard, who is a cook in a restaurant, determined to make mince meat of Mr. Bat. Masterson, and con-

sequently he selected as a very appropriate instrument for that purpose a carving knife from a foot to eighteen inches long. As he commenced the assault some person hallowed to Bat, that he had a gun. Then the stalward form of Masterson rose in its majesty. Fortunately perhaps, Bat, was unarmed. He seized "the first opportunity" and a chair, and went for his assailant, knocking him down. It was well for the safety of the chair and Mr. Howard's head that some person intervened. The affair drew quite a crowd, and for a moment, considerable excitement. The finale was that Mr. Howard was arrested, and brought before Esq. Cook, who gave him a good moral lesson and a fine of \$25, and costs. Mr. Howard evinced considerably intelligence and claimed to be a lawyer as well as a cook. But for the want of the requisite funds, Esq. Cook "cooked the goose" of the cook by sending him to the lockup to work out the fine.

Back in the world of politics, the Ford county Republican convention held in Dodge City on October 8, 1884, next held Bat's attention. At this meeting he, along with W. H. Harris, partner of Chalk Beeson, was named to the committee on permanent organization.⁶²

In the October 21, 1884, issue of the *Globe*, now the *Globe Live Stock Journal*, an article signed by one "Coal House" appeared which cast political aspersions on R. E. Burns, Republican candidate for county attorney, E. D. Swan, candidate for probate judge, N. B. Klaine, editor of the *Dodge City Times*, and several others. The *Times* of October 23, 1884, accused Bat Masterson of authoring the article. True to form Bat was not long in answering the charge through the pages of what the *Times* called the "Gambler's Gazette":

DODGE CITY, KAN., Oct. 25, 1884.

ED. GLOBE LIVE STOCK JOURNAL:

I see by the last issue of the *Dodge City Times*, that I am accused of being the author of the article signed Coal House, which appeared in your last issue, and also that I am honored with the title of being the "boss gambler of the west."

As to the article I have this much to say, that any time the good (?) deacon of the *Times* or any of his scurvy outfit feel desirous of refuting any of the statements contained in Coal House's article I will consider it as an imperative duty, to sustain every allegation contained therein by the affidavit of every responsible man in Dodge City, and if I fail to do this, I will write an apology to every individual named in said article, and cause the same to be published in all the papers published in this city. There was not anything said in the article referred to that cannot be proven, and if Deacon Klaine, Burns, Schmoker, Swan, or the pestiferous cur who adorns (?) the editorial tripod of the *Clipper*, don't think I can furnish the necessary amount of documentary evidence to sustain my position in the matter, let them turn their monkey loose, and see whether or not I will be forthcoming.

As to being the "boss gambler of the west," I will say, that I have no desire

to usurp a title that the sapient scribe at the Times office bestowed upon one of our worthy citizens, a long time before he became a defaulter in Dodge City.

W. B. MASTERSON.⁶³

As election time neared Bat issued a small newspaper which he called the *Vox Populi*. Only one issue appeared and unfortunately no copies seem to have survived. The *Globe Live Stock Journal*, November 4, 1884, gave Editor Masterson a promising review:

We are in receipt of the first number of the *Vox Populi*, W. B. Masterson, editor, which in appearance is very neat and tidy. The news and statements it contains seem to be somewhat of a personal nature. The editor is very promising; if he survives the first week of his literary venture there is no telling what he may accomplish in the journalistic field.

November 4, 1884, saw the election of those candidates favored by Editor Masterson. There was no more need of the *Vox Populi* so Bat wrote its obituary and published it in the *Globe Live Stock Journal* on November 11:

DODGE CITY, KAN., Nov. 8, 1884.

ED. GLOBE LIVE STOCK JOURNAL:

The Editor of the *Vox Populi* through the medium of the *GLOBE LIVE STOCK JOURNAL* wishes to return thanks to the people of Dodge City and Ford county for the many favors received, and the courtesies extended to the *Vox Populi* and its editor, during the latter's brief sojourn in the journalistic field.

The *Vox Populi* is no more. Its mission in this world of progress and usefulness is performed. While its existence was comparatively of short duration, the wonders it performed was simply miraculous. The blows it dealt to the venomous vipers whom it opposed had a telling effect as the returns from the different voting precincts has indicated, not one of this puerile outfit have been elected. Not one of the candidates that the *Vox Populi* supported was defeated. The cry of the Times, that the "gang must go," recoils on its idiotic editor with the force of a cyclone. No one but an idiot would have uttered such nonsense in the first place. It must be apparent to "Old Nick" by this time that the gang is quite numerous; it also must be obvious to him that they are not inclined to "trot in his class of political nags." The *Vox Populi* said nothing that it is sorry for, and with this declaration it says good day.

EDITOR.

In postscript the *Globe Live Stock Journal*, November 18, 1884, commented on the opinion of the *Trinidad News*:

Bat Masterson is the editor and proprietor of a daily paper at Dodge City called the *Vox Populi*. Bat is an easy and graceful writer and possesses real journalistic ability. The *News* will be glad to hear of his making a howling success—*Trinidad News*. Yes, the *Vox Populi* was a howling success, that is, if we know anything about that kind of success, for the howling over the only issue of that paper still goes on. Bat with his paper was on the winning side in the election.

After the election Bat took a trip to St. Louis, Mo.,⁶⁴ but returned to Dodge City on November 29 just in time to be the reported vic-

tim of a different type of confidence game. The *Dodge City Times*, December 11, 1884, warily—but with obvious delight—told of Bat's being taken:

ANOTHER VICTIM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

It had been hoped that the day of confidence swindlers had come to an end, but it seems that in this as in many other long wished for reforms, we are disappointed, and the confidence fiend still plies his nefarious trade in our midst gulling the innocent and cheating the verdant out of their honest (?) earnings.

Only last week there appeared upon our streets a young man, apparently about twenty-five years of age, accompanied by a boy who perhaps had seen seventeen summers—honest farmer looking sorts of fellows who might have been taken for a couple of Hoosier tenderfeet who had located claims somewhere in this Great American Desert, and had come into town to obtain a supply of beans and bacon. They had a common farm wagon, drawn by a pair of mules, such as is often seen here, and in addition a third mule hitched behind the wagon. Wandering apparently aimlessly about the town with mouths open and a smile that was childlike and bland, they came in contact with our enterprising fellow citizen, Bat Masterson, and in an easy green off hand sort of a way made some inquiries in regard to banking and finance, and from that the conversation drifted to agricultural and stock topics, and finally to the pulling qualities of mules in general, and this party's mule in particular, until our e. f. c. was induced to make a bet as to the pulling powers of the greenie's mule. The preliminaries were arranged, the mule was hitched to the load and walked away with it as easy as its green (?) owner did with our enterprising fellow citizen's money.

Such things ought not to be. If green horns are allowed to come in here, and swindle our unsophisticated people out of their money what are we coming to? What do we keep policemen for? If it is not to protect our citizens from being fleeced by the superior abilities of the country green horns. This fellow knew that Mr. Masterson's business had been of a financial nature nearly all his life, and that he knew no more about the pulling powers of a mule than the mule did of the ten commandments. The city has been disgraced, the character of one of our business men smirched and the perpetrator of the vile deed is still at liberty—Let him be hunted down, and let his fate be a warning to every granger that Dodge City will protect its citizens from the avaricious greed of the settlers, even if the Glick Guards have to be called out.

SCRIBE.

The Nixon-Mather murder case, mentioned before, was granted a change of venue to Edwards county and the trial held at Kinsley. Bat, of course, was one of the witnesses. The actions of the assistant prosecuting attorney riled Bat and he was not long in giving vent to his disgust. In a characteristic letter to the *Kinsley Graphic*, January 9, 1885, Bat settled the attorney's hash:

BAT SPEAKS OUT.

DODGE CITY KANSAS January 2.

ED. KINSLEY GRAPHIC:—Being one of the members of the Dodge City delegation that recently paid their respects to your little burg, as witnesses in the Mather case, I deem it but justice to your citizens to express our sincere thanks for the many courtesies extended to us while enjoying the hospitality of your city. This I do in behalf of the entire delegation who were witnesses for the defense. It is true there were some of the boys who felt a little miff at the remarks made to the jury about them by the learned gentleman who conducted the prosecution, but after considering the matter carefully from an impartial and I might add charitable standpoint, his pungent reflections upon their character and veracity are pardonable and consequently are forgiven. The fact that he is but recently from Missouri, and the further fact that gentlemanly deportment and a strict adherence to professional etiquette are not generally practiced in the lower courts of that sweet and verdant land that gave birth to the Fords and Liddells, this conduct is not to be wondered at. His stigmatizing all of the witnesses for the defense, as being pimps and prostitutes can only be considered in one light, (to-wit) the utterances of a coarse, vulgar, and untutored mind.

Mr. Vandivert in all probability was considered a good lawyer in Missouri. It doesn't require much material to gain such a distinction there, but to a casual observer in Kansas, he certainly lacks many of the elements that constitute a gentleman. This frequent allusion to pimps and prostitutes, would lead the ordinary person to believe that he possessed a greater knowledge of this class, than he did of law, for he scarcely ever referred to the latter. The ordure with which he besmeared the jury was fully appreciated judging from the verdict [not guilty]. This utter failure to induce the jury to stay out more than thirty minutes should be taken by this incipient deciple of Blackstone as a lesson to guide him in the future, and should cause him to pay more attention to law, and less to blackguardism.

Wishing you all a happy New year, I am respectfully yours,

W. B. MASTERSON.

Bat, said the *Globe Live Stock Journal*, January 13, 1885, "gives his opinion right out in meetin'."

With W. H. Harris, Bat went to Topeka around the middle of January, 1885, probably to witness the inauguration of John A. Martin as governor and the start of the new state legislature.⁶⁵

From Topeka Bat may have gone on to Kansas City but he was back in Dodge by February 12 when he answered the letter of an Iowa lady regarding the now famous town. The woman had been advised to write to "Reverend Masterson" for information. In replying Bat couldn't help unloading on a doubtlessly surprised Iowan his opinion of the arch enemy who referred to him as "Reverend." Bat's letter was published in the *Globe Live Stock Journal*, February 17, 1885:

The following letter is one in answer to a letter to W. B. Masterson, from a lady in Iowa, who says she was recommended to him as a minister, by the

Post Master of this, Dodge City. She is desirous of coming here to live, and was making inquiry about the town and county:

DODGE CITY, KAN., Feb. 12th 1885.

MRS. C. LEBEAU, Harlem, Iowa.

MY DEAR MADAM: On my return from Kansas City last night where I had been for ten days, I found your letter awaiting me. I was somewhat astonished to find that you had addressed me Rev.; unfortunately, perhaps for me, I have not the honor of being a member of the clergy, and there is probably no man in this part of Kansas farther from it. I am a gambler by profession, and our esteemed (?) Post Master knew this to be so when he referred you to me. Our P. M. in doing what he thought a very smart trick, only demonstrated what has long been accepted as a fact in this community, relative to himself; (to-wit), that he lacks many of those elements that constitute a gentleman; he should at least, in my judgement, have considered you a lady and treated your letter of inquiry with the consideration that a lady is entitled to from a gentleman.

The name of our Post Master is N. B. Klaine, he is also editor of a nasty sheet published here, under the caption of Dodge City Times. He is a blatant prohibitionist, and a deacon in the Baptist church. A strictly moral man and a gentleman, as his letter referring you to me would indicate. There are several first class physicians here, all of whom are gentlemen, and any of whom he could have referred you to with a greater degree of propriety than myself. I herewith send the names of our most prominent physicians: T. L. McCarty, C. A. Milton and T. J. Wright. By addressing either of the above named gentlemen you can undoubtedly obtain the desired information.

I am respectfully,
W. B. MASTERSON.

As the Globe said on another page, "Bat Masterson has his failings like other white folks, but he is a gentleman and does not sail under false colors."

On March 1, 1885, the Kansas state census was enumerated in Dodge City. Bat was listed as being 30 years old with farming as his occupation. Bat's younger brother Tom, 26 years old, was also in Dodge, according to the census, and practicing as an attorney. Jim apparently had not yet returned to his former home.

Bat continued to hound his foe, Nicholas B. Klaine, nipping his heels whenever he had the chance. The *Kinsley Mercury*, June 6, 1885, condensed another skirmish:

The Topeka *Commonwealth* of June 3rd, contains a letter written by some person in Dodge City and signed Tanous, in which the details of a postoffice robbery in that moral city are given and among other things that the article contains is a very strong reflection against Klaine, the postmaster and editor of the *Times*, intimating that he was a party to the robbery. The reader is warned by the newspaper publisher that he is not bound to believe the statements contained in the letter. The handiwork of the Rev. Bat Masterson is apparent in the letter. Klaine has our profound sympathy. He is surrounded

by a terrible hard gang and while he holds his own with them pretty well, they are always after him.

Later in the month an incident occurred which resulted in publicity reminiscent of that given the famous "war" of May, 1883 (to be discussed in the section on Luke Short). This time, as then, little was said in the Dodge papers but much was printed outside. Since Bat played a minor role in the affair it will be mentioned only briefly.

The trouble began with the arrival of one Albert Griffin, a Kansas pioneer, editor of the Manhattan *Nationalist*, prohibitionist and officer in the State Temperance Union. Griffin had visited Dodge to lecture on the evils of whisky but once in town he attempted to obtain an injunction against the open saloons. Failing in that he began a campaign of public denouncement censuring County Attorney Mike Sutton, District Judge J. C. Strang, the Dodge City and Ford county police officers, and even Gov. John A. Martin for their lassitude in enforcing the prohibition amendment. Prohibitionist papers in Topeka helped spread Griffin's charges with vitriolic condemnations of the "sporting fraternity" of Dodge City. Of course, Bat Masterson was among those mentioned.

On July 2, 1885, in a foreword to Griffin's story of the Dodge City trouble, the Topeka *Capital* said that Bat was at the head of 300 ruffians who were bent on driving Griffin from town or, if they failed in that, killing him. The former Ford county sheriff was described as being "one of the most disreputable characters in the west." According to Griffin's own statement, however, Bat was the one who protected him from the mob which was actually led by a saloon keeper named Sheridan.

In a prepared statement published in both the *Capital* and *Commonwealth* on July 2 Griffin stated:

Bat Masterson, the reputed leader of the lawless elements of Dodge City, had voluntarily called on us and stated that neither Colonel [A. B.] Jetmore [who was in Dodge as a representative of the attorney general to investigate the saloon business] nor myself should be molested, and when the assault was made on Dr. [S.] Galland [owner of the Great Western hotel at which Griffin was staying and an ardent local prohibitionist, according to Griffin], he went out and ordered the mob to go across the street. . . . Bat Masterson stayed in front of our room for half an hour or more, and sent the men back as they attempted to come and they finally retreated across the railroad. So far as I know, Mr. Masterson steadily did all he could to prevent any attack being made upon us, but said to me that he would not be responsible for what would happen to the citizens of the place who had taken a prominent part in the movement for the closing of the dram shops, against whom he also evidently entertains the bitterest of feelings.

Safely home, Griffin wrote in his own *Manhattan Nationalist*, July 10, 1885:

Bat Masterson is a professional gambler who has killed two or three men and shot several others. He is smart and has many elements of a leader, but is unquestionably a vicious man. He did not want Assistant Attorney Jetmore or myself killed, and the reason he is said to have given his associates was that "they could not afford to bring down upon themselves the vengeance of the State government and the State Temperance Union." We had never had any personal intercourse, and, as he supposed we were simply operating as a matter of business . . . he probably felt no enmity toward us individually, and as he had already "made a long record" he had nothing to gain and everything to lose by permitting an attack on us.

Nevertheless, we would, in all probability, have been killed but for the accidental fact that he happened to be in our room when the mob made its rush for our quarters. While he was with them the rioters obeyed him implicitly, but when out of his presence they were ready to follow any ruffian who proposed to *do* something. I do not suppose Masterson is one of those human tigers whose chief delight is shedding blood, but no one who knows his history and studies his face would feel safe to have in his power a friend against whom he holds a grudge. The very fact that he has the qualities of "good fellowship," "occasional generosity," "steadfastness to friends," "fluency of speech" and "cool courage," make him all the more dangerous a man in such a community.

T. J. Tate, under sheriff of Ford county, stated in an interview with a reporter of the *Topeka Commonwealth* that on the evening in question he "met Bat Masterson, who had been sworn in as deputy sheriff, and told him to see that the boys did not create any trouble. He [Bat] then went over to Griffin's room. . . ."

Later in the evening Tate saw a crowd in front of the Great Western hotel and upon inquiry was told that Dr. Galland had struck Sheridan, apparently without provocation, and Sheridan had subsequently knocked the physician down. "Bat Masterson," said Tate, "was over there and the trouble there was over very quickly."⁶⁸

Griffin's desire for publicity was the cause of the trouble, according to District Judge J. C. Strang of Larned. In a letter to Gov. John A. Martin, July 5, 1885, Strang wrote:

Griffin wants to close them [the saloons] with a proclamation, or with a great hurrah—with the State Temperance Union on the ground, & the Atty-Genl. and Judge of the district Court present, to do the bidding of the representative of the said Union, so he can send out an Associated Press dispatch to the world saying Albert Griffin organizer for the State Temperance Union has closed the Saloons in Dodge.

Judge Strang felt that the end of the cattle trade would soon enforce prohibition better than could the courts, the governor and the state militia combined. He continued:

Dodge City is in a transition state and will come all right soon of itself.

The quarantine law [prohibiting the entrance, between March and December, of Texas cattle "capable of communicating . . . what is known as Texas, splenic or Spanish fever" into Kansas] passed last winter is quietly working out the salvation of Dodge City. The festive cowboy is already becoming conspicuous by his absence in Dodge, and ere long he will be seen & heard there, in his glory, no more forever. The cowboy gone the gamblers and prostitutes will find their occupations gone, and, from necessity, must follow. The bulk of the saloons will then die out because there will be no sufficient support left, and the temperance people can close the rest as easily as they could in any other city in Kansas.⁶⁷

Judge Strang was right. The *Capital*, August 6, 1885, confirmed his opinion:

There are silent but irresistible forces at work to regenerate Dodge City. The passage of the Texas cattle bill, the defeat of the trail bill [providing for a national cattle trail just west of Kansas] and the rapid settlement of the country south and southwest of Dodge, have destroyed that place as a cattle town. The cowboy must go, and with him will go the gamblers, the courtesans, the desperadoes and the saloons.

The most eloquent obituary for cowtown Dodge City, however, might have been this reminiscent item in the *Globe Live Stock Journal*, January 13, 1885:

A fashion item says that leather belts are in favor. They were in favor here at one time. Perhaps there was a difference in them, ours were stuck full of cartridges, and were very popular.

In spite of Albert Griffin's denunciation of Bat the deputy sheriff remained quite popular at home. At a Fourth of July celebration "a gold chain was voted to the most popular man, amid much good natured rivalry, and was voted to W. B. Masterson. The prize was to have been a gold headed cane, which we understand is yet to be given to Mr. Masterson as soon as it gets here from the east where it was ordered."⁶⁸

On July 24 Bat ordered a fancy pistol from the Colt company. The letter he wrote is preserved in the Connecticut State Library:

OPERA HOUSE SALOON.

CARY & WRIGHT, PROPRIETORS.

Dealers in Imported Wines, Liquors and Cigars.

DODGE CITY, KAN., July 24th 1885

COLTS F. A. MG CO

HARTFORD CONN

Gents

please send me one of your Nickle plated Short 45. Calibre revolvers. it is for my own use and for that reason I would like to have a little Extra pains taken with it. I am willing to pay Extra for Extra work. Make it very Easy on trigger and have the front Sight a little higher and

thicker than the ordinary pistol of this Kind. put on a gutta percha handle and send it as soon as possible. have the barrel about the same length that the Ejecting rod is.

28-B Express-COD

Truly yours

Will forward Thursday July 30/85

W. B. MASTERSON.

P. S. duplicate the above order by sending [words town from sheet].
M.

"W. B. Masterson went up to Pueblo Saturday [July 25], expecting to return to-day," reported the *Globe*, July 28, 1885.

Instead of returning Bat apparently moved on to Rawlins, Wyo., where on August 1 he refereed a prize fight. The *Globe*, August 11, 1885, said:

W. B. Masterson returned last Thursday [August 6] from a trip to Denver and Rawlins, Wyoming. At the latter place, the first inst., he acted as an umpire for [John P.] Clow, in the Clow and Hynds prize fight. He says there were special trains run from various parts of the country, and a good many parties present from long distances. There was no less than twenty thousand dollars bet on the fight, which was won by Clow, the sixth round. The Denver News publishes a full account of the fight, and says Masterson makes a ready umpire.

Clow and Masterson remained together. On October 23, 1885, they, with several other noted Dodgeites attended the races at Kinsley. The others included Bill Tilghman, Charley Heinz, Ben Daniels, and Neil Brown.⁶⁹

A few days later Bat was found helping a fellow Dodgeite escape a Kinsley process server. The *Globe*, November 3, 1885, reported:

While at Kinsley last week, we heard that a prisoner had been taken away from an Edwards county officer at Dodge City, by a mob, in which was two officers. We were greatly surprised at the statement, and on returning made enquiry, and W. B. Masterson made the following statement to us of the whole affair. A Dodge City man, by the name of Phelps, obtained a license to run a game of chance at the Edwards county fair; the last day he heard that he was going to be arrested, so left town, and sent back word he would pay the association for his license. Terry, a deputy sheriff from Kinsley, came up here and arrested Phelps, who offered to pay the officer thirty eight dollars, being the amount due the association and the officers cost; Terry would not take the money. Masterson telegraphed A. D. Cronk that he would pay that amount of money to settle, and Cronk answered all right that is satisfactory, but the prisoner will have to come down and settle with the county attorney. The boys say that means the heaviest fine the law would allow, so they wanted in some way to settle without Phelps going down there.

Just before train time Terry and his prisoner were at the depot, and Masterson went over there alone, and spoke to the officer, saying he would like to speak to him a minute; Terry walked around the telegraph office leaving his prisoner alone, and when he came back his prisoner was gone. Terry then

came over on Front street and laughing, said, "boys you played it pretty fine, but I don't care, only I would like to get Cronk's money." He gave deputy sheriff Singer his warrant for Phelps, and in the afternoon went out to the fair grounds to see the glove contest; on returning to town he went up to Phelps's room over Cary's and spent over an hour talking to Phelps; what they said, nobody knows, but Terry came down stairs, hunted deputy Singer up, and took the warrant for Phelps, without making a explanation. Deputy Singer would have arrested Phelps on sight. Terry was with Phelps an hour or two after he had made his escape, why didn't he take him to Kinsley, nobody interfered in any way. There was no mob, one man, and only one, went to Terry to effect a settlement, and he walked off and left his prisoner.

We do not claim that Dodge City is the most moral place on earth, but we claim, know and can prove, that no officer ever came to Dodge City with proper authority after a man, but what our officers, if they knew of it, or were called upon, did not lend the visiting officer every assistance. If Terry had, on his arrival here, made known to one of our officers, his business, as he ought to have done, Phelps would have gone to Kinsley on the first train, even if it had been necessary to make a cordoroy road of dead men to walk on from Front street to the depot.

In early December Bat and Clow journeyed to Barber county where the fighter was scheduled for an exhibition bout with another pugilist named Ed Smith. Bat left a pleasant impression with both of the Medicine Lodge papers; the *Cresset*, December 3, 1885, said of him:

Bat Masterson, who has become famous as the leading killer of the west, is here this week making arrangements for a sparring exhibition between an Englishman by the name of Smith; and the champion pugilist of Colorado. . . . Speaking of the manager, Bat Masterson, considering his reputation, his general appearance is somewhat surprising. He certainly hasn't the appearance of a man who is said to have sent enough men up the golden stair to start a fair sized cemetery. He is a man of about the medium height, rather strongly built, with a fair complexion and a mild blue eye, this in a general way describes Bat Masterson, who is famous all over the west for his skill with a revolver, and, who is said to have put the light out of more than a score of men. It is said to his credit that he has never been known to take a cowardly advantage of an opponent, and, that the most of, if not all, of the men he has killed were more of an ornament to a graveyard than to society.

The *Barber County Index*, December 4, 1885, thought that Bat was a "plain, unassuming young man, with lots of horse sense and a very pleasant conversationalist." Could be Bat's statement that "Medicine Lodge is the best town he has ever struck in Kansas," didn't hurt his Barber county popularity.

On March 10, 1886, Bat made an astonishing switch from his previous pro-saloon feelings to inaugurate a determined crusade against the venders of alcoholic beverages. The *Dodge City Democrat*, March 13, was perplexed at Bat's actions:

Deputy Sheriff Bat Masterson has filed complaints with the county attorney against all of the saloon men and druggists in the city with the exception of Sturtevant, Garland and McCarty. Warrants have been issued and the parties have been arrested. The saloons are all closed now and the prohibitory law apparently enforced. How long this state of affairs will continue to exist is hard to tell and the object of the move will probably develop in the near future.

The *Dodge City Times*, March 11, 1886, said the action had roots in the coming city election:

CLOSED.

The saloons in Dodge were closed yesterday morning, complaints against the saloon-keepers having been made by W. B. Masterson. This step was produced by the candidacy of A. B. Webster for Mayor. Several saloon men signed the petition calling upon A. B. Webster to become a candidate for Mayor, and in consequence of this some feeling has been engendered. If Mr. Masterson will carry out his prohibition movement successfully he will have the gratitude of a generous public.

The *Globe Live Stock Journal*, March 16, 1886, agreed with the *Times* and offered a more detailed explanation:

A CHANGE OF BASE.

A petition published in the *GLOBE* of last week, so numerous signed by our citizens, asking ex-Mayor Webster to become their candidate for mayor at the forthcoming election, caused quite a flurry in our city as soon as it made its appearance in print, and aroused to action certain individuals who, heretofore were counted on in supporting him rather than to place themselves in direct opposition to his candidacy. While the present opponents were aware of the fact that he would be largely endorsed by the business men of the city, they did not count that one-half of the saloon druggists would also endorse him, which they did, thus leaving the other half to fight their own people and business, with great odds against them; made up of the neutral element, with a united temperance faction at their back.

This brought about a revolt within their own ranks, and ex-Sheriff W. B. Masterson and present deputy sheriff of Ford county, entered complaint against every saloon-drug store in the city, and going even further than this, including two legally licensed druggists who, he claimed were violaters of the prohibition law under which the complaint was made. Of course, arrests soon followed and all have given bonds for their appearance at our present term of district court, which convenes this day. This closed the saloons, and what the end will be, we, of course, at this time, cannot say any further than this. The ball has been started by one they counted as their friend, and even should he be inclined to hedge, the cases will not be dropped, as we are assured by the county attorney, but will be vigorously prosecuted to the end.

Ex-sheriff Masterson did not stop in his raid on saloon men, but has filed a complaint against a number of gamblers as well. He says he is going to make a general clean up in Dodge.

"'Bat' Masterson seems to be a bigger man just now than Attorney General Bradford, as he has succeeded in closing the Dodge City saloons, which was more than Bradford could do—or did do," said the *Spearville Blade*, March 19, 1886.

Bat's actions have never been satisfactorily explained but nevertheless the death knell had been sounded for the "Beautiful, Bibulous Babylon of the Frontier" and the wild cowtown fell into tranquil and sedate ways. The town shortly became too prosaic for Bat Masterson. In 1886 he moved his operations to Colorado though he did visit Dodge in September and November of that year.⁷⁰ On October 23, 1887, he was staying at the Delmonico Hotel in Dodge. He gave Lamar, Colo., as his home address.⁷¹ Denver also attracted Bat for it was as wild and woolly as many of Kansas' earlier frontier towns. When Denver cooled down Bat would move to other fields, such as Creede, an 1892 Colorado mining town. On March 3, 1892, the *Leoti (Kan.) Standard* reported that "Bat Masterson, well known in western Kansas, is the city marshal [at Creede]."

In later years, of course, Bat forsook the West and moved to New York where he became a sports writer and a secretary with the New York *Morning Telegraph*. On October 25, 1921, he died, quietly, at his desk.

1. Dodge City Times, August 11, 1877. 2. *Ibid.*, September 22, October 6, 1877. 3. *Ibid.*, November 3, 10, 1877. 4. *Ibid.*, January 5, 1878. 5. Reprinted by the Kinsley Valley Republican, February 2, 1878, from its extra of January 27, 1878. 6. Kinsley Valley Republican, February 2, 1878. 7. *Ibid.* 8. See, also, Dodge City Times, February 9, 1878, and Kinsley Valley Republican, February 9, 1878. 9. See, also, Ford County Globe, Dodge City, February 12, 1878. 10. See, also, *ibid.*, February 19, 1878, and Kinsley Valley Republican, February 16, 1878. 11. See, also, Ford County Globe, February 26, 1878. 12. See, also, *ibid.*, March 19, 1878, and Kinsley Valley Republican, March 23, 1878. 13. Ford County Globe, March 19, 1878. 14. Kinsley Valley Republican, March 30, 1878; see, also, Dodge City Times, March 30, 1878. 15. Ford County Globe, October 29, 1878. 16. Dodge City Times, April 13, 1878. 17. *Ibid.*, April 13, 20, 1878; Ford County Globe, April 16, 23, 1878. The Mastersons had two farms in Sedgwick county. One consisted of 160 acres in Garden Plain township; it was the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15, T. 27 S., R. 3 W. Bat's father, Thomas Masterson, paid \$500 for the place in May, 1875. The other farm was in Grant township, the E. $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 24, T. 25 S., R. 1 E. 18. See, also, Ford County Globe, April 23, 1878. 19. Dodge City Times, January 12, 1878. 20. Ford County Globe, June 25, 1878. 21. Dodge City Times, June 29, 1878. 22. Ford County Globe, September 24, 1878. 23. See, also, Dodge City Times, December 21, 1878. 24. See, also, Ford County Globe, December 17, 1878. 25. "Records of the War Department, United States Army Commands, Fort Dodge, Kansas, Reports and Journals of Scouts and Marches, 1873-1879," National Archives. Microfilm copy in archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. 26. See, also, Dodge City Times, January 18, 1879. 27. Topeka Commonwealth, March 4, 1879. 28. See, also, Dodge City Times, January 18, 1879. 29. See, also, *ibid.*, January 11, 1879; Ford County Globe, January 14, 1879. 30. See, also, Ford County Globe, January 21, 1879. 31. *Ibid.*, February 11, 1879; Dodge City Times, February 15, 1879. 32. "Governors' Correspondence," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. 33. *Ibid.* 34. "Marking an Epoch—the Last Indian Raid and Massacre," *Eighteenth Biennial Report of the Board of Directors of the Kansas State Historical Society*, p. 30. 35. "Gov-

ernors' Correspondence," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. 36. *Ibid.* 37. Possibly the *Times* was mistaken in saying Bat's two brothers accompanied him. James Masterson was along but there is no record of Tom being with them. The fourth member of the party, as identified by the *Dodge City Times*, February 15 and 22, 1879, was Kokomo Sullivan. 38. "Correspondence of the Adjutants General," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. 39. "Marking an Epoch—the Last Indian Raid and Massacre," *loc. cit.*, pp. 21-31; "Governors' Correspondence," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society; *Ford County Globe*, July 1, October 21, 1879. 40. *See, also*, *Dodge City Times*, February 22, 1879. 41. *See, also, ibid.*, March 1, 1879. 42. "In the Matter of the Petition of George H. Holcomb, for a Writ of Habeas Corpus," *Kansas Reports*, v. 21, pp. 628-637. 43. *See, also*, *Dodge City Times*, June 14, 1879. 44. *See, also, ibid.*, July 5, 1879. 45. *See, also, Ford County Globe*, August 5, 1879. 46. *See, also, ibid.*, September 16, 1879; *Topeka Commonwealth*, September 16, 1879. 47. "Governors' Correspondence," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. 48. *Ibid.* 49. *Dodge City Times*, September 20, 1879. 50. *Ford County Globe*, October 28, 1879. 51. *Dodge City Times*, January 10, 31, 1880. 52. *Ford County Globe*, January 13, 1880. 53. *Dodge City Times*, January 10, 1880. 54. *See, also, Ford County Globe*, March 2, 1880. 55. *Dodge City Times*, March 13, 1880. 56. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1880; *Ford County Globe*, March 30, 1880. 57. *See, also, Ford County Globe*, April 20, 1880. 58. *See, also, ibid.*, June 1, 1880. 59. George C. Thompson, *Bat Masterson; the Dodge City Years* (Fort Hays Kansas State College Studies, Language and Literature Series No. 1, 1943), p. 36. Thompson held an interview with Thomas Masterson, Jr., on November 4, 1937. 60. *Ford County Globe*, February 15, 1881. 61. *See, also, ibid.*, November 20, 1883. 62. *Globe Live Stock Journal*, October 14, 1884. 63. *Ibid.*, October 28, 1884. 64. *Ibid.*, November 18, 1884. 65. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1885. 66. *Topeka Commonwealth*, July 4, 1885. 67. "Governors' Correspondence," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. 68. *Globe Live Stock Journal*, July 7, 1885. 69. *Ibid.*, October 27, 1885. 70. *Ibid.*, September 28, November 16, 1886. 71. Hotel register in possession of Mrs. Merritt L. Beeson, Dodge City.

(This Series on Cowtown Police Officers To Be Continued in the
Winter, 1961, Issue.)

Bypaths of Kansas History

THE NATIVES WERE RESTLESS THAT YEAR

From the Marysville *Enterprise*, January 25, 1868.

LO! THE POOR INDIAN.—Advices from the South, says the Hays City *Advance* of the 16th, are that a party of Arapahoes took possession of a Government train at Cimarron Crossing, on the 12th or 13th. The friendlies helped themselves to all the groceries they wanted, and the chief gave the station keeper a parting salute of a mouthful of tobacco juice in his eyes. The commissioners should visit these gentle savages with supplies.

EXIT THE BUFFALO

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, November 26, 1872.

FROM THE FRONTIER.

A Herd of Buffaloes 10 Miles
Long and 2 Miles Wide.

THEY MAKE A CHARGE ON A CONSTRUCTION PARTY.

Fourteen Hundred Killed in one Day. . . .

DODGE CITY, KAS., Nov. 25.

Special dispatch to the Commonwealth.

The buffaloes are moving south and crossing the Arkansas. Twenty miles west of Dodge an immense herd of the creatures, covering an extent of country two miles in width and ten in length, were passed by the construction train. Fourteen were run over and killed by the engine. Two hours were consumed by the construction train in endeavoring to get through this herd. Several calves were run over and injured, and the construction men, while in the act of capturing some of them, were charged upon by several hundred buffalo and barely escaped with their lives. Every ravine is full of hunters, and camp fires can be seen for miles in every direction. The hides and saddles of fourteen hundred buffalo were brought into town to-day.

A. P. BALDWIN.

IT'S ALL IN THE WAY ONE LOOKS AT IT

From the Stockton *Democrat*, March 26, 1886.

A gentleman who claims to know, and who, by the way, is a scholar and a Christian, says the only difference between Kansas and paradise is that Kansas is receiving much the heavier immigration and has the best roads.—*Leavenworth Times*.

We suppose the gentlemen was not thinking of the paradise we are.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Histories of the Philomatheia and Stony Hill schools of Dickinson county, by William H. Riekeman, were printed in the *Reflector-Chronicle*, Abilene, November 2, 1960.

The early histories of Hutchinson churches, by C. L. "Bill" Colee, were printed in the *Hutchinson News*, November 5, 1960. On December 11 the *News* printed a brief history of Humbogen, near Ellis, by Kittie Dale.

Articles of historical interest in the Hays *Daily News* recently included: a biographical sketch of Dr. Harold J. Chapman, Sr., former Speed physician, by Bernice Brown, November 13, 1960; a story on the Peter A. Nelson home, long a landmark near Ogallah, January 22, 1961; and a story of pioneer days in Hays, by the late Mrs. Bird Moore, January 29.

In 1902 Millionaire Edward Davis built a 28-room mansion southwest of Norwich. A history of the house is told by Agnes Nye in the *Harper Advocate*, November 17, 1960.

Gordon S. Hohn was the author of "Union Soldiers Once Cut Curls From Local Southern Editor's Head," published in the *Marysville Advocate*, November 24, 1960, and "No Murder Conviction in 75-Year History of District Court Here," in the *Advocate*, January 19, 1961.

Reports of historical papers given at meetings of the Ottawa County Historical Society and appearing recently in local newspapers included: early Minneapolis history, by Mrs. Nellie Davis Cawley, *Delphos Republican* and *Minneapolis Messenger*, November 24, 1960; Indian raids in Ottawa county, by Mrs. Bernice Rice, *Delphos Republican*, January 5, 1961; a history of Lamar, by Mrs. Ellis Bishop, *Delphos Republican*, January 26.

Orville W. Mosher's column, "Museum Notes," in the *Emporia Gazette*, included the following features in recent months: excerpts from the diary of Emma Clover Stevenson, November 29, 1960; Christmas in the early days of Lyon county, December 6; and the reminiscences of May Giger and William Edmunds concerning early day life in northern Lyon county, January 17, 1961.

John G. Whittier's poem "Brown of Ossawatomie," was discussed by Cecil D. Eby, Jr., in an article published in *The New England Quarterly*, Brunswick, Maine, December, 1960.

Historical articles continue to appear regularly in the *Courtland Journal*. Among those printed in recent months were: "Story of Richard T. Stanfield, Capt. of Militia," December 1, 1960; a biographical sketch of the W. R. Charles family, December 8; "Tom Lovewell, Pioneer of Pioneers," December 15; a biographical sketch of the William Osborne family, January 12, 1961; and "Early Day Transportation" and "Transportation Problems," January 26.

Sen. John J. Ingalls' life was sketched by Walter C. Walker in *The Wednesday Magazine*, Kansas City, Mo., December 7, 1960. Ingalls settled at Sumner in 1858, later becoming a resident of Atchison.

In the issue of December 8, 1960, the *Belle Plaine News* printed a history of the Great Seal of Kansas by Pearl E. Wight. A history of Belle Plaine, by Mrs. I. C. Lane, appeared in the *News*, January 26, 1961.

An article on the first houses and some of the older houses still standing in Lawrence, by Mrs. Ivan D. Rowe, was published in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, December 8, 1960.

Lily B. Rozar is the author of a history of Howard which appeared in the *Independence Reporter*, December 11, 1960, and the *Longton News*, January 5, 1961. The town was established in 1870 as Howard City.

An article by Ben Lindas in the *Great Bend Daily Tribune*, December 11, 1960, included a history of Pawnee Rock and a biographical sketch of John Lindas, one of the town's founders.

With the issue of December 15, 1960, the *Sterling Bulletin* began publishing letters written by Emily Isabelle Combes, describing life in Rice county in 1871.

Kansas newspapers have entered into the spirit of the state's centennial observance, publishing numerous special editions, including many pages of historical and informative illustrated articles on Kansas, its cities and towns, its industries and businesses, its schools and churches. Among these centennial editions are: *Galena Sentinel-Times*, December 15, 1960; *Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, January 21, 1961; *Newton Kansan*, January 28; *Topeka Capital-Journal*, January 28; *Kansas City Kansan*, January 29; *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, February 26; *Winfield Daily Courier*, February 27; *Southwest Daily Times*, Liberal, March 18; *University Daily Kansan*, Lawrence, April 17; *Belleville Telescope*, April 20; *Suburban*, Merriam, April

26 and May 3; *White City Register*, April 27; *News*, Olathe, May 5; *Great Bend Daily Tribune*, May 7; *Caldwell Messenger*, May 8; *Pittsburg Headlight*, May 13; *Pittsburg Sun*, May 14; *El Dorado Times*, May 26; *Russell Daily News*, June 3; *Russell Record*, June 5; *Chanute Tribune*, June 7; *Junction City Union*, June 7; *Junction City Republic*, June 8; *Logan Republican*, June 8; *Western Kansas World*, WaKeeney, June 8; *Wichita Sunday Eagle & Beacon*, June 11; and *Journal-World*, Lawrence, June 12.

The *Blue Rapids Times*, December 22, 1960, printed a history and description of the Blue valley by Irene Rudisill.

On December 29, 1960, January 5, 12, 19, 1961, the *Solomon Valley Tribune*, Solomon, printed a history of the Solomon schools by Mrs. Irene Jones.

George Washington Earp's recent death at 96 years of age served to recall some of the early history of Ulysses which was printed in the *Ulysses News*, December 29, 1960. Earp was one of the town's founders.

Historical articles appearing recently in the *Southwest Daily Times*, Liberal, included: the story of the Windsor Hotel of Springfield, Seward county ghost town, by Harry E. Chrisman, December 30, 1960; an article on the Lone Tree Indian massacre of 1874 in present Meade county, by Mrs. Mary Short Browne, February 1, 2, 4, 1961; and some biographical facts on the surveyors who were slain in the Lone Tree massacre, by Mrs. J. N. Haver, February 6.

The *Howard Courant-Citizen*, January 5, 1961, printed a history of the Howard public schools by Nancy Barger. The first term was taught in 1873 by W. S. Kent.

Historical notes on Downs and Downs newspapers, by Darrel Miller, were printed in the *Downs News*, January 12, 1961. The town was founded in 1879 and the first newspaper began the following year.

Harper and Harper county history, by Mrs. Carrie Pitts Omeara, was published in the *Harper Advocate*, January 19, 1961. Mrs. Omeara's father was an early Harper county homesteader.

Greenleaf was surveyed in 1877 and incorporated in 1879 according to a history of the town printed in the *Greenleaf Sentinel*, January 19, 1961.

Early Winona and Logan county history, by Carolyn Mountford, was published in the *Winona Leader*, January 19, 1961.

Brief historical articles have been appearing regularly in the *Winfield Daily Courier* in recent months under the title "Winfield City History."

"Highlight of Coal Camp Days," a four-part series on southeast Kansas, by Frank D. Grisping, was published in the *Columbus Daily Advocate* beginning January 24, 1961. The *Advocate* printed Lyra Forbes' story of a childhood experience with a herd of longhorn cattle in the January 25 number.

A brief historical sketch of the Methodist church in Kansas and at Haven appeared in the *Haven Journal*, January 26, 1961.

The January 26, 1961, issue of the *Pittsburg Headlight* included a review of Herbert W. Hallman's history of banking in Crawford county, presented at a recent meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society.

Humboldt's history was reviewed by Nat Armel in the *Humboldt Union*, January 26, 1961. The town was established in 1857.

Some of the newspaper accounts at the time of Kansas' admittance to the Union in 1861 were reprinted in the *Leavenworth Times*, January 29, 1961.

Rolla A. Clymer, of El Dorado, is the author of a centennial article entitled "A Century of Sunflowers," published in *Service*, New York, a publication of Cities Service Co., January, 1961.

"The Story of Julia Rockwell," a five and one-half page article by Julia Marshall Rockwell and Mary Angela Melville, was published in the *Junction City Weekly Union*, February 16, 1961. Mrs. Rockwell, born in Philadelphia in 1850, came to Ogden in 1866 to live with an uncle, David Scott, sutler at Fort Riley. After her marriage in 1870 she lived in Junction City until 1906. Besides Mrs. Rockwell's biography the article contains Fort Riley, Junction City, and Kansas history. Mrs. Mary McFarland Axtell's story of the early days in Junction City, written by Pearl Mallon Nicholas, appeared in the daily *Union*, January 14, and the weekly *Union*, January 19, 1961. Mrs. Axtell's father, Edmund S. McFarland, came to Fort Riley in 1856. On July 2, 1855, the first Kansas territorial legislature met at Pawnee, now on the Fort Riley reservation. The story of this brief session and of the First Capitol building was published in the daily *Union*, February 17.

Kansas Historical Notes

The 86th annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society will be held at Topeka on Tuesday, October 17, 1961.

Present officers of the Jewell County Historical Society are: C. L. Black, Mankato, president; Mrs. Darus Henningsen, Mankato, vice-president; Bernice Howard, Mankato, secretary; Lucy Wiley, Mankato, treasurer; and Iden Chilcott, Mrs. Howard Edwards, Mrs. Kenneth Maag, and Joe R. Beeler, all of Jewell, directors.

Current officers of the Harvey County Historical Society, Newton, include: Elden Smurr, president; Cecil Hornbaker, vice-president; and Bill Sage, secretary.

Ile Hillman was named executive secretary and Paul Gritman and Dennis Cady chosen vice-presidents at a meeting of the Mitchell County Historical Society, January 31, 1961, in Beloit. Alan Houghton is president of the society.

Arthur Hodgson was re-elected president of the Rice County Historical Society at a meeting of the society in Lyons, February 1, 1961. Other officers chosen included: Paul Jones, vice-president; Mrs. Bill Chandler, Jr., secretary; Mrs. Frank Peppiatt, treasurer; and Arthur Harvey, Mrs. Bert Hoyt, and I. L. Drescher, directors.

Francis Wilson, Ellsworth, was elected president of the new Ellsworth County Historical Society at a meeting in Ellsworth, February 12, 1961. Other officers are: Helen Keyser, Wilson, vice-president; Mrs. Paul Aylward, Ellsworth, secretary; and A. H. Barofsky, Ellsworth, treasurer. Directors of the society include: George Jelinek, Ellsworth; W. C. Frevert, Holyrood; Mrs. Emil Prochaska, Ellsworth; Oliver Bircher, Kanopolis; and Walter Kohrs, Lorraine. Stanley Sohl, museum director of the State Historical Society, spoke on museum methods at the meeting of May 17.

Elected to the board of directors of the Finney County Historical Society at the society's annual banquet meeting, February 14, 1961, in Garden City, were: Taylor Jones, F. Arthur Stone, J. E. Greathouse, Amy Gillespie, Merle Evans, Damon Cobb, Mrs. Claude Owens, Claudine Lindner, J. M. Concannon, H. P. Winget, and M. L. Russell.

Great Bend's 20th Century club observed the centennial year with a program entitled "Reflections of Our Town's History," at a

meeting March 6, 1961. A review of the historical material presented at the meeting appeared in the Great Bend *Daily Tribune*, March 9.

Emmet Womer was re-elected president of the Smith County Historical Society at its annual meeting in Smith Center, March 7, 1961. Other officers chosen included: Roy Lumpkin, vice-president; Margaret Nelson, secretary; and Opal Diehl, treasurer.

At the annual election of officers, March 10, 1961, the Ford Historical Society named Mrs. Walter Umbach, president; Mrs. E. H. Patterson, vice-president; Mrs. Addie Plattner, secretary and treasurer; Mrs. W. P. Warner, custodian; and Mrs. Lyman Emrie, historian.

Earl Vore was elected president of the Bourbon County Historical Society at a meeting in Fort Scott March 14, 1961. Judge Harry W. Fisher was elected vice-president, and Mrs. M. L. Prichard, secretary-treasurer. Vore, Mrs. Prichard, G. W. Marble, Mrs. Emma Connolly, Bob Waters, Don Torkelson, Harold Calhoun, George Eakle, Melvin Hurst, A. W. Dickerson, and Hilton Wogan were named to the board of directors. Eakle was the retiring president.

Approximately 125 persons attended the fourth annual meeting of the Missouri Valley Conference of Collegiate Teachers of History, held March 24, 25, at Omaha, Neb., under the auspices of the Department of History of the University of Omaha. Prof. Bell Wiley of Emory University; Franklin H. Littell, Southern Methodist University; and Philip S. Brooks, director of the Truman Library, were the featured speakers. The next meeting will be held at Omaha, March 23, 24, 1962.

Dedication ceremonies for a new historical marker on the Kansas turnpike were held April 10, 1961, at the Lawrence service area. The principal speaker was Fred W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg publisher. The marker memorializes Lawrence, the Oregon trail, and the Santa Fe trail.

Helen Riepl was elected president of the Gray County Historical Society at a meeting April 11, 1961, at Cimarron. Other officers elected were: Merle Warner, vice-president; Grace Truax, secretary; Katie Jacques, treasurer; and Wanda Nicolet, director. Mrs. Merle Warner was the retiring president.

Officers elected at the annual meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society, April 18, 1961, in Kinsley, were: Mrs. E. G. Peterson, president; Cecil Matthews, first vice-president; Charles Anderson, second vice-president; George Ott, third vice-president; Elsie Jenkins, secretary; Mrs. George Miller, treasurer; Myrtle Richardson, historian; and Mary Vang, custodian.

Dr. George Anderson of the University of Kansas, Lawrence, and president of the Kansas State Historical Society, was the speaker at the centennial banquet of the Rawlins County Historical Society, April 29, 1961, in Atwood.

On May 5 and 6, 1961, the 35th annual meeting of the Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Social Science was held at the University of Kansas, Lawrence. Among the papers presented, relating to Kansas history, were: "Land and Credit Problems in Underdeveloped Kansas," Paul Wallace Gates, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; "Hatchets and Hoopskirts or the Distaff Side," Elizabeth Cochran, Kansas State College of Pittsburg; "Europeans and Kansas: a Reappraisal," Hubert C. Johnson, Kansas Wesleyan University, Salina; "A Kansas Romance of the Gay Nineties," Homer E. Socolofsky, Kansas State University, Manhattan; "Collecting Material of Kansas History," Alan W. Farley, Kansas City, Kan.; "Civil War and Reconstruction," Edgar Langsdorf, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka; "Political Parties and Party Leaders, 1877-1917," James C. Malin, University of Kansas; and "From World War I to World War II," Ruth Friedrich, Washburn University, Topeka. New officers elected at the business session included: Sister M. Evangeline Thomas, Marymount College, Salina, president; John J. Zimmerman, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, vice-president; and Robert W. Richmond, Kansas State Historical Society, secretary-treasurer for three years. W. Stitt Robinson, University of Kansas, was the retiring president.

Ceremonies dedicating the Bender Museum, Cherryvale, were held May 6, 1961. The dedicatory address was given by Charles S. McGinness, former Cherryvale mayor and state legislator. The museum building is a replica of the Bender home and inn where in the early 1870's northeast of Cherryvale, overnight guests were frequently murdered.

Wagons rolled again along the Santa Fe trail, May 8-20, 1961, from eastern Kansas to Santa Fe, N. M., marking the 100th anniversary of Kansas and the 140th anniversary of the Santa Fe trail. But

for most of the distance they moved on trucks, unloading to parade through cities and towns along the way in conjunction with local celebrations. The colorful caravan was a centennial project of the U. S. Highway 56 Association—the Santa Fe trail highway for most of the way—under the direction of Mrs. Grace Collier of Great Bend.

Council Grove observed the state's centennial in a big way May 10, 1961. Among the events were: first sale of the Kansas centennial commemorative stamp, Santa Fe trail caravan parade and local parade, chuck wagon meals, Indian dances, and rodeos. Distinguished guests appearing on the program included: Sen. Frank Carlson, Gov. John Anderson, Jr., and H. W. Brawley, deputy postmaster general, who gave the principal address.

A pontifical field mass was celebrated at the Father Juan Padilla cross, four miles west of Lyons, May 14, 1961, by the Most Rev. Frederick W. Freking of Salina. The event was sponsored by the Knights of Columbus of Kansas and the centennial committee of Lyons.

The Stevens County Gas and Historical Museum, Hugoton, was dedicated and officially opened May 16, 1961. The ceremony was a part of Hugoton's Diamond Jubilee celebration.

Crawford county's contribution to Kansas' centennial observance was held May 19, 20, 1961, at Cato, the site of the first coal mining operations in the county. Among the attractions at the celebration were a historical museum housed in a tent, demonstrations of coal mining and feed grinding with donkey power, and talks by Lt. Gov. Harold Chase and other officials, and Douglas Hudson of Fort Scott.

Some U. S. mail traveled by stage coach in Butler county May 21, 1961, with a run from El Dorado to Towanda, Augusta, and Leon carrying about 3,000 pieces of mail. Additional runs are planned for later this year.

Cloud county now has a historical museum in the basement of the courthouse in Concordia. Established by the Cloud County Historical Society, the museum is open Wednesday and Friday afternoons.

The Centennial Press, Salina, published a 226-page volume early in 1961, described as a centennial yearbook, entitled *The Kansas Centennial*. The work contains brief histories of the state and many of its cities and towns.

The Kansas Historical Quarterly



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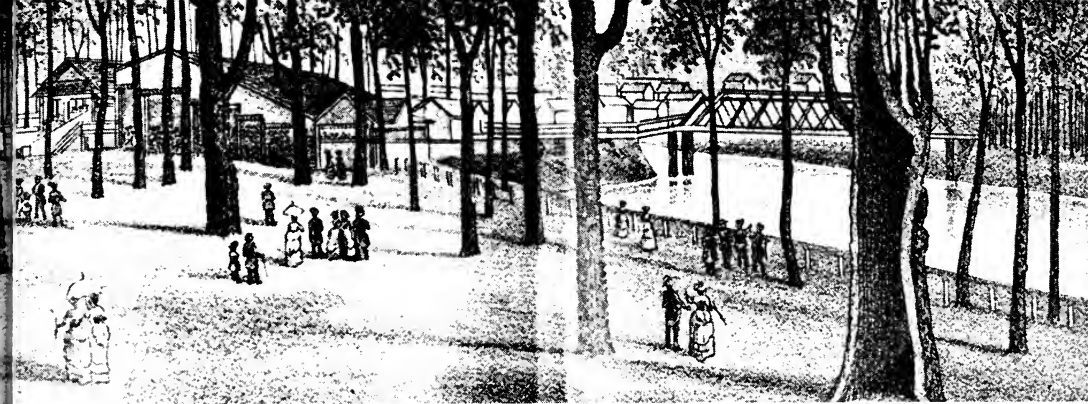
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Second-class postage has been paid at Topeka, Kan.

THE COVER

Sac and Fox Indians as encountered by members of the Maximilian expedition near Cantonment Leavenworth in the spring of 1833. Charles Bodmer was the artist. Reproduced from *Reise in das Innere Nord-America in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834 von Maximilian Prinz zu Wied (Cologne, 1839)*.



THE OTTAWA CHAUTAUQUA ASSEMBLY IN 1886

Upper: Sketch of a portion of Forest Park, Ottawa, showing the tabernacle and the Marais des Cygnes river. From L. H. Everts' *Atlas of Kansas* (1887).

Center: A bit of the easy living in the tent city.

Lower: Gen. and Sen. John A. Logan, left, with Gov. John A. Martin and B. F. Flenniken. This photo courtesy Miss Clara Kaiser and F. W. Brinkerhoff. The remainder are from the Historical Society files.



SCENES OF THE ASSEMBLY GROUNDS IN 1897

Information on the original *upper* photo did not disclose whether it was simply rain-water underfoot or the unpredictable Marais des Cygnes flexing its muscles, or both.

1861—Kansas Centennial of Statehood—1961

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly

F. W. BRINKERHOFF

N EARLY half of the century of Kansas statehood we are celebrating this centennial year has passed since the final curtain was dropped on the Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly. So it is not odd that mention of the word Chautauqua recalls to those on whom the word registers at all a tent erected in a town park, or more likely, in a vacant lot or in a near-by pasture. They have in memory the tent or traveling so-called Chautauquas which swarmed over the country as late as three decades after this century began. They represented an ambitious plan to cash in on culture—or more accurately stated, the desire for culture. Those who set them up and carried them on were engaged in a legitimate enterprise. They found their inspiration in the proven appeal of the immobile Chautauquas—the Mother Chautauqua in New York, the Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly and others that followed and used the same pattern. They proposed to package a program of lectures and music and various kinds of entertainment and put it on the road in a fresh air circuit. Thus they utilized in a limited way an attractive feature of the real Chautauquas which combined physical pleasure with intellectual uplift.

The religious camp meeting had long been a colorful American institution when the original Chautauqua was devised. The traveling Chautauqua was based businesswise on the financial support of co-operative communities. It was presented as a civic project with a high moral objective. Failure to provide the necessary support was held to be proof that a community was not interested in culture, self-improvement, and the better things of life. The

FREDERICK W. BRINKERHOFF, long-time editor of the *Pittsburg Headlight and Sun*, and former president of the Kansas State Historical Society, gave this address before the Franklin County Chautauqua Days centennial celebration at Ottawa, May 3, 1961. It is published here with slight changes and the addition of footnotes.

traveling Chautauquas contributed to the fiscal unhappiness of the Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly and its contemporaries. But they lingered a while. And there were many of them. These facts and another one, that most of the literature of one sort and another has dealt with the traveling Chautauqua, have brought about an innocent ignorance. It is distressing to one who saw the Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly in operation during a great part of its 34 years, including its days of greatest glory.

There are those who recall the day in mid-June, 1897, when a vast crowd assembled in Forest Park to see, hear, and cheer for William Jennings Bryan. Eight months earlier the "boy orator of the Platte" had swept Kansas at the close of his free silver and sixteen-to-one campaign for the Presidency. In defeat he had retained the shouting loyalty of his followers in Kansas. Moreover, he held the interest of those who voted against him. His fame was at its height. The Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly managers, most of whom were stalwart Republicans, were happy to book him as the star of their program. They did well to do so. The gate receipts confirmed their judgment.

When Bryan came to Ottawa that day the Marais des Cygnes was demonstrating. Flood waters rose into the old tabernacle. The front rows of seats could not be used. And Bryan was carried through a foot of water to the great platform. Over water Bryan spoke to the throng about the "first battle" and Free Silver. The records must have contained the figures showing more than an estimate on the size of the audience that heard with ease the mighty voice of the orator. There was no agreement on that point. But there was agreement that it was a tremendous audience.¹

Eighteen years later at a small southeastern Kansas city, Bryan talked to me of that day in Ottawa. In the intervening years he had twice been the Democrat nominee for President, had brought about the defeat of Champ Clark and the nomination of Woodrow Wilson at Baltimore and had served two years as secretary of state. He was then on a traveling Chautauqua circuit. He addressed an audience of 150 persons under a tent in the edge of a pasture. That was the year when the Marais des Cygnes put an end to the Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly. The tent Chautauquas were to vanish in a few years.

While the impressive name, Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly, appears on the programs and other literature, nobody in Ottawa through the years referred to it as the "Chautauqua." Everybody

1. *Ottawa Daily Republican*, June 26, 1897.

called it the "Assembly." This term was recognized not only in conversation and in the newspapers but one of the buildings erected for its use was "Assembly Hall." The official publication was the *Assembly Herald*. So to the survivors let us say, "Assembly" is still the name.²

In 1874 Lewis Miller, an Ohio businessman and Dr. John H. Vincent, a New Jersey preacher, decided to start an institution for the training of religious workers, specifically Sunday School teachers. They planned to combine cultural advancement, entertainment, and recreation. They started their project on pretty Lake Chautauqua in New York. The combination proved popular. As a phase of the program of operation there was established the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, a continuous home reading system. Persons could enroll for this guided study and receive appropriate recognition. Programs of lectures, music, and many kinds of entertainment were mingled with instruction sessions covering religious and educational work.

Miller and Vincent became more and more pleased with their "Sunday school assembly" as it grew and hundreds of persons enrolled to live in the pleasant camp or village for several weeks of the summer, enjoy serious lectures and high-grade entertainment, participate in the C. L. S. C., and at the same time have the recreation fun the attractive surroundings, the water, and the woods, made possible. Steamboats rode the placid waters of Lake Chautauqua, providing not only pleasure rides but a connection between the culture camp and the town of Chautauqua and railroad service. An electric railroad also furnished transportation between the village and the town. The county, the town, and the lake bore the same name. From them naturally came the name for this Miller-Vincent enterprise for the advancement of religious education which undoubtedly borrowed ideas from the time-honored camp meeting with modified and refined religious fervor, recognized the helpful influence of a balanced intellectual diet and added the facilities for physical relaxation from the heavy mental work the program required.

The success of this combination of vacation, education, entertainment, and religious advancement enthused Miller and Vincent. They were inspired to attempt to give other parts of the country the advantages of their idea. Vincent was to be a Methodist bishop and one of the nation's most prominent clergymen. He came on a

2. In the early years the Assembly was known as the "Sunday School Assembly of Kansas and Missouri," the "Inter-State Sunday School Assembly," and the "Ottawa Assembly" before assuming the final title "Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly."

lecture trip to Kansas and was to meet an Ottawa Presbyterian preacher who quickly accepted Vincent's suggestion that a Chautauqua be organized in Kansas.

The Ottawa clergyman was Duncan C. Milner. Milner was an Ohio soldier in the Civil War who survived what was believed to be a fatal wound. He trained for the ministry in a New York theological seminary, met Horace Greeley at a temperance meeting and was told in person by Greeley to go west, decided on this section and eventually found himself in Ottawa. Milner followed Vincent's suggestion and was instrumental in organizing the movement in Kansas. Two meetings were held at Bismarck Grove north of Lawrence and another in Topeka. Milner was made president of the organization in 1882. The sessions had not been very successful. There were factors, including some commercial ones, that interfered. Milner immediately started a campaign to bring the Chautauqua to Ottawa. He had effective assistance.

First, remembering the natural setting at Chautauqua on the lake with its steamboats and the park and trees, Milner emphasized that Forest Park in Ottawa was the finest park in Kansas and was shaded by a natural forest of magnificent trees. It was alongside not a sparkling lake but the Marais des Cygnes river and above a dam. On the river was a steamboat, the *Gertie*. The *Gertie* with its Pier One at the foot of Elm street, carried 40 persons, the *Daily Republican* reported, and offered excursions as far as "Big Island."³ No other Kansas town had such a park or a steamboat. Then Milner could and did maintain, railroads made Ottawa easily accessible from all directions and this was to be a Kansas institution, not a community project. And, too, Milner could contend Ottawa was a town of religious people, of churches and a college and good schools and culture brought in by refined citizens who came from states stretching from Maine to the Mississippi. Some of them were from New York areas near the Chautauqua of Vincent and Miller.

Milner won aggressive support from Ottawa folks. He had his way. In 1883 the Assembly became the second Chautauqua, and for a quarter of a century the most conspicuous offspring of the Mother Chautauqua. Trials and tribulations of its last half dozen years, including deterioration of interest, the competition of other forms of entertainment, and the ribald misbehavior of the Marais des Cygnes may blur the memory but they cannot efface the record of the glamorous 25 years.

3. *Ottawa Daily Republican*, June 8, 1883.

The Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly built for its operation from the pattern of the Mother Chautauqua. It could not run all summer. The sessions were set at two weeks. The schedule of lectures and studies and training courses followed the line of the original. The C. L. S. C. was adopted. Instructors and other helpers came out from the Mother Chautauqua to assist. But the Ottawa institution was on its own in the sense that it was not connected with the original institution except as it used its plans and had the counsel and sincere encouragement of Vincent and his staff. Milner and his associates enlisted the lecturers and others on the program. They may have had—probably did have—the services of some talent booking agent or agents. But they went it alone for the special days and occasions. They invited speakers—famous statesmen and soldiers, preachers, humorists, literary figures, scientists, artists—to the platform of a tabernacle they constructed similar to the one on the shore of Lake Chautauqua.

In the 30 years that followed the initial session in 1883 the Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly brought to the platform in Forest Park literally scores of the most notable men, and some of the most notable women, on the American scene. These included one man who had been President and two who were to be, one who missed the Presidency by the narrowest of margins, one who three times was the Presidential nominee of his party, and several others who played on the first team of Presidential aspirants. It presented practically every Kansas public man of those years. The most noted clergymen of the nation were here. Men of science and philosophy considered a date at Ottawa a recognition of distinction. The name of dozens of others widely known in various fields of activity appeared on the programs. Milner and his associates and their successors down through the years arranged their own programs, negotiated contracts with the professionals and administered the business of the corporation judiciously.

In spite of the popularity of the assembly and the generally low cost involved in the appearances of many of the greatest audience producers and the carefulness of the management, the financial position was seldom such as to eliminate anxiety on the part of the responsible authorities and the stockholders. Season tickets ranged from 75 cents in 1883 to \$1.50 in 1911 and single admissions from 15 cents to 25 cents. They yielded sufficiently to create a happy condition in the treasury through earlier years of great special-day crowds and 400 or more tent homes. Those also were the days when the Chautauquans could enjoy a big dinner at the Assembly

dining hall for a quarter. Times changed, costs increased but the price of the tickets remained reasonable. Stockholders were determined to prove that the Assembly was not a profit-seeking corporation and they succeeded.

From the first the rule was laid down that there would be no admission charge on the Sunday that fell midway in the session—Assembly Sunday. It was held that it would be a desecration of the Sabbath and a repudiation of the ideals the Assembly was established to advance, to close the gate and take money for entrance. As receipts and expenditures began to get out of balance, some of the leaders started proposing that a more elaborate program but with an overtone of religion be arranged for Sunday, that an admission fee be charged and that excursion trains be arranged to bring in throngs from the many cities for the day. But the sturdy stockholders stood steadfast until June 27, 1906. Looking a deficit straight in the face as that year's session moved toward the end, the stockholders voted 41 to 26 to close the gates.⁴

This was not the first rumpus about entrance charges. Before the Assembly could open its first session, there was a violent row. The Fourth of July fell in the Assembly period. The city owned Forest Park and the Assembly leaders negotiated the contract with the city for the use of the park. The Assembly had been made a civic project and there was a large amount of public enthusiasm. The Assembly officials wanted to charge an admission on the Fourth. There was a wrangle when the mayor turned up in opposition and the contract as approved by the council was revised by somebody changing the provision concerning the Fourth. Publication of a news story about the confusion led to a bitter exchange over truthfulness or the lack of it between the mayor and the publisher of the *Daily Republican*, A. T. Sharpe. Sharpe was a leading spirit in moving the Assembly to Ottawa. The mayor, thoroughly aroused, offered to give the Assembly \$500 if Sharpe could prove he was a liar. But the council moved in to declare for the Assembly and the incident was ended.⁵ The Assembly had weathered its first storm over closing of the gate.

The men who managed the Assembly were not showmen but they displayed continuously the inclinations and often the talents of showmen. They appreciated the advantages of big names on the program. They could see the appeal to groups that some men had. The long list of famous persons who came to Ottawa is

4. *Ottawa Daily Republic and Evening Herald*, June 27, 1906.

5. *Ottawa Daily Republican*, June 11, 13, 1883.

proof of the skill of Assembly managers, both in determining the speakers to get and then in getting them. Considered from this distance in time, their accomplishments were amazing.

The tabernacle, as first built, reportedly had seats for 2,000. Then it was enlarged. It was generally understood that it could seat 5,000 with another 300 on the huge platform. But some whose powers of precise recollection may be mildly challenged place the capacity at 10,000. To prevent any threat to peace, should we not agree that the old tabernacle, which was largely enclosed at the back and the front but no sides, had elasticity no end. Whatever the actual number of available seats, undoubtedly there was no meeting place with a roof maintained in Kansas that was its equal. Since its basic function was for the summer Assembly it was not designed for heating. It had no air conditioning and the cooling came from the busy individual fans, augmented by vagrant breezes that came in across the river. It had no amplifying equipment and speakers were on their own. Those who had gentle voices were at a disadvantage but audiences helped speakers by maintaining quiet. They paid to hear and they wanted to get their money's worth.

The first big day the Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly enjoyed came in 1886. Kansas was full of Union veterans of the Civil War. Twenty thousand of them were Kansans who went away to fight and then came home. About 100,000 were men who came to Kansas after the war had ended. They comprised in 1886 a very large part of the population. So the assembly met this opportunity by inviting one of the great Union heroes to come to speak at the Assembly. A Grand Army of the Republic day had been established to honor the veterans. Gen. John A. Logan of Illinois, then a United States senator, came to the Assembly.⁶ The crowd that Logan addressed was conceded to be the largest ever assembled in Kansas to hear a speaker up to that time and for an indefinite number of years afterward.

The Civil War was not exactly over in Kansas when Logan was in Ottawa. But peace was gradually being established. Ten years after Logan spoke at Forest Park, a Confederate hero, who also was a senator, came to speak. He was Gen. John B. Gordon of Georgia, who fought at Gettysburg under Lee and was one of Lee's commanders in Virginia on the road to Appomattox. In two speeches his Kansas audiences in the tabernacle were told of the first and last days of the Confederacy.⁷

6. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1886.

7. *Ibid.*, June 19, 20, 1896.

A former President and a future President, both from Ohio, soldiers in the war, spoke from the tabernacle platform. Rutherford B. Hayes was one, the former President.⁸ Maj. William McKinley, then governor of Ohio, came in 1895.⁹ The next year he was elected President.

The archives reveal that numerous other noted veterans of the Civil War were scheduled speakers, including Gen. Oliver O. Howard, a Gettysburg commander, Cpl. James Tanner,¹⁰ the most widely known noncommissioned officer of the Union army, and Gen. W. H. Gibson, an Ohio veteran and famed spellbinder, who was a regular visitor to the Assembly for years. At the turn of the century Grand Army Day disappeared from the program and "big days" speakers succeeded them.

There was the day in 1900 when Jonathan P. Dolliver, then a representative in congress but a day or so later a United States senator from Iowa, and Champ Clark, the Missourian who a dozen years later was to be speaker of the house and leader with a clear majority on many ballots for the Democrat Presidential nomination, were scheduled to debate on "Expansion and Imperialism." Afternoon came and Dolliver appeared alone on the tabernacle platform before a full house. Clark reached Ottawa but was ill in his room at the Centennial Hotel. Dolliver, who rose to dizzy heights in the senate within the decade, had the afternoon to himself and made the most of his opportunity.¹¹

Then there was William Howard Taft who was secretary of war when he came to the Assembly in 1907, the choice of Theodore Roosevelt as his successor and therefore considered the certain Republican nominee the next year. Bryan, also certain to be the Democrat nominee in 1908, was on the tabernacle platform the day before and made a political speech and had some unnice things to say about Taft and challenged Taft to answer when he spoke. Taft said as he started that he had heard about Bryan's remarks. He said that in proper time he would discuss politics. Then he proceeded to deliver a long discussion, from text, about the building of the Panama Canal, with detailed attention given to the control of the mosquito which interfered with the construction work by

8. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1890; Hayes spoke on G. A. R. day, June 27.

9. *Ibid.*, June 20, 1895; McKinley spoke on G. A. R. day, June 20.

10. James Tanner was most widely known for his stenographic recording of the first examination of witnesses to Lincoln's assassination. Tanner, a Civil War veteran and double amputee, lived next door to the room where Lincoln died. In later years he was active in the G. A. R. and served as commissioner of pensions under Pres. Benjamin Harrison.

11. *Ottawa Daily Republican*, July 17, 1900; *Ottawa Evening Herald*, July 17, 19, 1900.

spreading malaria. The great audience indicated something less than deep interest.¹²

Bryan held the record for repeat performances at the Assembly, as he did as an unsuccessful Presidential nominee. Four times his name and picture adorned the printed programs. Loyal supporters saw to it that he had a welcome and entertainment. The great "Commoner" always was critical of the "money power." On one of his visits he was met at the train by a small committee with one of the town's few motor cars. It was a small open vehicle, with a rear seat in which the occupants sat with their backs to the driver. He rode along Main street to the home of an ardent supporter. The owner and driver of the car was a Democrat banker.

Those who managed the Assembly did not show interest in the sensational for long years. But in 1905 they yielded to temptation. Thomas W. Lawson, Boston stock market operator, had shaken the country with his "frenzied finance" magazine articles. His name and his charges got big headlines and in newspapers all over America. Everybody talked about Lawson. The Assembly managers were deeply impressed. They invited him to speak at the Assembly. He accepted and the national spotlight followed him on his private car to Ottawa. The magazine publisher came with him as manager of the show. Lawson was not a speaker and he was no judge of distances in speech writing. He read and shouted himself into exhaustion. Late in the afternoon it was decided to take a recess and complete the delivery at the revised night session. Lawson was no more exhausted at the close than those who sought to stay through to the finale.¹³

Lawson was not the whole show that year, however. Considered with respect to contemporaneous fame it was undoubtedly the outstanding program in Assembly history. On the tabernacle platform one day was Clarence S. Darrow, the great Chicago lawyer and Socialist, who told a big audience that listened attentively—and quietly—why it would not be possible in that day to write the constitution.¹⁴

Next came Robert M. LaFollette, then governor of Wisconsin, whose subject was "The World's Greatest Tragedy." LaFollette had been stirring up vast trouble for Republican leaders with political speeches that contained advanced views. Everybody expected a political speech although the subject was puzzling.

12. *Ottawa Daily Republic*, June 19, 20, 1907.

13. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1905; *Ottawa Evening Herald*, July 8, 10, 1905.

14. *Ottawa Daily Republic*, and *Evening Herald*, July 5, 1905.

LaFollette delivered a dramatic lecture on "Hamlet" and drank a few pitchers of lemonade as he spoke.¹⁵

Then there was William Travers Jerome, district attorney of New York. He had achieved national prominence for his effective work in prosecuting wrongdoers, big and little. He was to add to his laurels the next year by his prosecution of Harry Thaw. Jerome was a symbol of clean government. He gave a good performance, including sitting on the piano while he discussed good government. But Jerome did not like prohibition and he was in real prohibition territory and speaking to thousands of dedicated drys. He spoke with refined but devastating scorn about "the moral yearnings of rural communities." Hundreds considered the Jerome sentiments outrageous. The New Yorker must be answered. The solution almost suggested itself. Over in Missouri was Gov. Joseph W. Folk. He was governor because he had fought for good government as district attorney of St. Louis. Folk was appealed to by the Assembly to come over and answer Jerome, and through his popularity to help ease the deficit. Folk was inserted into the program and defended the yearnings of rural communities. The indignation died down, peace returned, and the flood waters of the Marais des Cygnes, which had been demonstrating again, receded.¹⁶

To the Assembly came the ablest clergymen of their days. T. DeWitt Talmadge, Bishop Vincent, Bishop Quayle, Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus, Thomas Dixon, Sam Jones, Russell Conwell, DeWitt Miller, Robert McIntyre, and Josiah Strong were here. Booker T. Washington's name was on the list one year. Carrie Chapman Catt and Susan B. Anthony and Anna Shaw were among noted women at the Assembly. Governors and senators and men of humor and science and artists and musicians and travelers and explorers and educators made their appearance in Forest Park and a contribution to the spirit and the character of Kansas.

When the Assembly started, Kansas was only 25 years removed from the day of the border ruffian who reached the crest of his bloody rampage down the Marais des Cygnes at Trading Post on May 19, 1858. The struggle for free statehood was fresh in the memories of thousands of citizens. But schoolhouses and churches had been erected in hundreds of communities and more were being built continuously. The early colleges had been growing. Towns and small cities were increasing in size and providing more human

15. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1905.

16. *Ottawa Daily Republic*, July 7, 14, 1905; *Ottawa Evening Herald*, July 8, 14, 1905.

conveniences. Libraries were being established for public use. Organizations to provide for lectures by noted authorities on various subjects of public concern were formed. Towns built "opera houses" so that they might enjoy the dramas of the day by traveling companies and concerts and other musical presentations. Communities sought to improve the schools by obtaining more competent teachers and administrators. Talented ministers were sought for churches. University degrees made a deep impression.

Everywhere there were demonstrations of a desire for cultural advantages by those who had found such missing in the processes of pioneering. The hardships of territorial days and the handicaps of war had passed and the demands that the development of the new state made on its citizens were easing. Folks had more time and inclination to think beyond the day's work.

And then thousands of new families had come to Kansas from states to the eastward. They had left old towns and communities which had books and lecture courses and music and entertainment. They had the benefits of fine public schools and of colleges. In their new homes they did not find the things they had enjoyed in such abundance.

So the Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly came into this situation. There was hunger for just what the Assembly offered. Milner knew this. Vincent knew it. Not just to the thousands who came to Ottawa from over eastern Kansas was the Assembly the relief needed. They spread the word in their homes and communities. The newspapers reported on the proceedings at Ottawa, what some of the noted speakers and lecturers said. Ministers in their pulpits discussed topics at Ottawa. The Assembly lasted only two weeks a year but the discussions it stirred continued throughout the year. Thus was the influence of the Assembly programs on Kansas shown.

It was a good influence. No bad ideas ever went out from Forest Park. The Assembly program makers and those they put on the programs believed in America. There undoubtedly was criticism of policies, trends, and practices in government, in economic fields and in other phases of American activities. But nobody ever condemned the requirements for pledges of allegiance or a salute to the American flag. Nobody ever portrayed some other country as being better than ours. Nobody ever sought to arouse dividing prejudices. It was a wholesome American influence the Assembly exercised.

Here in this day, in our Kansas centennial year, we can obtain from the Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly a sound suggestion. We

are living not merely in a confused world. It is a dangerous world. The hope of the world may or may not lie in America. But most certainly the hope of America lies in America. Yet in too many public places a word of pride in America or praise for American institutions never is heard. On the other hand, speakers, many of them on the public payroll, spend time pointing out what they insist are bad things in America and never have a word of honest praise for the good. This is a day to talk America up, not down, to tell the truth—the plain truth—and the plain truth is gorgeous.

The Letters of Peter Bryant, Jackson County Pioneer—*Concluded*

Edited by DONALD M. MURRAY and ROBERT M. RODNEY

III. THE LETTERS, 1862-1864

PETER BRYANT'S letters at the end of the period 1854-1861 present a picture of a Kansas homesteader who turned jayhawker during the troubled spring of 1861 on the Kansas-Missouri border.

Bryant's jayhawking experience was brief. He soon became disillusioned with guerrilla warfare as a means of furthering the Northern cause. Resolved to enlist in the regular army, as his Illinois friends were doing, he gave all of his equipment except a mule and a pony to "the government boys" and journeyed back to the old home in Princeton. Once there, he found that his father was ill and that his brother Mark needed assistance on the family farm, for at least one season. Peter gave the needed help, but all during the summer of 1862 he watched with keen excitement the progress of the war and the individual fortunes of those of his fellow townsmen who were already fighting for the Union. By the fall of 1862 Peter himself had enlisted.

The first letter in the group below was written just after his return to Princeton, to his brother Cullen, at West Point.

PRINCETON, BUREAU CO., ILLINOIS
Jan. 3rd 1862

DEAR BROTHER [CULLEN]

I suspect you think it is high time to hear from me again. From what I wrote you in my last, I presume you will not be surprised to learn that I am back to the old homestead again.

Folks and things have changed a good deal since I went away. Our little girls have grown to be women. Had I met Chat [his sister Charity] on the street, I should not have known her. All those who were "younkets" then are in about the same fix. The town has grown some. A new Courthouse, &c. Uncle John has torn up the old front part of his house and built new, has improved the looks wonderfully.

I got home last Saturday night. The folks had pretty much given up my coming. Was delayed some on the road. The bridge across the Chariton [river, in central Missouri] was burnt the night before, and we had to wait for the train from the east. This kept us nearly all day. Afterwards the hellhounds tried to blow us up, but luckily their powder (which was placed under a bridge or culvert) didn't explode until after we had crossed. They, after raids,

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burnt another bridge so that the H & St. Jo [Hannibal and St. Joseph] road is at present a good deal crippled. The scamps that tore up the North[ern] Mo. R. R. were caught and some of them shot.

Military matters here are below par. Winslow's⁶² regiment that was quartered at the Fair Grounds ran away from him, were going to St. Louis but were arrested at Alton and sent to Chicago. Three or four of them came home, and a day or two since some officers came and arrested them, but before they could get them on the cars all four of them had got away. Al Walters, Abe Lash,⁶³ and Les Piatt were three of them. Old John Walton was very indignant.

I can find hardly of the young fellows that I used to be acquainted with, most of them having gone to the wars. New Years was pretty dry, save perhaps at private dinners. They had a Festival at the Methodist Church, but not being of a religious turn I didn't go. At night, Charley Brown and two or three others got drunk and tore around as of old. Charley enlisted in Elliott's company, but at the fight at Big River bridge was taken prisoner and sworn [paroled on oath not to fight again]. Sol Hauck is in the army. Methinks there would not be so much surrendering if the rebels used them as they did my boys when they caught them: *i. e.* treat them to a hempen necktie.

The folks are all well. It has been sleeting this morning, and father went out doors and slipped down and bumped his head, I think not very seriously. I do not think he is so tough as when I went away.

P. BRYANT

PRINCETON, BUREAU CO., ILLINOIS
March 2nd 1862

DEAR BROTHER [CULLEN]

Your letter of Feb. 19th is at hand. You seem considerably elated at the success of our arms in Tennessee.⁶⁴ Well, I like it pretty well, too. The Bureau County boys got off first-rate, only seven or eight wounded. Alf Clark got a letter from Fred Wood. He says they were a good deal excited, but didn't

62. In August, 1861, Col. R. F. Winslow, of Princeton, formed a Bureau county regiment. After a period of training, the men "were not satisfied with . . . having him for a colonel," whereupon they marched off, against his orders, for St. Louis. They were arrested, detained for a time at Alton, and then pardoned and allowed to join the 57th regiment. Winslow's war career thus ended abruptly; he subsequently entered the practice of law.—Henry C. Bradsby, *History of Bureau County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1885), pp. 301, 348-350.

63. Abram Lash, of Princeton, private in Company H, 57th Illinois infantry, deserted November 1, 1861.—William W. Cluett, *History of the Fifty-Seventh Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Princeton, Ill., 1886), p. 136. Two of the other men mentioned in this letter have been identified: Charley Brown was Charles E. Brown, private in Company E, 33d regiment; Elliott was Isaac H. Elliott, at this time captain of Company E, 33d regiment. (See letter of Christmas, 1854, and Footnote in the Autumn issue of the *Quarterly*.) The engagement mentioned at the end of the letter occurred after the 33d regiment had left St. Louis, crossed the Mississippi and entered debatable ground. Company E and two others were guarding the railroad at the bridge across the Big river, half way between Pilot Knob and St. Louis. On October 15 E Company was suddenly attacked by a large force of Confederates. After a hot skirmish, which resulted in several casualties, Elliott was compelled to surrender. The Confederate commander put him under oath not to take up arms again against the Confederacy during the remainder of the war. Elliott immediately set about trying to effect an exchange; he succeeded in doing so on February 5, 1862.—Isaac H. Elliott, *History of the Thirty-Third Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry* (Gibson City, Ill., 1902), pp. 22-25, 205.

64. The Northern victories at Fort Henry (February 7) and Fort Donelson (February 15), which practically secured Tennessee for the Union. To use the words of S. E. Morrison and H. S. Commager, "The prairie boys of the new Northwest had tried their mettle with the rangy foresters of the old Southwest; and the legend of Southern invincibility collapsed."—*The Growth of the American Republic* (New York, 1942), v. 1, p. 676.

think anything about running. Elliott's recruits left here for St. Louis last Tuesday. Charley Brown, Ed Wiswall, & Sam Adley & Ike Hughs went.⁶⁵ He wanted me to go down with them for company, but I cut my foot like the devil a few days before that and was obliged to stay at home. Julian, I suppose, is at New Madrid down in the southeast part of Missouri. If Elliott's had been a cavalry company, I should have enlisted with him. I don't like the idea of footing it at all, especially as high private.

I just received a letter from Frank. He is teaching school. Chet was married on the 4th of February. The boys around there "charivarid" him for a week. At last he concluded to "shell out." Bully for him. . . .

George Radcliffe's wife was buried yesterday. Captain Swift had a stroke of the palsy a few days since. It was thought that he would not recover, but I believe he is better now. Captain White also had a stroke, but is pretty much well now. E. Chapman's wife slipped and fell at the corner of the American⁶⁶ and broke her thigh.

We are having fine sleighing here. I believe we have had the most this winter that I ever knew. We take a ride with a girl once in a while as a matter of course. I presume "Stinke" or other "powers" don't allow you that privilege very often. They have had two dancing parties at Freeman's lately. They went off finely. I have not been to any of the cotillion parties at the American this winter. Dollars are too hard.

Frank Dee is going to move to Iowa this spring. He has bought a farm out there. Tom Robinson⁶⁷ has come home from Pike's Peak, is going back again in the spring. George and his wife (Eliza Wiggins) are keeping hotel in Denver. J. V. Thompson⁶⁸ has come home. He has been to Baltimore, doctoring for some "commurkin in his guts." Says he didn't see but two "Abolitionists" while he was gone. Everybody for the Union, but slavery must be perpetuated, and that is his doctrine. By G--d, such fellows ought to be sent to Ft. Warren⁶⁹ or hell. I suppose Jo was in his element at Baltimore. I believe there is where the first blood of this rebellion was spilled. I think the d--d hole ought to be wiped out and Jo with it. I wouldn't give a curse for this Union if the war ends without abolishing slavery. All well.

PETER BRYANT

PRINCETON, BUREAU COUNTY, ILLINOIS
April 13th 1862

DEAR BROTHER [CULLEN]

I received your letter of March 23rd in due time.

Since then, our boys have achieved another glorious victory⁷⁰ over the cursed minions of slavery.

65. Charles E. Brown (*see* letter of January 3, 1862), Edward Wiswall, Samuel Adley, and Isaac M. Hughes were all members of Company E in the 33d regiment. Wiswall and Peter's cousin Julian Bryant became officers in the United States colored infantry, at Vicksburg.—Elliott, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 140.

66. The American House, a hotel opened in 1855 and still standing. John Howard Bryant had a financial interest in the establishment.—C. B. Harrington, *Past and Present of Bureau County* (Chicago, 1906), p. 106.

67. Thomas M. Robinson, youngest of the nine children of Capt. David Robinson, of Princeton. Apparently he did make it back again, since he was, in 1896, working as a miner in Colorado. The "George" mentioned in the next sentence is probably George Robinson, another son of Capt. David Robinson; George was a rancher in Colorado from 1860 till his death in 1891.—*The Biographical Record of Bureau, Marshall and Putnam Counties* (Chicago, 1896), p. 229.

68. Prominent Princeton citizen, first mentioned as a Douglas supporter in letter of November 10, 1854.

69. Federal prison in Boston Harbor, where political prisoners were sent.

70. The Battle of Shiloh, April 6, 1862.

The Bureau County boys were in the hardest of the fight. We have not heard who was killed, but I am afraid that a good many of them have gone to their long home. Three of our citizens, Steve Paddock, Dr. Shugart, and Fisher,⁷¹ have gone down to look after them and bring home the body of Maj. Page, who was killed. The body will be buried by the Masons, of which Society he was a member. His wife has the consumption, and the news almost killed her. It is thought that she will soon go, too. Capt. Ferris, Swain, and Manser (Ed Cobb's company) are wounded.⁷² The boys of the 57th behaved like veterans. Bully for them.

I think I shall stay here this summer. Father wants me to work some of his land and help take care of things. His health is poor. The farm didn't pay expenses last year. Mark had two men all summer, and they did a good deal of work, but produce is almost worthless, and a few years more of such management will run the whole thing into the ground. I think I shall put in about 25 acres of corn and put as much of it into beef as I can.

We sowed wheat last Friday. It has been very wet this spring, and this is the first chance that we have had. There is but very little sown about here yet. Uncle John is going to put in 65 acres, and has not sown any yet. Ours is just across the road, five acres broke up last fall. The stock mostly looks well. We have got 12 steers to feed next fall. We are feeding six cows now. They are pretty good beef. We fed Muggins. Mark sold him and a steer for \$49. The cows ought to average \$24.

I don't remember much of the gossip that is afloat. Captain Swift is dead, and Lucien Smith married. Dr. Swanzy got tight up in town the other day and said that Ed Bryant was soon going to marry a Miss McDuffie that lives at his house, that they were going to have a grand wedding, invite all the relatives and everybody else.⁷³ The report has gained some currency, but I don't know anything about the truth of it. Frank Dee started for Iowa about a week ago, and Cornelius Green sent a constable after him for \$18 wages that he claimed. He got a judgment of \$1.00. Frank had to pay costs, so he didn't make much. I suppose you knew Henry Martin was married last year. He has got a boy. They live in Muscatine. Park Newell is going into the grocery business in Trenton. Lige is buying cattle for Lovejoy. Jas. Rosenstrauss has got home. The folks are all well.

P. BRYANT

During this spring and summer interlude at his old home in Princeton, Ill., Peter received scraps of news from his friend and farming partner Frank Pomeroy in Holton, Kan. Frank's cryptic comments on marital and domestic matters occurred either just before or shortly after Peter married Henrietta Bacon⁷⁴ at Henne-

71. Stephen Gorham Paddock and Dr. Joseph Shugart were members of the county relief committee at this time; "Fisher" is possibly of the firm of A. and J. M. Fisher, grain merchants of Princeton.—Cluett, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13, and Bradsby, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

72. Maj. Norman B. Page and Capt. A. H. Manzer were of the 57th regiment; Capt. Frank B. Ferris and Capt. William T. Swain were of the 12th Illinois volunteer infantry. Both Ferris and Swain died from wounds received at Shiloh.—Cluett, *op. cit.*, p. 115, and *Biographical Record*, p. 617.

73. Lucien Smith was a friend of Peter's mentioned in the letter from Knox College, Christmas, 1854; Dr. Andrew Swanzy was a Princeton physician (Harrington, *op. cit.*, p. 302). Edward Raymond Bryant (1823-1881) was Peter's cousin, son of Austin and Adeline Bryant; he married Ellen Fields McDuffie, of Cameron, N. Y., May 7, 1862.—Bradsby, *op. cit.*, p. 471.

74. Henrietta Bacon (1839-1927) was a native of Boston, Mass., the daughter of Mercy Crouch Bacon.—Information from Mrs. F. L. Davis, of Holton.

pin, Ill. The couple were married by a justice of the peace on September 1, 1862. Two of Frank's letters, undated and without salutation, follow:

That Oct. [?] Indian speculation busted. I am glad of it. Amanda says if you are ashamed to own that you are married, you had better come to Kansas. When are you coming back? Mandy sends her love. What will the chance be for getting money on that note this fall. I have got to have some money this fall. I am going to build. I have most of the lumber ready.

Four fellows passed a counterfeit five Gold on West the other day. The same day they passed another on Seaman north of Holton. He found it out and followed them over here. He got Landon. He caught them. They [presumably the "gold" pieces] are heavy. Their steel shows.

FRANK

The Kansas 5th is at Rolla, Missouri [insertion at top of page]

[July]

I have sent you several papers since I wrote you. Among them were two copies of the Leav[enworth] Inquirer seceesh. Gen Blunt⁷⁵ has squelched it and put the proprietors in prison. Good. You wish to know what girl I go to see. I see so many that I can't name any in particular. Chet and his woman make [out?] very well. I think about six months more will prove it. The women are not very careful about desecrating your cabin. They do with it about as they please. Pete Dickson is out on the Blue. Tom Anderson has gone with the Kansas boys to Corinth. He got a clerkship in the Com[missary] Department. Dave and Lish still on the old track. I believe I have answered all the questions which you asked.

FRANK

We are going to celebrate the fourth [Fourth of July?] in Hometown [Holton] S. S. School. [insertion at top of page]

In August, 1862, Peter enlisted in Company K of the 93d regiment, Illinois volunteer infantry. His company was first organized in Bureau county, Illinois, August 19, as the "Princeton Guards." The regiment itself was organized September 8. It was sent to Chicago on September 17, where on October 13 Company K and the other regimental elements were mustered into the service of the United States "for three years or during the war."

Peter took his new bride Henrietta Bacon with him during his two-month encampment at Chicago. On November 9 the regiment left Chicago, via the Illinois Central railroad, for Cairo, where they embarked on a steamboat for Columbus, Ky. Shortly afterward they received orders to proceed to Memphis, Tenn. On November 12 the steamer ran aground on a sand bar. The troops disembarked, marched for two miles on the Arkansas side, and then re-embarked, only to suffer the same inconvenience a second time. They finally

75. Brig. Gen. James G. Blunt, in command of the Department of Kansas in 1862.

reached Memphis on November 14 and were assigned to Col. R. P. Buckland's brigade, of General Lauman's division, in the right wing of the Army of West Tennessee. By this time Forts Henry and Donelson had already fallen into federal hands and the Battle of Shiloh had been fought and won by the Union forces as a massive holding action in spite of extremely heavy losses. Peter's 93d regiment was ready for action in Grant's Vicksburg campaign. In high spirits, Peter at last found time to write to his two brothers.

CAMP NEAR MEMPHIS, TENN.
Nov. 22nd 1862

DEAR BROTHER [presumably CULLEN]

I received a letter from you while we were in camp at Chicago, but neglected to answer it until I had so much business to attend to that I couldn't.

We left Chicago on the 9th, and after rail-riding and scraping sand bars for five days we arrived at this place safe and sound without being fired into or in any other way misused by the rebels, although while going down the river we tied up our old scow every night in order to prevent accidents and casualties, and from sundown until daylight the next morning neither military discipline nor rebel property were very much above par.

At present we are encamped about 2½ miles south of Memphis in a pleasant grove within range of the guns of Ft. Pickering on the one side and the sound of guerilla rifles on the other. Our pickets are fired into almost every night by them and occasionally captured, and about as often our side captures some of them. In either case they are paroled and sent back. One company of our regiment were out on a scout yesterday afternoon and took three prisoners. They were the first (except two that we took while coming down the river) that we have had the honor of catching.

Our company has not gone out scouting yet as a company, though we occasionally send out squads. Last night I had the honor of commanding one consisting of 20 picked men. We made it pay. Everything eatable in the shape of turkeys, chickens, pigs, cabbages, sweet potatoes, and honey had to suffer, for we believe in making this a self-sustaining war, and consequently "cramped" provisions enough to last a week. Lieutenant Gray⁷⁶ is out tonight to attend some bee hives that we "spotted." I tell you it is glorious fun. It reminds me of "one that's gone," but we don't have quite so free a swing nor carry it on so large a scale as in days gone by. Our Colonel says, "Go in, boys, but be careful and not get caught." We don't ask anything more. I don't believe our regiment will ever guard much rebel property. But I had almost forgotten to tell you where to find us.

We are in Lauman's division in the 5th Brigade commanded by Colonel Buckland. The other regiments under him are the 114th Illinois, the 72nd O[hio], and the 32nd and 93rd Ind[iana]. The latter, it is said, will be exchanged for another so that the two may not be confounded. I have not seen

76. Clark Gray, second captain of K Company, was dismissed from service January 14, 1863, as a result of court martial proceedings (presumably the matter referred to by Peter in the letters of January 27, 1862, and March 1, 1863). The findings of the court were then set aside by President Lincoln, and Gray was again commissioned, April 3, 1863. He commanded the entire regiment at Allatoona, Ga., in 1864.—Harvey M. Trimble, *History of the Ninety-Third Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Infantry* . . . (Chicago, 1898), p. 407.

General Lauman yet. Old [Brig. Gen. James W.] Denver commands, at reviews. They are collecting a large force at this place. At present there are about 40,000 troops in this vicinity, and it is supposed by our officers that there will be a big strike made somewhere before long, probably towards Vicksburg, but I'll tell you about it when the time comes.

I haven't heard from home since I left Chicago. My wife was in camp with me while there, and she felt pretty bad when I sent her home. I tell you she is a buxom little girl, if father does think it was a foolish job. All well and itching for fight and plunder.

P. BRYANT

CAMP NEAR MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Nov. 24th 1862

DEAR BROTHER [presumably MARCUS]

We are full of business as we can be now, or I should have written you before. We are stationed, or rather camped, about 2½ miles south of Memphis in a splendid place, plenty of wood and water and weather like May. I wouldn't mind staying here all winter, but that is out of the question.

This morning we received orders to march on Wednesday morning. We don't know where we are going, but think it probably to Holly Springs, about 45 miles S. E. from here. If so, we will have work to do soon.

Within the past two weeks there has been a large force concentrating at this point, and there are at present in this vicinity about 40,000 troops. We are in Gen. Lauman's division in the 5th Brigade commanded by Col. Buckland (acting Brig. Gen.) of the 72nd Ohio. In the same brigade are the 114th Ill[inois], 32nd Wis[consin], 72nd O[hio], and 93rd Ind[iana]. . . .

The health of the regiment is tolerably good. 82, I think, are in the hospital. No very serious cases. More sick from Fisher's Company than any other. Three from ours. Norton is a little under the weather, but I think will be all right again in a day or two.⁷⁷ I took a bad cold while coming down the river. Our company was quartered on the hurricane deck, and it was a devilish cold place to sleep.

We live like kings just now. On the way down here we had rather hard fodder, pilot bread and raw ham and sometimes coffee. Now we are making up for it. What the quartermaster don't furnish we press from the planters around here, and I tell you pigs, chickens, sweet potatoes, and honey and everything in that line has to suffer. I have been out foraging two or three times, and it comes perfectly natural. Capt. [John W.] Hopkins' company [Company I] were out on picket duty yesterday, and this morning 22 nigs, 8 mules, 1 horse, and a waggonload of household furniture belonging to said Nigs ran to their lines for protection, and close on their heels came an overseer, and they captured the whole lot and brought them into camp, where they are at present a good deal tickled at their success. This morning Company H (Neponset) went out and confiscated two mules, a waggon, Nig, dog, lot of hams, chickens two, barrels sugar, ditto molasses, and various other things. Co[mpany] K is not behindhand. We've got three Nigs and expect to have mules before night. The Col[onel] says, "Go in, boys, but don't be taken nor waste anything." That is all we want if he will stick to it.

77. "Fisher's Co." was Company I, commanded by Capt. Ellis Fisher; "Norton" was Francis W. Norton, of Peter's company.—*Ibid.* Norton was mentioned again in the letter of March 1, 1863, and was, in all probability, the F. W. Norton who married Peter's sister Julia.

I can't tell you when I'll write again, but when you write, direct to P. B. 93rd Regt. Ill. Vol[unteer] via Cairo. Report has just come in that a man just died in the hospital. Name was Galbraith, Brown's (Wyanet) co[mpany].⁷⁸

PETER BRYANT

PRINCETON, BUREAU CO., ILL[INOIS]

Jan. 27th 1863

DEAR BROTHER [CULLEN]

I received your letter dated Jan. 15th this morning. I presume you will be somewhat surprised to know that I am here and honorably discharged⁷⁹ from the U. S. service. Such is the case. I was taken, while below Oxford, Miss., with the typhoid fever, and on the 21st of Dec. sent to the hospital, where I remained until the 1st of January nearer dead than alive, when they sent me home with the pleasant information that I was going to die of consumption. I tried to obtain a furlough so that I might go back again, but they would not grant it, saying I never would be fit for service again. Now I propose to prove that they are liars, and am acting accordingly. Ten days ago when I left Memphis, it was with great difficulty that I could walk across the room, and this afternoon I walked down to Uncle John's and back, and I can eat like the devil anything and everything that can be chewed.

As to *consumption*, I don't believe there is anything to it. I don't see but what my lungs are strong as ever they were, but the consumption of digestion viands since I came here has been devilishly on the increase.

Our regiment was not at Vicksburg, as you anticipated. They are not at present in Sherman's division, but while we were down in Miss[issippi] there was a change made, and the 93rd was put in Gen. [Isaac F.] Quimby's division, and at the time of the attack on Vicksburg were 15 miles east of Memphis guarding the Charleston and Miss[issippi] R. R. But the day that I left Memphis I saw Capt. Lloyd,⁸⁰ and he told me that they had marching orders, and their destination was probably Vicksburg. He told me also that on the day before, parts of the Companies "I" and "K" were out foraging and were fired upon by guerillas and Sergt. Maj. Harvey Trimble⁸¹ wounded and taken prisoner along with five others. I have since heard that Trimble received a flesh wound through the arm and has been paroled. Lt. Gray had just been placed under arrest for cutting the string of a gag that had been put on one of our boys for drunkenness and was choking the cuss until he got black in the face. Gray couldn't stand it. I admire his pluck. He is a bully officer.

The loss in our company when I left was 1 dead, 1 deserted, 2 missing (probably killed by guerillas), and 1 discharged.⁸² The boys are generally healthy, but have been marched almost to death.

I haven't written a word about home but will next time. There is lots of home gossip,—news to us, you know. All are well. Kate sends love.

P. BRYANT

78. Pvt. Herman Gilbreath, of Company C (commanded by Capt. William J. Brown), died in Memphis on November 26.—Bradsby, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

79. Trimble lists Peter as first sergeant of Company K, discharged for disability January 15, 1863.—*Op. cit.*, p. 408.

80. David Lloyd, a hotel keeper, builder and abolitionist friend of Owen Lovejoy, was elected captain of Company K at its organization. He was killed in the Battle of Champion Hill, Miss., May 16, 1863.—*Ibid.*, pp. 397, 398. See letter of April 19, 1863, in which Peter tells about Lloyd's unpopularity, a matter which Trimble does not mention.

81. Harvey M. Trimble, author of the regimental history cited.

82. According to Trimble, the total casualties in Company K, by the end of the war, numbered 56.

PRINCETON, BUREAU CO. [ILLINOIS]

March 1st 1863

DEAR BROTHER [CULLEN]

I want to know why the devil you don't write to me. Not that I care anything about it, but do you know that you are keeping the Folks in a great sweat and splutter because you have not written home for three months. Mother thinks you have got into some d--d scrape that you don't want her to know anything about. She don't seem to realize that you are big enough to take care of yourself. Please write and relieve her anxiety.

I am not gaining very fast in health. I have had two attacks of the fever since I came home, brought on both times by trying to chop a little wood. I find that work and I can't agree yet, though I swear I hate to lounge around the house doing nothing. I don't know whether I will be able to work any next summer or not. I tell you soldiering has used me up badly, or rather the d--d stinking water that we had to drink.

The regiment is stationed at Memphis now and can muster only about 500 effective men, and when we left Chicago we had 953, so you see that I am not the only sick one. Last Saturday they brought home the body of Orderly Sergt. Reed of Fisher's company. He had been discharged and died on the way home. Jake Kinnan is 2nd Lieut. in that company now, Capt. Fisher having resigned. Jim Martin was elected to fill my place. Norton is promoted to 1st Corp[oral]. Lt. Gray was put under arrest and courtmartialed for cutting loose a man that the Col[onel] had gagged. I have not heard the decision yet. Dave Rackley is dead. Got discharged and came home, died of consumption, the surgeon's name for "stinking water."⁸³

Quite a number of boys have deserted from our regiment, and I swear I can't blame them much, for there is not much to encourage a soldier now while guerillas lurk around on every side ready to shoot him down. It has turned out just as I predicted to you last summer—a guerilla warfare, and unless a different policy is pursued, this war will not end in twenty years. By God, we have got to kill, burn, and destroy every d--d thing in the South as fast as we come to it, for we can't conquer the devils until we make them taste cold lead, and there is no sense in keeping our large army down there to die off with disease. The way things are going, I don't know but what we shall want an army at home before long. The Copperheads had a meeting in the Courthouse the other day, and I understand that Jo. V. Thompson and Kendall⁸⁴ recommended opposition to the administration by force of arms unless the President recall his emancipation and Nigger regiment policy. You can see by that how much the damned hounds think of the Government. But there is a Union League⁸⁵ here that I won't say anything about.

Folks are well as usual.

PETER BRYANT

83. The soldiers mentioned in this paragraph are William T. Reed, discharged for disability March 10, 1863; Jacob S. Kinnan, commissioned first lieutenant April 23, 1863, and James S. Martin, first sergeant of Company K.—*Ibid.*, pp. 230, 388, 389. Norton, Lieutenant Gray, and David Rackley are identified in previous letters.

84. J. V. Thompson: see letter of November 10, 1854, and following; Kendall: probably Milo Kendall, prominent Princeton lawyer.—Bradsby, *op. cit.*, pp. 344, 565.

85. The secret political organization formed to aid the Republican party and combat the antiwar propaganda of the Knights of the Golden Circle.

I meant to have given you a history of some [of] Amanda's⁸⁶ shines, but I will have to wait until next time. They say that she is going to be married soon to Matthews [insertion at top of first page]

PRINCETON, BUREAU CO., ILL[INOIS]

April 19th 1863

DEAR BROTHER [CULLEN]

I received your letter of March 22nd in due time, and I have your reasons for not answering it sooner: first, too d--d lazy; next, nothing to write about.

Kate and I are living at Cyrus's now, and Mark and I are running the farm, or rather Mark, for I can't do much, not having got over the effects of going to war yet, and I am beginning to think it a little "mixed" if I ever do get entirely over it.

I had a letter from the regiment yesterday. They have been up the Yazoo pass⁸⁷ and come back again, and were, at the time of writing (April 1st) encamped on the Ark[ansas] side below Helena and expected to go to Vicksburg soon. There was one man shot by guerillas on the trip up the pass. He was of Lloyd's company, name Chester Tracy.⁸⁸

You say that you suppose from the looks of my photography that I must have been a sergeant. I had not got my stripes on when that was taken, but I supposed that I had told you that I was orderly serg[eant]. Jim Martin has the place now. Newell Bacon⁸⁹ is 3d serg[eant], Frank Norton 1st corp[oral]. I was told after I got into the hospital that at the time I was taken sick there was a plan being concocted to make me capt[ain] of the company. The boys don't like Lloyd, and every one of them signed a petition asking him to resign, which they handed to him, but the old fellow didn't take any notice of it. The last letter I got from the regiment says they are going to give him another, and they will give me a lift if I will come down there, but there is no use of whining, for I can't do half a day's work at home. I can't stand it down there.

You ask concerning Amanda. Well, the girl is dished at last. The deed was consummated on the 19th of March and to Newell Matthews. She promised to "love, honor, and obey," and thereby hangs a tale. Pap is mad at Mathews. Says he is a scoundrel and talks accordingly. Amanda used to board at our house, and Matthews comes a-wooing, and one night Cyrus told him that if he darkened his doors again he would kick his dirty a-s out thereof. Whereupon Amanda was wroth and went to Boss Everett's⁹⁰ to board and spark in peace, and Matthews went to Tiskilwa to teach and was taken sick, and she went down there and took care of him for two weeks and thereby lost her place at the Union School. It created quite a splutter. Amanda was a sad girl then.

And then, oh Gods, you should have heard Aunt Boss rave. She rang the changes long and loud about the evil doings of said Cyrus, then waded right into

86. Amanda Towers. See letters of July 22, 1860; April 19, 1863; September 20, 1863.

87. A channel connecting Moon Lake with Cold Water river, in the delta region, Mississippi. The plan of attack had been to reach the Yazoo river, destroy Confederate transports there and installations at Yazoo City, and establish a position on the high lands above Haines' Bluff. Fortifications at the pass proved impregnable, however, and the Union force had to turn back on April 5.—Trimble, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21.

88. Tracy was severely wounded.—*Ibid.*, p. 20.

89. Brother of Peter's wife, Henrietta Bacon Bryant.

90. James Smith Everett (1803-1889), of Princeton, brother of Peter's mother, Julia Everett Bryant, and husband of Harriet Cordelia Hyde Everett, the "Aunt Boss" mentioned below.

Paine, Ryan,⁹¹ and various others, and was going to raise all hell if the matter wasn't righted. You know she can talk a perfect diarrhea naturally, and she did her bulliest then. Aunt Louise⁹² helped as usual. But matters have cooled off now, and Amanda is teaching a large select school over Carse's old store.⁹³ Think she isn't quite so much of a vixen as in the days gone by; that is, before she saw the priest, and perhaps in time she'll make a staid and sober matron. At present, as all romances end, I suppose she is living happily without caring a fig for the rest of the world.

PETER

PRINCETON, BUREAU CO., ILL[INOIS]

Sept. 20th 1863

DEAR BROTHER [CULLEN]

I have received your letter of Sept. 6th. Had begun to think that you was never going to write again.

Father got home only a day or two ago. He staid longer than he intended to at first. Went up into New Hampshire to visit the Fish's.⁹⁴ His health is a good deal better than when he went away.

Uncle Arthur came back the same day and with him Mrs. Ellen Mitchell of Dalton, Mass. I have not seen her yet. There is a Mr. Clark and wife of Ohio here on a visit just now. I believe they are cousins to Mother. Arthur Everett⁹⁵ is here at present, though I believe he intends to leave soon. Amelia and her husband Mr. Chapman are living in town. I believe they are expecting a young chap along soon. Amanda is teaching a select school, doing pretty well I think.

Mathews was defeated in the nomination for School Com[missioner] by C. C. Covell⁹⁶ of Buda. Z. S. Hills came very near getting it, but was defeated by a combination of Mathews & Covell. Dr. Allen has been nominated for County Treasurer. His opponent is Elder Walker,⁹⁷ an independent candidate to be supported by milk-and-water Republicans, Conservatives, and Copperheads. Don't know what they can do, but hope they may be damned to hottest hell. They have got the Union League to work against, and I think that will be our little opposition. Frank Walker was expelled from the League a few days ago. He got mad because they were not inclined to support his father, and in retaliation told the Copperheads all the secrets and doings of the League. They think it is a pretty big thing, but I rather think it will settle Frank Walker's hash as far as his character for truth and veracity is concerned.

Militia companies are being organized throughout the state to prevent invasion and domestic brawls if necessary. They have started one here. You

91. Possibly Tom Paine and Abram Joseph Ryan (1836-1886), the Catholic poet of the Confederacy. Both men might have been anathema to a Massachusetts Protestant.

92. Louisa Charity Bryant Olds (1807-1868), sister of Peter's father and wife of Justin C. Olds, of Princeton.

93. A general store kept by A. and M. Carse, of Princeton.—Harrington, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

94. A family of Gilsum, N. H. There is a letter of January 28, 1865, from Mr. Fish to Cyrus Bryant in N. Y. P. L.

95. Born 1840, son of James Smith Everett and Harriet Everett, of Princeton. See above, letter of April 19, 1863, and Footnote. Arthur Everett died some time prior to January 4, 1874, according to Peter's letter of that date.

96. Chester C. Covell, mentioned by a historian of 1877 as pastor of the Union Church, of Buda, Ill., and as having served several times as county commissioner of schools.—*The Voters . . . of Bureau County* (Chicago, 1877), p. 332.

97. Probably the Rev. Levi Walker (1802-1869).

have seen by the papers that the bushwhackers are playing hob in Kansas, and old Schofield⁹⁸ backs them, or rather don't do anything to prevent them. I hope to God he will be turned out of there and some decent man put in his place. There is no punishment severe enough for those damned hell hounds except death, and it will be inflicted, Schofield to the contrary notwithstanding. We paid up the old scores with interest, but Lawrence has again been burned,⁹⁹ our old men and children shot dead in the streets, our women ravished and murdered.

By God the end is not yet. The retribution will be terrible. If the authorities won't do anything, it will be done without them. Those bloodthirsty hell hounds must die. I know the love that Kansas bears to Missouri. It will never be forgotten. But I will stop, for I'm mad. If it was not for my wife, I'd be there today. I think I shall go out there next spring—to live. I have been sick with a fever for two weeks past. Had congestion of the brain. Am better now. The Doctor said it was the natural result of my sickness last winter and spring.

I suppose father told you about my boy.¹⁰⁰ He is growing finely. We call him William Cullen.

Emily's¹⁰¹ health is very poor. Has the consumption. Do not think she will live long.

PETER BRYANT

IV. THE LETTERS, 1865-1906

The preceding group of letters concludes the record of the second phase of Peter Bryant's life, his return to Illinois after jayhawking in Missouri, his service in the Vicksburg campaign, and his convalescence from illness contracted as a soldier. The last phase, from 1856 to his death in 1912, was one of productive effort as a farmer and civic leader in the community he had migrated to before the war, Holton, Jackson county, Kansas.

In spite of Peter's original intention to return to Holton, Kan., in the spring of 1864, expressed in his letter of September 20, 1863, he apparently remained with his wife and child at the Bryant home in Princeton, Ill., until 1865. In April of that year, about a week after Lee's surrender and the military conclusion of the Civil War, Peter set out with his young wife Kit and their baby son, William Cullen, on the slow overland wagon journey to Kansas. The first letter is from Kit, to the family in Princeton.

98. Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield, commander of a department of the Missouri military district from May 13, 1863, to January 31, 1864, and later secretary of war under President Johnson.

99. The raid and massacre by William Clarke Quantrill, August 21, 1863. The earlier burning of Lawrence was on May 21, 1856.

100. William Cullen Bryant (1863-1912). The other children of Peter and Henrietta Bryant were: Marcus E. (1868-1928); Julia A. (1870-1944); Emma (1873-1928); and John Howard (1877-1915). Julia was married in 1897 to Louis C. Duncan of the U. S. army; Emma was married in 1896 to James F. McColgin (*see below*, letter of September 13, 1906).—Information from Mrs. F. L. Davis, of Holton.

101. Probably his cousin Emily Everett.—*See the Autumn*, 1961, number of the *Quarterly*, pp. 322, 323.

Apr[il] 18, 1865

DEAR MOTHER AND SISTERS—

You are doubtless feeling quite anxious to hear how we are getting along, and how and where we passed last night. We drove up to a hard looking farm house about three miles south of Buda [Illinois] just as it commenced raining. They kept us very comfortably. We were willing to put up with anything for the sake of getting shelter from the rain. We went to Neponsit this morning and left our stove and barrel (our board wagon and all weighed 2500). We took dinner with David Robinson.¹⁰² Tonight we have stopped four miles from Lafayette with some very nice appearing sort of folks.

Willie keeps well and *very* good. He got pretty tired today, wanted to go home to Grandma's and Mine Harriett's. He flies round like a bee soon as he is let loose. Doesn't mind being with strangers. Makes himself perfectly at home. There were two teams left Tiskilwa a couple of hours before we did, Walters and Thompson for Kansas. The man that told us seemed very anxious we should get together. Said they were nice people. We think Cook kept very still about it. He must have known it. I am tired and will not write more now.

Affectionately yours, Krr.

Apr[il] 19. 9 o'clock P. M.

Rained hard this morning. The roads are quite bad. Commenced driving about 10 o'clock this morning. Got about 20 miles. Are quartered tonight in the barn of an old Scotchman 5 miles east of Wataga. Have good stabling for the horses and we sleep in the hay mow. It is as good a barn as the one at home. His house is too small to accommodate us. The little man gets pretty tired, but I guess he will stand it. He is gritty. [PETER]

Two months after their migration from Illinois to Kansas, Kit Bryant, facing the hard realities of a new life on the middle border, wrote a "gritty" letter to her sisters-in-law back in Princeton. Her brief account reveals Peter's discouragement over the prospects of the new homestead.

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., KAN[sas]
June 4th 1865

DEAR SISTERS

I thought I'd get a letter from Chattie last night, but was disappointed. Peter received one from Mark last week. [He] intended to have answered it today, but the horses got started for home and he is off after them. Pet has never been loose before.

Willie is trying to write to you, is the greatest bother you ever saw, grows worse every day. I went visiting the other day with him. He got Gramma's pipe and smoked all the afternoon. He caught the little kitten and crammed its mouth full of bread, milk, and corn, and many other tricks as bad.

We are having dry weather again. If we do not have rain soon, everything will dry up. Our corn and sugar cane is up nicely. If t'would only rain. Some days it seems so hot I can scarcely breathe. The wind blows a perfect gale from the southwest most of the time. Peter is growing sick of the country. I heard him say the other day if we had a dry season he would sell out the first chance. Last year, and in fact every year, they only raise half a crop for want of rain.

102. See letter of March 2, 1862, and Footnote.

There is not more than three good wells in the place, not one cistern. People mostly drink slough water, wash dishes in about a pint without rinsing. I could not eat anything at first. Now I shut my eyes and take it as it comes. I know if I had to bring water a mile or so, I [would] be as bad as they. I think its a little mixed if I'd do it though. Frank is digging a well after so long a time. We are not going to have fruit of any kind. The frost killed it all.

I shall want you to make me some jelly and put up some currants and send or bring this fall in those self-sealing cans. I will send money to pay expenses. My fruit kept very nice. I have opened two cans of apple sauce. T'was a good way to put them up, so Mother can try it if she has any more.

Peter got home late last evening. I do not think he will write to Mark this time. A man caught his horses 4 miles east of Holton going for Illinois fast as they could.

I wish you would send me that [sacque?] pattern after the girls send to you. I expect Elijah¹⁰³ is married by this time. Did you go to the wedding?

Our things have come at last. Peter is going after them this week. He will have that box sent to a man in Leavenworth, and then we will get it without any trouble.

We have real pretty wild flowers here. I'll send you some Sweet William seeds this fall. They are so different from anything you have there. I'd like some Verbenas if I thought I could keep them from freezing in the winter. They have no house plants here.

From you[r] aff[ectionate] sister KIT BRYANT

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., KANSAS

August 29th 1865

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I received your letter containing the Medicine several days ago. They came all right, though a few of the pills in each package were ground up, I suppose by the fingers of curious Postmasters. Our P[ost] M[aster] sent the letter up to me by one of the neighbors and told him that I had got a package of Garden Seeds.

It gets sweltering hot here some days and is pretty sickly through the country. The little fellows generally suffer the worst, and several have died in the neighborhood (our neighborhood is larger than yours: five or six miles around). We have not had any rain for a week, a trick that has not happened before in all summer. I have not finished cutting my Hungarian. We had a hurricane a short time ago, and it blew it all down flat, and it did not get up again. I had to mow it with a scythe. A good deal of the small grain about here was injured by the wet weather. Corn is first-rate, and weeds grow finely. It has been most too wet for potatoes; but if we can have a few days more of dry, I think they will come out all right. Our sugar cane is first-rate. I have got half an acre, and I rather think we will have molasses enough to do us.

Kit is driving a brisk trade with butter and eggs. She got seven old hens for \$2 and manages to sell about 4 doz[en] eggs a week, and they are worth two bits a dozen. Butter is worth 30 cents a pound. If I had about a dozen cows like the old gal I sold you and a good cellar, I could make a fortune. The three that I have got give lots of milk, but all of them together don't make much more butter than that one used to last summer. I have got four first-rate calves.

103. Peter's cousin Elijah ("Lige") Wiswall Bryant, son of John Howard and Harriet Wiswall Bryant. See letters of December 8, 1854, and October 29, 1865. Lige's wife was Laura S. Bryant (1846-1910).

I want to buy some more this fall if I can. They ask \$8 a head for them, and it is hard to buy at that. Some of the neighbors are going to Missouri to buy this fall. They say they can be bought for \$5 there, and it costs about a dollar to get them here.

We have been having some railroad meetings here, but somehow they don't seem to do much. The idea is to get the Atchison and Pikes Peak RR to run through Holton, but as near as I can find out, they mean to run about ten miles north of here and leave us out in the cold.¹⁰⁴ We are getting a good deal of the Denver City trade through here now. They freight with big wagons holding from 60 to 80 hundred [weight] and drawn by six yoke of cattle and from 25 to 50 wagons in a train. They start 3 or 4 a week out of Atchison, and in a busy time one a day. You can see by that where our cattle go to and what need we have of a railroad here. But there is another thing about it. When they get the railroad through, we are not going to get \$150 a yoke for raw steers.

Prairie chickens are plenty, and I get after them sometimes with the gun. I can take them flying now almost every shot. We are all well.

PETER BRYANT

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., KANS[AS]

Oct. 29th 1865

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I wrote you about a month ago that I was going to want some money about this time, and I am after it now. If you have such a thing as fifty dollars that you don't want, it would accommodate me very much if you would let me have it. I could use a hundred to pretty good advantage, but then if you are not pretty flush you need not send me so much.

I have been having the ague some lately, and my work is getting behind-hand, and I want to hire a man a month, and that will take \$26. Then I am going to build a small barn and an outside cellar, and it will take the other \$24 to buy the shingles.

Frank and John Dixon ¹⁰⁵ and I have been burning a lime kiln. We made one big enough to hold 300 bushel, filled it up and burnt it five days and five nights, and when it cooled off there was not any lime there, and as we are all green in the business we don't know what the matter is. We are going to try it again one of these days and see if we can't have better luck. We calculated to sell a hundred dollars worth and came as near it that Frank posted notices down in Holton "Lime for Sale," and there has been a perfect rush to the kiln ever since. But somehow they did not seem inclined to buy. If it had only been lime, we could have sold it all out in four days.

Frank is going to Leavenworth tomorrow with a load of truck, principally butter. Kit is going to send down 20 pounds, for which she expects to get 60 cents a pound.

The young man [Peter's two-year-old boy William Cullen] has had the ague. He went at it with a vengeance. Had nine shakes in ten days, and it

104. Maps of 1867 show an unnamed railroad running through Netawaka, nine miles north of Holton, from Atchison generally N. N. W. to Blue Rapids, in Marshall county. A map of 1877 designates this road as the Central Branch of the Union Pacific. See below, letter of August 28, 1872. By that time the completion of the Kansas Central had made it unnecessary for Peter to go to Netawaka to catch a train.

105. John Dickson, or Dixon, was a friend of Peter's who came west in 1857 and established himself as a farmer near Banner, Kan.—Information from Mrs. F. L. Davis, of Holton.

made him look considerable peaked. We broke it up on him about a week ago, and he is beginning to fat up again. He can take half of a pumpkin pie at one meal without any trouble.

We have got 34 gallons of molasses. I think that will stand us until molasses comes again, and we have got potatoes enough to do us, and corn enough to feed the horses and pigs and make all the Johnny cake we want, and pumpkins and turnips and onions in abundance, and if we only had 2 or 3 barrels of apples and a barrel of cider we would be fixed just as well as you Suckers [Illinoisans] are. Apples are very scarce here. The grocers don't bring hardly any to Holton, and they charge 25 cents a dozen for little hard knotty things such as we used to take to old Gilchrist.

How is your crop this year? How does Lige make it with his new wife? Is he dealing in cattle this year? What are two-year-old steers worth there? Here they sell for \$100 a yoke or pair. All steers go by the pair here. They are all bought up by the freighters, and they had just as soon buy four-year-olds that never saw a yoke as those already broke.

Yours truly
PETER BRYANT

P. S. Nov. 2nd.

I have just received your letter containing the P[ost] O[ffice] money orders. That will do me for the present. I will write again when I get time. P. B.

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., KAN[SAS]
Nov. 28th 1865

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I suppose you think it is time to be hearing from me again about that money. I am so busy nowadays that I don't get any time to write, and then besides I have been in a devil of a stew what to do with the money. I want that land, and I want some cattle, and next summer I want a mower, and that won't buy all of them. I guess that I had better nail the land, and there may be enough left to buy a cow or two, and I will let the mower rip if something don't turn up before next haying time so that I can get one. Cullen has got an idea that he wants some land and is going to send me \$200 in a month to buy him some, and I have been thinking whether he and I had not better buy that together, but I don't know as it would suit him. I wrote to him that I thought I could get 80 acres for \$200, and the place I want is only 130 acres, and I don't suppose 200 would buy half of it.

The man that owns that land lives somewhere near Galesburg [Illinois], and I want you to go down and buy the land for me. Get it just as low as you can and don't pay more than 600. I suppose the way land sells about here that it is worth about \$500, but it is worth a hundred more to me than anybody else. There is a man here offering to sell a piece same size with 40 acre broke and ten acres fenced and about as much timber for \$600, but he has got a runaway wife somewhere and can't give a good title. Frank Pomeroy bought a quarter section with 15 acres of good timber on it for \$550. There is an 80-acre lot here with some timber, plenty of stock water, a first-rate spring, and good farming land which I have heard the man offers to take 200 [dollars] for. If it is true, there is a mighty good chance for some poor man to make a farm. I don't know exactly where that man lives, but will find out as near as I can before I mail this.

Kit wants you to send her box of truck same as you did the books by express to P[eter] B[ryant], Holton, care [of] Wm. Gordon and Bro[thers], Leavenworth, and she wants Chat to send along the collar [insertion in Peter's wife's hand: "By the way, it isn't for me. I owe it for the making of my slippers"]

I finished husking corn last week. Have got a crib full 12 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 7 feet high inside. I think it will be enough to do me. I am doing some plowing now. We have had the finest weather this fall for doing work that I ever saw.

Willie is not very well. He has the ague. Had a chill today. Somehow we can't use it up on him [in spite of his early childhood fevers, William Cullen lived to the age of 49, dying in 1912 in the same year as his father Peter].

Somebody has been kind enough to send me the "Republican." Who do you suppose it was? Much obliged. I have written this in a great hurry, which will account for blunders.

PETER BRYANT

[P. S.]

That man's name is Richard Armstrong. He lives two miles southwest of Wataga. The railroad runs right through his farm and dooryard. The description of the land is S. E. quarter of Section 24, township 7, range 14. I have forgotten what meridian or which side. You can tell by looking at my deed. I left it in the secretary. Stick hard for \$500. It is as near the real value as I can get at. That is all West will give. Please attend to it soon as possible and let me know.

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., KANSAS
Jan. 14th 1866

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I received your letter containing the draft, for which I am much obliged. I bought two cows on the strength of it last week and agreed to pay for them tomorrow, and I began to be a little dubious lest the money should not come in time and the man should back out, for I got them pretty low. Cows are worth here from 30 to 35 dollars, but I got those for 25 and 28 [dollars], and they look good and have good reputations for butter-makers, or rather for giving the stuff they make butter of. I want to get about 3 more. That will make me ten, and if we can't make butter enough out of them to make a living, we will have to try something else. Old Billy Struckman, one of our neighbors, sold over \$400 worth of butter from 7 cows last summer, and I think we can do as well as they can.

I am glad to hear that you have got along so well with your ice. I thought last summer that I would put up a little this winter, but I had so much work to do that I did not get any place made for it and therefore did not get any ice. Last week it rained nearly all the week and cleared the creeks all out. Before that, the ice was about 14 inches thick.

That box got along last Monday. The apples did not freeze. They were a rare treat to us, and we asked Frank and his wife over to help eat them and to convince him that the Jonathan is the tree for us to plant.

About that cloth that was in it, from the pattern rolled up in it I suppose it was intended for Willie, but I told Kit that she better make herself a cloak and get something else for Willie, for he would knock that out in a week. He is a hard boy on clothes, and I have been thinking of getting a pair of pants

made of leather for him. Kit wants to know what his aunties and Grandma think about it. The young man was highly tickled with Mother Goose and can read about half of it already, but he reads by the pictures. He smelled the apples in the box before it was opened and had a big time about the big "led" apples that Aunt Ju sent him, and the scalawag stuffed so much that it made him sick.

So Lige had to run away from home, did he? I don't blame him a bit. He ought to have been fool enough to know that he could not stand it there and built him a house beforehand. Does he deal in cattle any, now, or what does he do for grub?

There was a fight in Holton on Christmas between a Copperhead and a returning soldier, and the soldier was stabbed in the lungs. The next day a mob hung the Copperhead. After that, some of his friends got out warrants and had some of the mob arrested and tried before a justice of the peace. Six of them were bound over to appear at next term of court to answer to the charge of murder. The bonds are six hundred dollars each. They say that they are perfectly willing to stand a trial, for they know that a jury cannot be got together that will convict them. Among them are some of the most prominent citizens of Jackson County. It was thought for a few days that the stabbed soldier would die, but he is getting well now. Folks seem to think that the end is not yet, and that there will be several Copperhead farms for sale before another winter. This [is] a great country. Last summer there were two niggers hung for stealing horses, and the cops were jubilant over the high moral tone of society. Now they talk differently.

PETER BRYANT

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., KANSAS

April 1st 1866

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I received your letter of March 27th today inquiring after the Money Order. They were received all right, and I ought to have written you before but kept putting it off.

I am very busy just now. The Spring has been backward and cold, so that all of my work comes right in a pile. I am setting out an orchard now. I have not sowed my oats yet and don't see how I can before next week. My man cut his foot the other day, and that don't help the cause any. He cut off the 2nd toe and a gash about an inch and a half long in the foot. There was a good deal of trouble in getting plows to scour in this country. I have finally got one made by Andrus of Grand Detour, Ill[inois] that I think will fill the bill.

Mr. Ross of Dover lectured in Holton on Temperance last week. Kit and I heard him one evening.

What is Cyrus ¹⁰⁶ going to do in Lawrence?

Yours truly

PETER BRYANT

106. The reference is not to the brothers' father Cyrus Bryant, but to an unidentified Cousin Cyrus, who wrote to Marcus on April 26, 1866, that he had arrived in Nebraska City, Nebraska territory, after a tortuous four-day steamboat trip up the Missouri river from Lawrence, Kan. Although he found Nebraska City "full of Rebs," Cousin Cyrus was encouraged by the prospects of the area. He reported land selling near the city at 50 cents per acre and \$456 a section 25 miles out of town. Although he liked this section of Nebraska territory "better than Kansas," he had decided to go on to Omaha. Having sold three sewing machines for William Lea of St. Louis, Cyrus disappears from Peter's correspondence.

HOLTON, JACKSON CO., KANSAS

Oct. 15th 1866

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

We received your letter of Oct. 3rd this evening. I am sorry to say that we shall be obliged to postpone our visit to Princeton [Illinois] until some future time.

When I wrote before, I was in hopes that I could crowd my work along so that we could make the trip, but just about that time my hired man got a notion in his head that he must have a farm of his own, so he posted off and left me to go it alone. I have not been able to light on a man since that I could hire. I would like to have one a couple of months. I have got 20 acres of corn to husk and lots of other work that ought to be done. We have just got our molasses made. Had 70 gallons. It is selling at 45 cts. per gallon at the mill and 50 with the barrel. Frank Pomeroy has a mill and evaporator. Will make about 500 gallons of his own this fall. The grasshoppers have taken my wheat. I sowed four acres, and it came up first-rate, but it is all gone now except about two rods square, and that is going.

I don't think of any more to write, and I am getting sleepy. I had to get up last night and kill a skunk. He got into the hen house and killed two chickens. I am going to Holton tomorrow, and Willie says he is going along to get a pair of red-topped boots.

PETER BRYANT

BANNER, JACKSON CO., K[ANSAS]

Feb. 14th 1869

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I received your letter of Jan. 29th several days ago just after I had mailed one relating partly to the same business.¹⁰⁷

As to the new disposition that you propose, I do not know as I exactly understand it. Is Mother to hold the original \$8000 and \$750 besides? If that is the case, I have no objections. So far as I am concerned, even if she should receive a larger share, for I think and insist that she should have all that she needs for comfort and pleasure as long as she lives if I do not get another cent. But if the idea is to let up on you and come down on the rest of us, whose shares are so much smaller, why I don't think it hardly fair.

The way I look at it is this. You have a farm already opened, fences all built, good house well furnished, barn and outbuildings, all ready to go right along and make a comfortable living, and if there is any one day that you feel as though you didn't want to put in and work, why the whole machinery does not stop. You don't have to go right into the hard work and stick to it. Now, with me it has been "root hog or die" ever since I have been here, and well you know just what I have got. It won't do to let up on the work yet, although prospects are brighter this year than ever before. You need not think I am so lazy that I don't want to work at all. I like to work some, but I don't like to be forced to work or go hungry.

As to dividing that \$500 with the girls, if they have to dig as hard for a living as I do, I am willing to divide, but in that case I think you ought to do something for them, too. I am sure you can stand it as well as I can. I am willing to leave the matter for Mother to decide. If she thinks they need the

107. The business apparently concerned the final disposition of some property left by Peter's father Cyrus, who died in 1865.

money and will use it judiciously, I will cheerfully give it up without another word.

I believe I have answered all your questions plainly as I can, and if you have any more send them along and I will see what I can do for them. Please let me know soon in regard to the apple tree business, for I want to know what I have got to do and prepare accordingly.

We have had a very hard winter on stock, not very cold but wet, muddy, icy, and very disagreeable. Last week we had some fine days, and Jacobs commenced plowing. We have not sowed any wheat yet, but will work this week if it stays fair weather. We got most of the ground plowed last fall. I have bought two yoke of cattle to do my breaking. Am going to fence in all my land this spring. Bro. Jackson across the creek is going to fence all of his quarter, too. Gets his rails from Armstrong without leave. He thinks a speculator has no business with timber.

The R[ailroad] Co[mpany] offer the Pottawatomie lands for sale except the 11 miles square in N[ortheast] corner, and it is thought that will soon come into market. Holton is agitating R[ail] R[oad] question some. They are doing the joint work for two Roads now, one from Omaha to Topeka, the other from St. Jo[seph] to Manhattan. I have not been to any of their meetings, but I heard that one Road agreed to make Holton a point if the County would give their approval [?] in bonds and take that amount of stock in the road [?]. Holton is in for it hard, the rest of the county not so much.

They have a new son down at the Jacobs. They call him Moses. Our wife and babies are all well.

Yours truly

P. BRYANT

HOLTON JACKSON Co., K[ANSAS]

Aug. 28th 1872

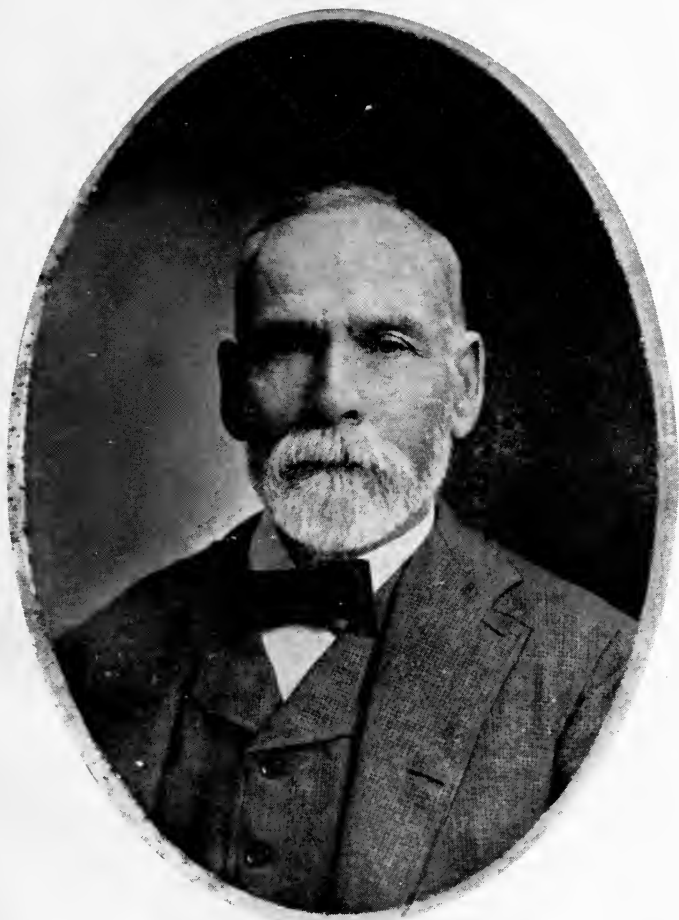
DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I have been having a holiday for the last few days. Not that they have been any great deal of pleasure to me for they have not, but what I mean is that I have been exempt from the regular routine of labor, the plain English of which is I have been sick. Down with a dysentery or something of that sort.

We are full of business here building a new house or rather fixing up the old one, enlarging somewhat and renovating generally, building a new cellar &c. I am getting behind somewhat in my other work. Have not cut any hay yet nor have I plowed much for wheat. We are having a very abundant season. There was a heavy crop of oats and will be more corn here this fall than ever before. Oats are worth 12½ to 15 cts. and some people think corn will be no higher. It is a matter, however, that does not trouble me very much for I never sell any, though I may buy a few hundred bushels. Even then I would hate to give a man less than 15 cents. I intend to feed a few cattle during the coming winter and have but 40 acres of my own.

I suppose if you read the Holton News that you are aware that Holton has got a Rail road ¹⁰⁸ and we Jackson County folks generally feel mighty big over the little fellow. It is only a 3 foot guage with little baby engines and cars, but I guess it is big enough to give us all a ride one at a time and do all

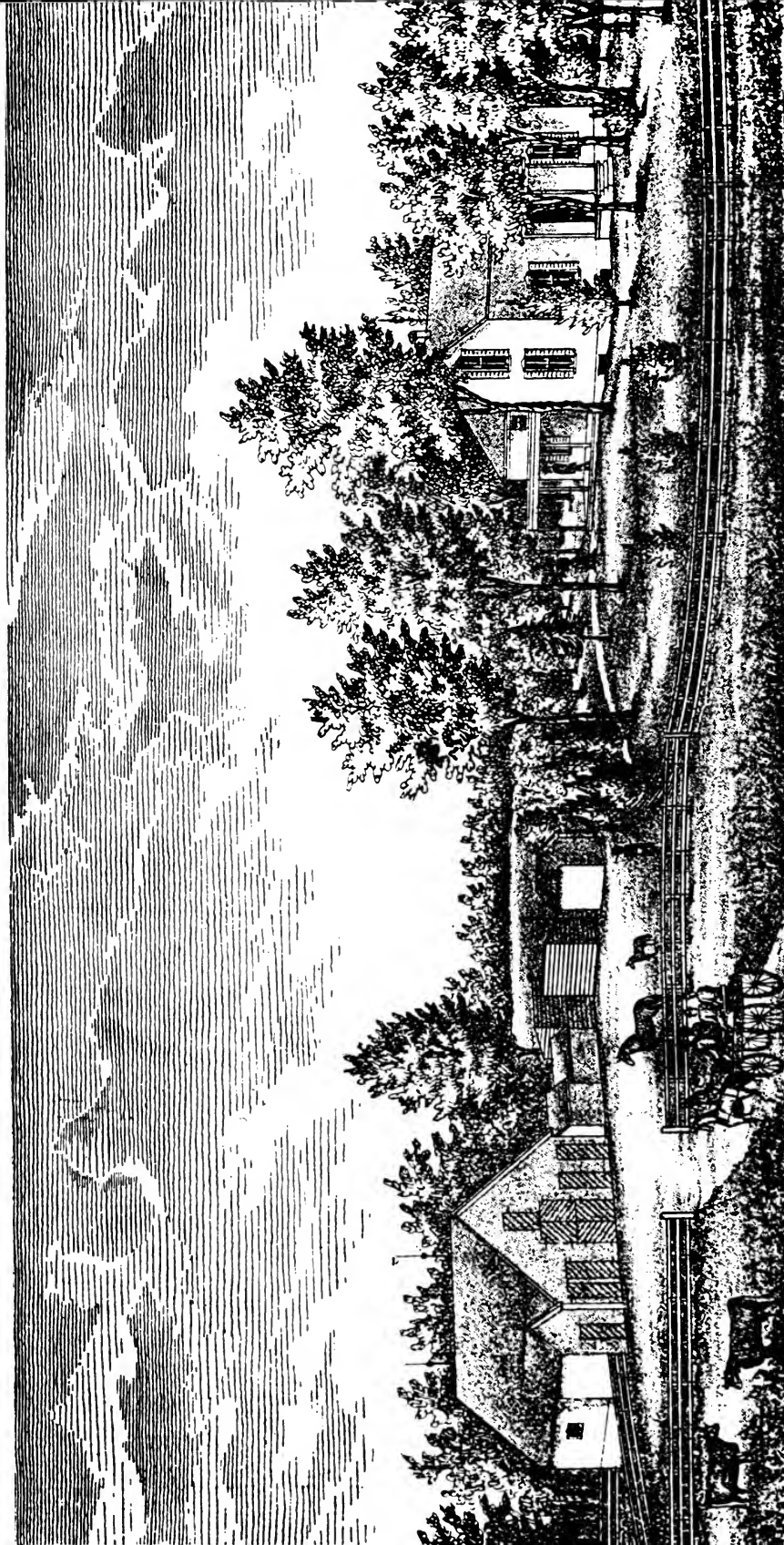
108. The Kansas Central railway, which connected Leavenworth and Miltonvale (165.39 miles), reached Holton on August 11, 1872.—Harold Crimmins, *A History of the Kansas Central Railway, 1871-1935 Emporia State Research Studies*, June, 1954.



PETER BRYANT

(1837-1912)

A nephew of William Cullen Bryant, Peter Bryant arrived from Illinois to take a claim in Jackson county in 1859. Except for time out for the war, Jackson county and Holton were "home" until his death.



PETER BRYANT'S FARM BUILDINGS IN 1881

This sketch was published in J. S. Bird's *Historical Plat Book of Jackson County*. The property was on Sec. 24, T. 7 S., R. 14 E., three miles south and three west of Holton.

the business that we have to do at present. I suppose they will build it up into our neighborhood shortly. Then we won't have to go to Netawaka to get away from home if we should ever get ready to go. I thought when we were in Ill. before that we would get ready to make you another visitation by this year, but the way the thing is running I am afraid we will be unable to do it. It seems as though the longer we lived here the more we have to attend to and less chance to get away from home.

Politically there is not much excitement. Almost all the Republicans are Grant men and the Democrats are all for Greeley. What I think about it is just this. Horace may be a very good sort of man himself, but he is in cussed bad company, and if he is elected by rebels and Tammanyites and Democrats it is going to be a very hard matter to turn his back on his supporters after he is President, and I don't think we are ready to turn the government over to those fellows yet.

I don't know what you think of that matter, but I notice the Chicago Tribune is for Greeley and Uncle John swings his hat for the old Chapaquacker,¹⁰⁹ and I know you have considerable respect for either of them, and for this reason (hoping you will not feel insulted) I did not know but you might lean that way too. If you do I would just call your attention to what kind of an outfit you are training with. I know there is Trumbull & Palmer and Sumner and a few others, and there is also Jeff Davis and every other d--d scalawag that carried a musket on the rebel side during the war. And as for dead stinking rottenness I will put Frank Blair & Gov Warmouth against the meanest men in the Grant party. But I didn't intend to make you a stump speech.

P BRYANT

HOLTON JACKSON CO., KS
Oct. 27th 1872

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

We received your letter of the 6th inst. in due time. Was glad to hear that you are a Grant man. Not that I think that the old Nepot is altogether perfect, but in Western phraseology I think he is a heap the best man of the two. I think I have bothered my brains less about politics this year than I ever did in my life before. In fact I don't believe I have raised a single yell for Grant or any other man this fall. Don't want you to think by that I am dead, for candidates here are just as live as ever they were and excitement just as high, but I have had other irons in the fire. With building my house and the farm work I have just about all that I can attend to, and taking into consideration the immediate proximity of winter I don't know whether I shall be able to attend to all of that or not.

We are getting the building pretty well along now. Will have it plastered this week. Then if I had my potatoes dug and corn husked I would be ready to go into winter quarters. My potatoes are good. Think I will have 200 bushels. Corn is also good. Will have 1800 or 2000 bus[hels] of that. Have a good deal of it cut and in the shock. Fall wheat looks fine, and if we do not

109. Greeley kept a farm at Chappaqua, N. Y., and enlisted the interest of *Tribune* readers in his swamp reclamation and his crop experiments; in 1871 he published a book entitled *What I Know About Farming*. Persons that Peter associates with Greeley, in this same paragraph, are: Lyman Trumbull, Illinois senator in 1855, 1861, 1867; Joseph Palmer, California financier of Palmer, Cook and Company; Charles Sumner, Massachusetts senator; Francis P. Blair, Jr., whose political activities in St. Louis were supported by the *Tribune*; and Henry Clay Warmoth (1842-1931), governor of Louisiana, 1868-1872.

have an uncommonly hard winter or some other plaguy mishap turn up there will be a big crop of wheat next year. I think there was about as large a breadth sown this fall as last though perhaps not in so small patches. Many farmers have from 40 to 80 acres, and it was generally got in in pretty good season.

Our Rail Road has made a stop at Holton. Whether it is final or not I am unable to say. In the contract with the County they were to have \$60,000 in bonds when they built it to Holton, which has already been paid, [and] \$50,000 more when they built a branch to Netawaka and \$50,000 more when they finished the main line to the west line of the County. It is said that they have given up the Netawaka branch and they have not yet gone to work on the main line, but they have until the 22nd of Feb 1873 before they forfeit the bonds. It is evident that the company is hard up, and whether they will be able to raise the money to build it all or not is a matter at which outsiders can only guess.

I think the little road is doing pretty good business considering the length of it, for they are bringing in a large amount of freight and carrying away a good deal of produce.

The health of our family is very good now. Marcus [his second son] had a sick spell during the latter part of summer, an attack of bilious fever, but he is around again now, and Dude [his daughter Julia] is fat as a pig. She is learning to spell a little now.

Your Tr

P. BRYANT

HOLTON JACKSON CO., KANSAS

Jan'y 3d 1873

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I don't know but you will begin to think pretty soon as Cullen does that I never write to you unless I want money. At any rate that is the case just now. I need a hundred dollars most cussedly, and if you can let me have it, it will accommodate me very much. I have tried hard to make both ends meet, but some how with my building and the low price of everything I had to sell, I could not make it. I have had to borrow \$100. at the bank, and it is due in 30 days, and if you can help me please let me know immediately, and if not ditto, for I want to know what to do.

Money is very close here, and some of the best men we have got are not able to pay their tax. We have just had a big snow storm. It is 14 inches deep on a level, and we had the coldest weather just before that that I ever knew in this County. The mercury stood at 20 below Zero. The ground was nearly bare at that time, making it very bad on fall wheat. Cattle are doing very well, but not many feeding in this County this winter, making corn a drug in market. It sells for 15 cts. when it will sell at all. I think there would be a speculation in it if a man had a few dollars to invest.

Our folks are well excepting colds, and I believe all the young ones are afflicted that way.

The episodic is going the rounds here. Some of my horses are coughing a little, though it don't seem to be anything very bad. I have heard of but one death from it in the County, and I do not think, judging from newspaper accounts, that we have it as bad here as they did with you and further east.

Our little Rail Road has come to an end at Holton. They were to have

built a branch to Netawaka for \$50,000. in Co. Bonds, which they have already forfeited, and the other 50,000 will become forfeit by the 22nd of Feb. if they fail to build the west line of the County by that time, and they are making no effort to save it. That will make it easier on the tax payers, and they all talk as though they wanted things easy as possible.

Yours
P. BRYANT

HOLTON JACKSON Co., Ks
July 22nd 1873

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I received your letter enclosing draft for the payment of your note, and I herewith forward you the note cancelled and receipted.

A few days after I got your letter I received one from Uncle John enclosing your note for \$700., over in five years without interest, which he says he was directed by Uncle William to send to me. So it seems that I have got the upper hand yet, although I suppose you got things fixed to suit you and probably got a pretty good lift too. I am glad that he appreciates what his poor relations are trying to do for themselves instead of fooling it away on Ben Rattery or some other poor devil to go and lay his bones on the burning sands of Africa. I think it is a good deal better to give Hixon and the balance of us a little lift, don't you?

I have been very busy for a week past stocking my grass. My wheat is good. Oats not very good. Weather very dry. If we don't get rain soon the corn is gone up. Wife & children are not very well. Have summer complaint.

Yours &c
P. BRYANT

HOLTON JACKSON Co., Ks
Jan. 4th 1874

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I received your letter on New Year Day. Was very glad to hear from you again.

I commenced a letter an evening or two before, but I got sleepy over it and went off to bed without finishing it. Else perhaps you might have had a letter for New Year too. Was glad to hear of the general good health of our friends. My family is well at present and have been all winter except the baby [Emma, b. 1873], who was attacked with the croup a night or two before Christmas and was afterwards threatened with fever, but we broke it up and she is now quite well again. We did not have any company Christmas day nor any turkey. Kit thought she had enough to do without getting dinner, so I got some oysters and we had a stew and the boys enjoyed it well and wondered if Uncle Mark's little girls¹¹⁰ were having a good time and gots lots of nice things in their stockings.

That evening I got a copy of the "Republican" containing the resolutions adopted by the members of the bar at Oshkosh, Wis. relating to the death of Arthur Everett,¹¹¹ which was the first that I had heard of his decease. It happened that about that time they stopped sending me the Republican and I missed four [or] five numbers and then sent for it again, and if they published

110. Grace Mary Bryant (1868-1950) and Alice Bryant Crater (1870-1916).

111. See letter of September 20, 1863, and Footnote.

anything in regard to it I did not see it. I think from the published account that they must have thought very highly of him where he was located.

I saw the notice of Willie Everett's ¹¹² death. It must be a terrible stroke to his young wife.

I am glad to hear that you are doing well in your business.¹¹³ Wish I could say as much for myself, but somehow I can not see that I am getting rich very fast, and neither does the hard work seem to let up a particle. In fact if there is any difference it is on the increase.

I am not feeding any cattle this winter. Have nothing on hand but a few two-year olds. My corn crop was light, not making over 25 bushels per acre. I fattened some hogs and sold some, some time ago. They brought 3 ct. [and] are worth 3½ now, while in Chicago & St. Louis they are quoted at 4½ to 5%. Somebody must make money. There were a good many hogs fattened here, and the most of them went out at 3 cts.

Corn has taken quite a rise lately— is now worth 40 cts. Fall wheat 90 to 1.00. I have about 100 bushels of wheat to sell when it gets high enough to suit me.

My prospect for the new crop is very good at present. Have about 20 acres. It got a good start in the fall. A good deal of the wheat about here was sown late owing to the dry weather in the fall and is considerably damaged. The winter thus far has been mild, although we have had some rather sharp weather since New Year. I do not keep any hired help this winter. Am getting some wool cut, but there is no demand now, and I will have to hold it over until next fall.

Business is dull. In fact, I don't know what a fellow could go at to turn an honest penny unless it is playing poker, and even at that those who make a business of it have got so sharp that an outsider don't stand any chance.

P. BRYANT

HOLTON K[ANSAS] July 27th 1874

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I have received your letter containing my note and a draft for \$280. It is fulfilling a transaction that I did not expect at this time as I did not suppose you had recovered from the effects of your disaster so that you would have the money to spare.

I had need of \$300 about the middle of June and was expecting to use that money, but as soon as I heard of your tornado I made other arrangements and had thought no more about it. However, it is all right if it does not cramp you, and I enclose your note—cancelled. It is devilish queer that a fellow can't try to do something for himself without fire, rain or wind or some other cussed thing turns up and wastes all he can make.

I have had one or two little [swipes?] myself, though I never lost quite \$4000 at a lick. Still I suppose it is all in a lifetime and not much use to growl.

The weather is very dry here. Wheat and oats are all harvested and stacked, a fair crop. Corn is gone up. We will have none. That breaks into my cattle feeding operations. It will hardly pay me to hold my steers over,

112. William Law Everett (July 12, 1849-October 16, 1873), son of Dr. Oliver Everett and Bessie Law Everett, of Dixon, Ill. The young wife referred to in the next sentence was Annie Chamberlain, of Princeton, who married Willie, March 31, 1873.—Edward F. Everett, *Descendants of Richard Everett of Dedham, Mass.* (Boston, 1902), p. 204.

113. The firm of "Glassburn and Bryant, Dealers in Grain, Stock, Flour, Salt, etc.," of Tampico, Ill.—Letterhead used by J. M. Glassburn in letter to Marcus, July 20, 1875, N. Y. P. L.

and if I can get as much money for them as they cost me I will be satisfied. There is a good crop of fruit, though I don't think apples will be as large as they would with more rain.

There blew a hot wind all day last Saturday from the sand hills in the southwest that dried up the green stuff terribly, and judging from the way it singed things here there can not be much left down in the paradise of this state 200 miles southwest of here. The mercury went to 110 in the shade.

You asked me some time ago in regard to the "Republican." Last August I sent them \$2. for one year's subscription, and I see by their label on the outside that there has since been another year added and it runs now until August 1875. Kit has not received any magazines from your wife, though somebody has sent Julia a child's paper, "The Mousy Folks Gem" with a picture. Willie was already taking the paper so that now we have two copies. If that was the paper referred to, Julia sends thanks.

I do not suppose that it will be of any use to mention the fact that we would be glad to see any of our friends and relations that might take a notion to stroll this way this fall or any other time, nor the fact that we would like to take a stroll eastward but find ourselves utterly unable to do so at present.

My family are all well and tearing around.

P. BRYANT

HOLTON JACKSON Co., Ks
Oct. 4th 1875

DEAR BROTHER [MARCUS]

I received a letter from you some time since while at Nantucket, Mass., which I neglected to answer at the time, and as it has been so long since, I will send this to Princeton, thinking you have probably got around home by this time and earnestly hoping with improved health and strength.¹¹⁴ We are as well as usual except Marcus and Willie. They were down with a kind of bilious fever a week or so ago and have not fully recovered yet.

I am very busy just now, though I don't know as any more so than I have been all summer. In fact I have put in more hard nigger work this summer than I have been wont to do for the past three or four years. What the result will be I am hardly able to say. Possibly I may make both ends meet but nothing more. Still I have had first-rate health, less sick headaches than before, and my knee has got stout so that I get pretty well fagged before it makes me limp.

I am putting up prairie hay now. Grass is remarkably good this year, I think as good or better than I ever saw it before. I think I can get up a hundred tons to sell. Dealers bale it and pay \$3 per ton delivered at the depot. There is no money in it for me at that price, but we are hoping for something better after a while. My corn is pretty fair. I think it will make from 30 to 50 bushels to the acre, probably average 40. The smallest yield is from the seed I got of Lige. It is a smaller kind than we usually plant here, and earlier. It so happened that there was a dry spell of about two weeks just when it should have had rain. While the other corn, being a larger variety, was more backward and the rain came in time to make a heavy crop. I shall keep that

¹¹⁴ Marcus did not recover from the illness mentioned here. He died February 27, 1876. N. Y. P. L. has four letters relating to his trip east and attempted convalescence: two from his business partner, J. M. Glassburn, to Marcus, July 20, 1875, and August 21, 1875; and two from Marcus to his wife, Kezia, July 26, 1875, and August 1, 1875.

seed of Lige's, for I believe it will hit oftener than it will miss, and some time it may make me a crop when the other would not make anything.

Cattle are plenty and good. Steers can be bought for $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ cts per lb. There will be quite a good many fed here. They are paying 25 cts. for corn, and it will probably be down to 20 cts., perhaps less. Hogs are very scarce, worth from 6 to 8 cts. I heard one man offer 9 cts for a choice lot the other day. Those who are lucky enough to have a few will do well. The grasshoppers eating up the corn last year made sad havoc with the hog crop, as they did not winter so well on prairie hay as cattle did. I managed to [bring?] through 17. Will have about 15 to dispose of. I have not got any cattle to feed, but think I shall buy a few [word illegible] and feed from Feb. [word illegible] and let them go on the grass.

My wife came pretty near going to Alton on a visit a short time ago, just as near that she did not go. The R R companies out this way got into a war with each other, and for a few days the Rock Island Co. sold tickets to Chicago and back for \$10.00. Kit scrabbled around to get ready, and just as she was about to start they raised the fare to the old figures and she went back on it. Gosh she was mad. I tried to hurry her up a little, told her that kind of fare could not last always, but no, she wasn't going in her old rags and take naked young ones like I did. And the result was she is here yet, but I must close this and look to my wife, for she is forever looking to see what I write and she don't like to hear about it.

Yours
P. BRYANT

Following the correspondence with Marcus, concluded above, there is in the present collection only one letter. This was written by Peter in the year 1906, to Marcus' daughter Grace M. Bryant, who continued to live in the Princeton home until her death in 1950.

It is obvious that between 1875 and 1906 Peter and his family prospered upon the land and that he achieved some eminence as a citizen of Jackson county. The letter below reveals that he had become a police judge and was prominent enough to be chosen as speaker for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of Holton. The fact that on this occasion Peter read a poem of his own composition reminds us again of his flair for writing,¹¹⁵ which had showed itself when he was a schoolboy in Princeton writing verses of longing for "The Far Off West."

115. According to John E. Chandler, publisher of the *Holton Recorder*, Peter is still remembered in Holton "as having some of the poetic proclivities of his famous uncle."—Letter to the editors of this collection, September 13, 1957.

OFFICERS

W. D. KUHN, Mayor
 E. E. RAFTER, Pres. of Council
 S. H. NEWELL, SR., City Clerk
 PETER BRYANT, Police Judge
 J. A. ROKES, City Attorney

COUNCILMEN

FIRST WARD
 M. L. VARNER F. S. SCOTT
 SECOND WARD
 C. F. HURREL W. E. BROWN
 THIRD WARD
 R. F. GLENN E. E. RAFTER

CITY OF HOLTON¹¹⁶

HOLTON, KANSAS, Sept. 13, 1906

MY DEAR GRACE

I received your letter, the big envelope, several days ago, and from the bulk of the enclosure I felt sure that I had at last found what I was looking for.¹¹⁷ Imagine then, my disappointment on finding only a lot of old school compositions¹¹⁸ that I supposed had gone to the flames years ago. Then I waited patiently for your next, but in the meantime fagged my brains and shook my rattlebox for words to fill the vacuum that Cullen had forgotten. Then yesterday morning your letter came, and when I read that you "had done your level best and failed" I felt as if the matter were all right anyhow, and the public would never know the difference, but when I came to where you wrote of a poem that you thought written by your father, just thought I would look at it, for I did not remember of my brother Marcus ever writing a jingle in his life, and when I unfolded the old time-stained sheet, will you believe I found the very thing I was looking for.

Grace, you builded better than you knew, and I can not thank you too much for what you have done. However, your letter did not come until within half an hour of the time I was to make my talk, so I could not use it, but read the piece as I had it fixed up, but it was nowhere near as good as the original.

There was a large crowd out, it was estimated at 5000 people, and to do the best I could, I do not suppose my voice reached half way round, but 'tis all said and done now, and the audience cheered, and clapped their hands vociferously, so I guess they liked it. I do not know whether they will publish my part in the proceedings or not, but if it is done I will send you a copy.

Men [?] Willin was here last spring. He said your mother was in Dixon caring for your grandmother, who was very feeble. Since then we have heard nothing. Is she still there?

¹¹⁶. At the left of the list of officers and councilmen, the letterhead bears an engraving of the Holton town hall.

¹¹⁷. The literary composition referred to here may have been "The Old Oak's Story," a narrative poem of over 350 lines concerned with the history and legendary lore of Holton and Jackson county. It was read by Peter at the third reunion of the Bryant family, July 13, 1879, in Princeton, and was printed by the *Signal Job Printing Co.*, of Holton, in the same year. Besides "The Old Oak's Story," there are two other published works by Peter that are known to the present editors: a speech, "The Second Transplanting," delivered at the Bryant family reunion in 1895, and "Reunion Song," written for the reunion of 1898. Both are in *The Bryant Record* (Princeton, Ill., 1898).

¹¹⁸. Certain school compositions written by Peter at Miss Smith's school are preserved in N. Y. P. L. They include: "The Far Off West" (verse and prose), dated December 2, 1850; "The Effects of the Emancipation of Slavery in the British West Indies," undated; an untitled composition on emancipation in the West Indies, undated; "Pleasures of Hunting," dated January 2, 1851; "Ghosts and Witches," undated; "High Times," undated; "The Prairies," undated; "Lager Beer," undated; an untitled composition about playing with gunpowder, undated.

Your friends here are all well. Marcus and John are hard at work on their farms and have abundant crops. Emma's husband is traveling in Iowa in the interest of the International School of Correspondence of Chicago, seems to be doing well.¹¹⁹ Remember me to your mother and all inquiring friends. And if you feel as if you would like to hear from me once in a while just write to me, though I hardly suppose I will be able to put you out so big a job next time. Thanking you again I am

Yours affectionately

PETER BRYANT

119. See Footnote on Peter's children, letter of September 20, 1863.

Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals

Compiled by LOUISE BARRY

PART FOUR, 1819-1825

1819

¶ The treaty negotiated between Spain and the United States on February 22 defined the western limits of the nation. (Also, the United States gave up claim to what is now Texas, while Spain ceded Florida, and her right to the Oregon country.) The agreed-upon boundary ran up the Sabine river to the 94th meridian; north on its line to the Red river; westwardly upstream to the 100th meridian, north on its line to the Arkansas; up that river west to the Rocky mountains and the 106th meridian; then north to the 42d parallel; and west on its line to the Pacific ocean.

[U. S. Surveyor Joseph C. Brown, while marking the Santa Fe road in the summer of 1825, made the first calculation of the 100th meridian's position, but his measurements were inexact because the longitude assigned to Fort Osage—the beginning point of his task—was incorrect. (Brown was, apparently, about 10 miles west of "the Caches"—famed Santa Fe trail landmark, see 1822-1823—when, by his reckoning, he reached the 100th meridian. "The Caches" were about five miles west of present Dodge City; and Dodge City is on the 100th meridian. Brown, then, calculated the 100th degree of longitude to be about 15 miles west of its actual location.) Army engineers later corrected all points on Brown's survey from Fort Osage to about the 102d meridian, by the "addition of 23 minutes of longitude."]

Ref: Kansas State Historical Society's *Eighteenth Biennial Report* (Topeka, 1913), p. 121 (for Brown's field notes); 33d Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 78*, v. 11 (Serial 768), p. 101 (Lt. G. K. Warren's statement); Kate L. Gregg, ed., *The Road to Santa Fe* . . . (Albuquerque, c1952), pp. 78, 79 (for G. C. Sibley's comment on Brown's work).

¶ On March 2 the act creating the Territory of Arkansas was signed by President Monroe. (Arkansas Post was the seat of government in 1819-1820, but in 1821 newly-founded Little Rock became the capital. By 1820 the population, exclusive of Indians, was over 14,000.)

Ref: D. T. Herndon's *The Highlights of Arkansas History* (c1922), pp. 27, 28, 30, 39.

¶ *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory during the Year 1819*, by Thomas Nuttall, published at Philadelphia in 1821, was one of the early-printed works of a traveler in the Arkansas-Oklahoma region.

Early in 1819 Nuttall, a botanist and ornithologist, ascended the Arkansas

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river to Fort Smith (Ark.). From that post he journeyed overland to the Kiamichi-Red river country (in southeastern Oklahoma of today), and back, between May 16 and June 21. In July he continued up the Arkansas to the trading houses of "Mr. [Joseph] Bougie and Mr. Prior [Nathaniel Pryor]" near the mouth of the Verdigris. There he met and talked with Osage Indians, and made excursions in present east-central Oklahoma—including a canoe trip up the Grand river to the Osage salt works; and a hazardous overland trip (impeded by a malaria-type illness) to, and back from, the Cimarron river between August 11 and September 15. After recuperating at Fort Smith till mid-October, he went down-river to New Orleans.

Ref: Nuttall's *Journal* (as noted above); also published as Volume 13 in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-1906). Nuttall had ascended the Missouri river with Wilson P. Hunt eight years earlier. See 1811. Under 1834 his journey with N. J. Wyeth's second expedition will be noted.

¶ The *Independence*, first steamboat to ascend the Missouri, arrived at Franklin (about 200 miles above St. Louis) on May 28, after seven "sailing days," but 13 en route; and continued 30 miles higher, to Chariton (Mo.) before turning back. The event was celebrated by citizens of the river settlements and at Franklin cannon salutes were fired. On June 5 the Missouri's pioneer steamboat returned to St. Louis, without mishap, after a 21-day absence.

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Enquirer*, May 19 and June 9, 1819; *Missouri Gazette*, St. Louis, June 9, 1819; *Kansas Historical Collections* (KHC), v. 9, p. 277.

¶ On June 9 the *Western Engineer* (a 75-foot, light-draught, stern-wheel steamboat, designed for use on the Missouri) arrived at St. Louis after a 35-day journey from Pittsburgh, Pa. On board were Maj. Stephen H. Long and the scientific members of the "Yellowstone expedition."

The *Western Engineer* started up the Missouri on June 22; took aboard Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon and his interpreter, John Dougherty, at St. Charles on the 27th; reached Franklin on July 13 (where Thomas Say and other scientists left the boat to travel by land to Fort Osage); continued upstream past Chariton (beyond which no steamboat had been); and arrived August 1 at Fort Osage, without serious difficulties or delays.

At the fort were Col. Talbot Chambers and 260 U. S. riflemen (recently arrived in five keelboats) awaiting supplies before continuing upstream; and Say's overland party (which had been there a week).

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 14, pp. 10-12; *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, Lincoln, v. 20, pp. 18-28. Chambers and the riflemen had left St. Louis on June 14—See *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Bismarck, v. 5, p. 226.

¶ About July 1 (lacking provisions, and with game scarce in the Cantonment Martin area) Lt. Col. Willoughby Morgan sent Captain Martin's riflemen upriver and Captain Magee's company down-

stream, to hunt and subsist as best they could off the land. Captain Riley's troops and "the music" remained at Cow Island. On Independence Day Morgan wrote Gen. T. A. Smith:

I salute you on the 4th of July. Our colours are flying; and [Capt. Bennet] Riley is preparing something to eat— We shall have a pig with savory tarts to grace the table.

On the 27th Morgan reported that his command was strung out for nearly 100 miles along the Missouri, with Capt. Wyly Martin's company 60 to 70 miles upstream, where Martin "is in just such a paradise as he wants. . . . He kills sometimes twenty deer a day besides bear. Besides he floats in honey."

Ref: *Kansas Historical Quarterly (KHQ)*, v. 8, p. 118; "Napton Collection" (in Society's manuscript division).

¶ A "Yellowstone expedition" flotilla (three steamboats and several keelboats) carrying the Sixth U. S. infantry and supplies, left the St. Louis area early in July to go up the Missouri.

The steam craft experienced various difficulties and breakdowns. Below the Osage junction the *Thomas Jefferson* foundered (and became the first steamboat wreck on the Missouri); the *R. M. Johnson* (plagued with engine trouble) got no higher than a little below the mouth of the Kansas by mid-September; and had to remain over-winter. (See, 1819-1820 entry.) Only the *Expedition* managed to carry supplies as far as Cantonment Martin; and she was more than 50 days en route. The Sixth infantry made most of the journey in keelboats, which were sent on in advance of the wayward steamboats.

Ref: "Napton Collection," *loc. cit.*; *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 277, 278, 302, 309, 311; St. Louis (Mo.) *Enquirer*, July 21-October 30, 1819, issues; *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, pp. 23-30; Jacob H. Holt's "Narrative" (1874), as quoted in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, October 27, 1959 (or, see "Kansas City, Missouri, History Clippings," v. 5, pp. 82-84, in *KHi*); *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, pp. 224-226.

¶ On August 6 a company of 13 persons left Fort Osage for an over-land journey. As stated in the account of Maj. Stephen H. Long's expedition:

. . . to extend our examination between Fort Osage and the Konzas river, also between that river and the Platte, a party was detached from the steamboat [*Western Engineer*], with instructions to cross the Konzas at the Konza village; thence to traverse the country by the nearest route to the Platte, and to descend that river to the Missouri. The party consisted of Mr. [Thomas] Say [a zoologist], to whom the command was intrusted; Messrs. [Augustus E.] Jessup [a geologist], [Titian R.] Peale [a naturalist] and [Samuel] Seymour [landscape artist], Cadet [William H.] Swift, [John] Dougherty [interpreter and guide], and five soldiers. They were furnished with three pack-horses, and a supply of provisions for ten days. . . . they [were] accompanied by Maj. [Thomas] Biddle and his servant. . . .

Say and his companions crossed Johnson, Douglas, and Shawnee counties of today, and were, perhaps, near present Leecompton on

August 13 when they came down from higher land to make their first camp on the Kansas river (south side). Two days earlier they had reached "some elevated ridges" from which they could "trace the whole course" of what they took to be Wahrengeho, or Full creek [the Mill creek of today], but which was, instead, the Warreruza [Wakarusa].

They had already coped with blowflies, rattlesnakes, high and coarse prairie grasses (which slowed their progress; wore out their clothing and moccasins), "excessive" heat, exposure, and fatigue. Dysentery and shortage of food were other problems as they traveled up the river valley. After searching on both sides of the Kansas they eventually located a trail leading up the *north* side. On the 19th they came to the Vermillion [in present Pottawatomie county], where, no other game being available, they "dined on the flesh of a black wolf."

Next day, they approached the 120-lodge Kansa village [two miles east of present Manhattan]. The chiefs and warriors "came rushing out on horseback, painted and decorated, and followed by great numbers on foot." After being escorted to a lodge, Say and his companions took part in a pipe-smoking ceremony and a talk; then feasted (on jerked buffalo meat and boiled corn) as guests of Ka-he-ga-wa-ta-ning-ga (Fool, or Little Chief), and other leaders. (Some 150 Kansa men afterwards left for Isle au Vache to council with Agent O'Fallon.)

During the four-day visit in the town, Thomas Say collected valuable data about the Kansa—their way of life, dress, customs, beliefs, etc. Leaving on the afternoon of August 24, the Say party traveled seven miles up the "Blue Earth" [Big Blue] river and camped beside a stream [McIntyre? creek] in present Pottawatomie county. A short time later about 140 mounted Pawnee Republic Indians descended on them, drove off the pack-horses, plundered their baggage and provisions, then departed leaving the white men humiliated but unharmed.

In the morning they retraced their way to the Kansa village. That evening the hospital Indians performed a "dog dance" to entertain them—a scene that artist Samuel Seymour portrayed in a sketch (which, as an illustration in the atlas volume [dated 1822] accompanying Edwin James' account of Long's expedition published in 1823, was, apparently, the first ever printed relating to what is now Kansas).

Abandoning the journey to the Platte, Say and his companions, on August 26, set out northeastwardly for Isle au Vache. They had

the aid and guidance of "Mr. Gunville" [Gonville], a French trader living with the Kansa. Arriving at Cantonment Martin, on August 29, they learned that the *Western Engineer* had left several days earlier. All the party (except Say and Jessup who were ill), continued northward overland to the mouth of Wolf river [in present Doniphan county], where, on September 1, they caught up with the steamboat.

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 14, pp. 181-211; *KHC*, v. 1-2, pp. 280-297. Samuel Seymour's sketch of the Kansa "dog dance" has been reproduced as the *frontispiece* in *KHC*, v. 1-2, and in *KHQ*, v. 15, facing p. 336 (cover of November, 1947, issue). The trader was probably Louis Gonville, though his brother Baptiste also lived among the Indians. See 37th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 58* (Serial 1122). An account (by Major Biddle?) of this journey appeared in the *Analectic Magazine*, Philadelphia, 1820, pp. 303-313.

¶ Between August 10 and 18 the *Western Engineer* steamed up the Missouri from Fort Osage to Cantonment Martin; with a brief excursion of about a mile up the Kansas river (and an overnight stay opposite its mouth) on August 12. This first steamboat on the *upper* Missouri, and on the Kansas, was an extraordinary-looking craft—calculated to impress the Indians. As one observer described her:

The bow of this vessel exhibits the form of a huge serpent, black and scaly, rising out of the water from under the boat, his head as high as the deck, darted forward, his mouth open, vomiting smoke, and apparently carrying the boat on his back. From under the boat, at its stern, issues a stream of foaming water, dashing violently along. All the machinery is hid. . . . to the eye of ignorance, the illusion is complete, that a monster of the deep carries her on his back, smoking with fatigue, and lashing the waves with violent exertion.

. . . Objects pleasing and terrifying are at once before . . . [the savage]:—artillery [three small brass field pieces, mounted on wheel carriages on the deck]; the flag of the republic; portraits of a white man and an Indian shaking hands; the calumet of peace; a sword [these last three were on a banner prepared by artist Samuel Seymour]; then the apparent monster with a painted vessel on his back, the sides gaping with port-holes, and bristling with guns. . . .

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 14, pp. 12, 172-175, *KHC*, v. 1-2, pp. 282, 283; St. Louis (Mo.) *Enquirer*, June 19, 1819, or *Niles' Weekly Register*, Philadelphia, v. 16 (July 24, 1819), p. 368 (for quote); *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, p. 228.

¶ Near Cantonment Martin, on August 24, at a ceremonial meeting (preceded by the firing of a few rockets and shells from aboard the *Western Engineer*), about 150 Kansa chiefs and head men (and 11 Osage warriors) counceled with Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon, in the presence of military officers and a few civilians.

Runners had been sent to the Kansa to summon them for a council on Isle au Vache after O'Fallon learned, while at Fort Osage, that the "impudent Kansas" had "repeatedly plundered and insulted our traders and finally our Troops. . . ."

The "most distinguished" Indians who made the 90-mile journey

from the Big Blue-Kansas junction were: Na-he-da-ba (Long Neck), one of the principal chiefs; Ka-he-ga-wa-ta-ning-ga (Little Chief), second in rank; Shon-ga-ne-ga (formerly principal chief); Wa-ha-che-ra (Big Knife), a leader of war parties; and Wom-pa-wa-ra (White Plume), a man "rising rapidly in importance."

Of the council, Agent O'Fallon commented:

A proper and I doubt not, a lasting understanding was effected—They made the fairest promises—I believe they are about to Change—This nation is at war with most of their neighbouring Tribes of red Skins, which has produced much distress upon them, within the last two or three years—They begged me to aid them is giving peace to their Nation. . . .

Many of the Kansa, still at Isle au Vache the day following the meeting, watched the departure of the *Western Engineer* upriver. They "manifested some surprise at witnessing the operations of the steamboat."

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 14, pp. 176-178; KHC, v. 1-2, pp. 283, 284; *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 15, p. 562 (for O'Fallon quote).

¶ The *Expedition* (second steamboat on the Missouri's upper waters) arrived at Cantonment Martin on August 27 or 28; followed by troop-and-supply-loaded keelboats under command of Col. Talbot Chambers; and soon after by Col. Henry Atkinson, head of the Sixth U. S. infantry.

Cantonment Martin was virtually abandoned early in September when the Sixth infantry and rifle troops started upriver on the 5th and 6th in keelboats. A trader who stopped at Isle au Vache on the 14th reported only a subaltern and 30 men remained—awaiting the arrival of a boat to take the last of the *Expedition's* cargo. (The steamboat, empty, remained at Cow Island till the ice in the Missouri broke up in the spring of 1820.)

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Enquirer*, September 29, October 30, and November 27, 1819; *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, pp. 28, 29; "Napton Collection," *loc. cit.*; Jacob H. Holt's "Narrative," in the Kansas City, (Mo.) *Times*, October 27, 1949 (or, see "Kansas City, Missouri History Clippings," v. 5, pp. 82-84, in KHi); *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, p. 232.

¶ On September 17 the *Western Engineer* was anchored for the winter a little above the Missouri Fur Company post Fort Lisa [on the Missouri's right bank a few miles above present Omaha, Neb.].

(She had left Cantonment Martin on August 25 with Major Long's party aboard, escorted by the keelboat *General Smith* carrying Lt. Gabriel Field and 15 men. Camp on the 25th was at the mouth of Independence creek [Atchison county]. On September 1, at the mouth of Wolf river [in present Doniphan county], members of Say's overland party caught up with, and reboarded the steamboat.)

From mid-September, 1819, to June, 1820, "Engineer Cantonment" (some cabins on the Missouri's right bank—in the south-east corner of present Washington county, Neb.) was headquarters for most of the *Western Engineer's* passengers. Major Long, however, returned East for the winter.

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 14, pp. 221, 229, 230, 248; KHC, v. 1-2, p. 284.

¶ About September 18 a Kansa peace delegation—Chief He-roche (the Real War Eagle), and five warriors—escorted by John Dougherty (acting for Agent O'Fallon), made a hurried journey from "Engineer Cantonment" (Neb.) to the Platte river village of the Otoes, Missouris, and Iowas. (The six Kansa had arrived in the Fort Lisa area a day in advance of the *Western Engineer*, eager to achieve a peace with their enemies, but apprehensive of being killed before reaching their destination.) On the 19th(?) the Indians counceled, smoked the peace pipe, and ended a five-year war—the latest of many conflicts between these long-hostile tribes.

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 15, pp. 99-106.

¶ On October 4 at "Engineer Cantonment" Agent Benjamin O'Fallon held a council with about 100 Otoes, 70 Missouris, and 50 to 60 Iowas. On the 10th, at the same place, he counceled with some 70 Pawnees of the Grand, Loup, and Republican bands. (The last-named restored much of the property taken from the Say party in August near the Kansa village.)

Ref: *Ibid.*, v. 14, pp. 236-239, 244-247, v. 15, pp. 99-106.

¶ Early in October, some distance above the place called by Lewis and Clark "the Council Bluffs" [in present Washington co., Neb.] "Camp Missouri" was established by Col. Henry Atkinson and his troops (the Sixth infantry, and U. S. rifle corps—totaling over 1,100 men) who had arrived at the Bluffs in keelboats on September 29.

Atkinson (and Col. Talbot Chambers of the rifle regiment) started for St. Louis on November 3, leaving Lt. Col. Willoughby Morgan in command for the winter. After some of the barracks were completed in November, the post became officially Cantonment Missouri. [It was perhaps as much as eight miles above "Engineer Cantonment."]

Ref: *Nebraska History*, Lincoln, v. 37, pp. 121-133, 161, v. 38, pp. 229-236; "Napton Collection," *loc. cit.*; St. Louis (Mo.) *Enquirer*, October 30, and November 27, 1819; *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, p. 228.

¶ These comments on activities of the "2000 warriors" of the Pawnee bands were in a letter written at the Council Bluffs (Neb.) on October 9:

. . . The frontiers of New Mexico, separated by some days' ride over open plains, presents them with constant objects of plunder. A month since

a war party returned from one of their excursions in that direction, bringing off about two hundred head of horses and mules, chiefly the latter. They had also killed three Spaniards. They have immense numbers of horses and mules. From four to six thousand may be seen at one view, covering the plains about their villages, all taken from the confines of Mexico.

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Enquirer*, October 30, 1819.

¶ In a report on the Missouri river fur trade, Maj. Thomas Biddle wrote, on October 29 from "Camp Missouri":

Seres [Gabriel S.] and Francis [G.] Chouteau trade with the Kansas and Osage nations. They have a trading-house not far from the mouth of the river Kansas, and their capital is about \$4,000.

These Chouteau cousins had begun trading with the Kansa, Osages, and Pawnees at least three years earlier (*see* 1816). On November 5, 1818, George C. Sibley wrote from Fort Osage (to William Clark): "A drove of pack horses passed this way a few days ago, on their way up the Kansas River. From whence I am told they are to carry goods to trade with the little Osages, they were ownd (or Controlled) by Sara [Seres] Choteau I am Informed." Apparently, then, Seres and Francis Chouteau's trading-house referred to above, was started a little later. Known as the "Four Houses" ("four log houses so arranged as to inclose a square court equal in size to the width of one of the houses"), it was the earliest trading house of record on the Kansas river; and (so far as known) the first 19th century fur depot in present Kansas. It was probably in use till about 1828. After the flood of 1826 destroyed the Chouteaus' Randolph Bluffs post on the Missouri (*see* 1821-1822), it is said Francis Chouteau took his family to the "Four Houses."

There seems to be no contemporaneous "evidence" on the location of the "Four Houses." Some writers have stated that the post was about twenty miles up the Kansas; that it was near, or on land within present Bonner Springs. A manuscript McCoy map of the 1830's (in KHi ms. division) contains the only tangible clue to the real(?) site. On it, at the mouth of the small stream—now Cedar creek—which enters the Kansas some two and a half miles east of present De Soto, Johnson county, is written "4 Houses." By land this is about 20 miles from the mouth of the Kansas, and on the south side of the river.

Ref: *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, v. 2, p. 202 (for Biddle); W. H. Miller's *The History of Kansas City* (1881), pp. 9, 10 ("Four Houses" description on p. 9); KHC, v. 8, p. 425, v. 9, p. 574; Superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, records in KHi, v. 2, p. 138 (for Sibley letter quotation); G. W. Harrington's *Historic Spots . . . of Wyandotte County* (1935), pp. 11, 12 (sums up material from various histories on the Bonner Springs "site"). *See*, under 1744, for an 18th century (French) fur post.

1819-1820

¶ Aboard the *R. M. Johnson* (anchored a little below the mouth of the Kansas with a broken piston head), a small crew remained throughout the winter. Jacob H. Holt (17-year-old cabin boy) later recalled they suffered severely for bread and salt, "living entirely on venison, turkey and honey, and a little corn . . . pounded in a mortar . . ." cooked as best they could.

Before Christmas, 1819, the Missouri was frozen over; and the break up of the ice did not begin till near the end of March, 1820. On March 1 snow stood "two feet deep in the timbered bottom below the mouth of the Kansas river." Earlier, visiting Indians (bound for Fort Osage with furs) had reported snow "very deep up the Kansas."

Early in April, the repaired *Johnson*, and the *Expedition* (from Cow Island), descended the Missouri.

Ref: Jacob H. Holt's "Narrative," as quoted in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, October 27, 1949 (or, see "Kansas City, Missouri History Clippings," v. 5, pp. 82-84, in KHi); *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, p. 232.

1820

¶ Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon, accompanied by John Dougherty, Thomas Say, Capt. Bennet Riley, three other officers, and a detachment of U. S. riflemen, left the Council Bluffs on April 20 for a trip to the Pawnee villages on the Loup Fork (and returned to "Engineer Cantonment" on May 6).

The Grand Pawnee chief, Long Hair, was at first uncivil, but "meeting a decisive tone" changed his conduct and gave O'Fallon's party a hospitable reception. The Pawnee Loups treated them "with all honor and distinction imaginable." Also very friendly were the Republican Pawnees who expressed "the greatest contrition" for robbing Say's expedition the previous autumn. It was reported that the Pawnees:

. . . lately had an engagement on the confines of Mexico with the Tetans [Tetans—Comanches] and Spaniards, and lost ninety-three warriors, killed or wounded.

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 15, pp. 140-165; *St. Louis (Mo.) Enquirer*, July 5, 1820.

¶ In June the "beautiful steamboat" *Western Engineer*, with Lt. James D. Graham in charge, descended the Missouri from "Engineer Cantonment," arriving at St. Louis (in four days running time) just over a year from the time she began her upriver journey.

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 15, p. 190; *The Missourian*, St. Charles, Mo., June 24, 1820; *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, p. 232.

¶ Maj. Stephen H. Long's expedition (20 mounted men, with pack

animals) left "Engineer Cantonment" on June 6, headed toward the Rocky mountains.

Long had returned to the Council Bluffs on May 28, accompanied overland from St. Louis by Capt. John R. Bell and Dr. Edwin James (botanist, geologist, and surgeon) who were to join his expedition—which, under amended orders, was to explore up the Platte to its source and return East by way of the Arkansas and Red rivers.

In mid-June at the Pawnee villages on the Loup Fork, two Frenchmen (an interpreter-guide, and a hunter) were added to the party. There were 22 men, 34 horses and mules, and two dogs in the expedition as it continued up the Platte, and then up the south fork to the mountains.

Long and his men first saw the Rockies on June 30. By July 5 they were on the site of present Denver, Colo. On July 13, Dr. Edwin James, Zachariah Wilson, and Pvt. Joseph Verplank began the ascent of Pike's Peak (called "James's Peak" by Long), reaching the summit on the afternoon of the 14th—the first white men known to accomplish the feat. Moving southwest Long's expedition came to the Arkansas; ascended it as far as the Royal Gorge; then started downstream on July 19. Arriving on the 21st at a good ford of the river [present Rocky Ford?, Colo.], Long divided his force, sending Captain Bell with 11 men on down the Arkansas (*see* fourth entry following).

Long, with nine men, crossed the Arkansas and traveled almost due south to the Canadian. Mistaking it for the Red river, his party descended to the junction with the Arkansas [in present east-central Oklahoma] before discovering the error; then continued down the latter river to Fort Smith, arriving on September 13, a few days after Bell's detachment.

An Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, compiled by Edwin James from the notes of Long, Say, and others in the party was published at Philadelphia in 1823. Neither Maj. Stephen H. Long or Dr. Edwin James crossed what is now Kansas, but their disparaging words affected pre-Kansas history by fostering the theory that most of the vast region between the Missouri and the Rockies was, as Long's map labeled it, a "Great American Desert."

Major Long's summary opinion of the trans-Missouri country was:

" . . . that it is almost wholly unfit for cultivation, and of course uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence. Although tracts of fertile land considerably extensive are occasionally to be met with, yet the scarcity of wood and water, almost uniformly prevalent, will prove an insuperable obstacle in the way of settling the country. . . . This region, however, . . . may prove of infinite importance to the United States, inasmuch as it is calculated to serve as a barrier to prevent too great an

extension of our population westward, and secure us against the machinations or incursions of an enemy. . . ."

Edwin James made even harsher comment:

"We have little apprehension of giving too unfavourable an account of this portion of the country. Though the soil is in some places fertile, the want of timber, of navigable streams, and of water for the necessities of life, render it an unfit residence for any but a nomad population. The traveller who shall at any time have traversed its desolate sands, will, we think, join us in the wish that this region may forever remain the unmolested haunt of the native hunter, the bison, and the jackall."

Ref.: Thwaites, *op cit.*, v. 14, pp. 13-15, 20, 147, 148, v. 15, pp. 188-315, v. 16, pp. 11-63, v. 17, pp. 147-149, 257, 258; H. M. Fuller and L. R. Hafen, eds., *The Journal of Captain John R. Bell* (Glendale, Calif., 1957), pp. 31-183.

¶ Around mid-June the Missouri rose "much higher than it was ever known before." Low-lying Cantonment Missouri was inundated. Col. Henry Atkinson, who had returned to the Council Bluffs on June 14 to reassume command, wrote on the 19th:

. . . We have pitched our Camp on the Bluff, and are engaged in bringing up the materials of the Cantonment to rebuild.

On the new site [about a mile southeast of present Fort Calhoun, Neb., and 16 miles above Omaha] more permanent quarters were built; and on October 15 the post was officially designated Cantonment Council Bluffs. In January, 1821, the name was changed to Fort Atkinson.

(Fort Atkinson was abandoned in June, 1827, following the establishment of Cantonment Leavenworth.)

Ref.: "Napton Collection," *loc. cit.*; *Nebraska History*, Lincoln, v. 37, pp. 132, 161, 162, v. 38, pp. 229-236, v. 40, pp. 39, 40; *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 15, p. 688.

¶ About May 19(?) Captain Craig headed the *Expedition* up the Missouri on a supply-carrying mission to the Fort Atkinson troops. The steamboat arrived at Fort Osage on June 10; presumably passed Cow Island (the high point of her 1819 trip) in the latter part of June; and reached the Council Bluffs on July 23. It was reported in August: "On account of the lowness of the water, and the loss of two anchors, it was not thought advisable for her to return [down-stream] the present season."

The *Expedition* was the second steamboat to navigate the Missouri above Isle au Vache (Cow Island).

Ref.: *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, Mo., May 27, June 24, August 5, 1820.

¶ Dwight Mission for the Western Cherokees was founded in July by Presbyterian missionaries (sponsored by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions), near the mouth of Illinois creek [in present Pope county, Ark.]. (The missionary families arrived in May, 1821; and Dwight Mission was active thereafter at

that location till the removal of the Western Cherokees to the country west of the Territory of Arkansas in 1829.)

Ref: Jedidiah Morse's . . . *Report . . . on Indian Affairs* . . . (1822), p. 214; Herndon, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37; Grant Foreman's *Indians and Pioneers* . . . (New Haven, 1930), pp. 92-94; *History of American Missions* . . . (Worcester, Spooner & Howland, 1840), pp. 87, 88, 102, 110, 182, 194, 195.

¶ In Capt. John R. Bell's mounted party (detached from Maj. S. H. Long's expedition on July 21 to proceed down the Arkansas river) were Thomas Say (zoologist), Lt. William H. Swift (topographer), Samuel Seymour (landscape painter), interpreters Julien and Bijeau, hunter Ledoux, five soldiers, 14 horses, two mules, and two dogs.

On July 30 this east-bound company crossed the present Colorado-Kansas line; and by August 4 had reached the vicinity of what is now Dodge City. The morning of August 8 they came to "Dumun's creek" [now Big Coon creek], so called, wrote Bell:

. . . from the circumstances of a gentleman of that name from St. Louis [*i. e.*, Jules de Mun], having on a time [between 1815-1817], lost a valuable horse there, that died.

Also on the 8th they forded a stream which they named "Vulture creek" [Pawnee river of today]; and next day crossed present Walnut creek (which Bijeau mistakenly told them was the Little Arkansas). Wrote Thomas Say of their travels rounding the Great Bend of the Arkansas on that hot August 9th (noon temperature 94° in the shade):

The soil of the afternoon journey was a deep fine white sand, which rendered the travelling very laborious . . . and affected the sight, by the great glare of light which it so freely reflected. The chief produce of these tracts of unmixed sand is the sunflower, often the dense and almost exclusive occupant.

[Say's was, so far as known, the earliest *published* reference to the sunflower in what is now Kansas. He wrote the six chapters describing the trip of Bell's party down the Arkansas, as published in 1823 in James' *Account of* . . . [Long's] *Expedition*. . . Captain Bell's journal entry for the same date also referred to the present Kansas state flower: "Almost the whole distance travelled during the forenoon has been over a dry loose sandy soil, covered with a luxuriant growth of sun flowers, very disagreeable to travel thro' and fatiguing to the horses." But his journal (lost for many years) was not published till 1957.]

Proceeding downriver (toward Cow creek) on August 12 they met a party ("30 men and 5 squaws") of Ietans [Comanches] who had been attacked two nights earlier, while asleep, by a band of Otoes. (Three Comanches had been slain; they had six wounded; had lost 56 horses, as well as robes, moccasins, and other gear.) Bell prudently moved his men onward as soon as possible.

Describing the country between Cow creek and the Little Arkansas, Captain Bell wrote on August 14:

The timber on the river is [cottonwood] copse resembling much the lumbardy poplars, along the banks the sand is blown by the wind, or washed up by the freshes, into ridges & knobs covered with sun flowers & high plants.

Next day, arriving at the mouth of the Little Arkansas [where Wichita is today], he recorded in his journal:

. . . we discovered an old [Osage] Indian Village, or may more likely be, an Indian hunting camp for the winter season, as many of the cabins, were enclosed & covered with bark, in and about them was growing water mellons, pumpkins & corn. . . .

In succeeding days various problems arose. Their supply of food ran low. They were "lost"—to the extent that on August 16 they mistook the Ninnescah [which joins the Arkansas more than 20 miles north of the present Kansas-Oklahoma line] for the Negracka [now the "Salt Fork" which enters the Arkansas some 40 miles south of the Kansas boundary]—but came to the latter stream on August 24. On the night of August 30 three of the five soldiers deserted, taking the three best horses, saddlebags containing clothes, the manuscripts of Say and Swift, and other valuables. But on September 1 Bell and his companions met friendly Osages of Clermont's band; by the 5th they were at Hugh Glenn's trading post (near the Verdigris-Arkansas junction); and on September 9 reached Fort Smith (four days in advance of Major Long's party).

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 14, pp. 16-18, v. 16, pp. 192-291; Fuller and Hafen, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-276.

¶ "The Osages . . . are continually removing from one village to another, quarreling and intermarrying . . ." wrote George C. Sibley in a report (from Fort Osage, October 1) which revealed the current situation, and some of the changes in that nation between 1814 and 1820.

In Missouri territory there remained but one Great Osage village (of about 1,200 population) 78 miles south of the fort, on the Little Osage [in present Vernon county, Mo.].

On the Neosho river 130 to 140 miles southwest of Fort Osage was the village of White Hair's band (of about 400) which had separated amicably from the Great Osages in Missouri some six to eight years earlier [about 1815?]. Also on the Neosho, from 120 to 140 miles southwest of Fort Osage, were three towns of Little Osages (including some 20 families of intermarried Missouris). They total about 1,000 persons. [These Neosho river towns were in Neosho and Labette counties of today.]

But the largest Osage group—Clermont's band—equaling half of all the nation, lived on the Verdigris [near present Claremore, Okla.], and did not trade at Fort Osage.

Ref: Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-208.

¶ The Kansa (as reported by G. C. Sibley on October 1) were living "about three hundred miles up the Kansas river, in one village. . . ." He estimated their population at around 800. About the same time Agent Benjamin O'Fallon stated, more specifically, that the Kansa were "on the northwest side of the [Kansas] river at the mouth of the Grand Saline. . . ." [*i. e.*, some six miles east of present Salina]. He estimated their number at about 1,750 souls.

For what reason the Kansa *temporarily* moved from their town near the Big Blue-Kansas junction has not been determined. One possible explanation: A flood on the Kansas, like that on the Missouri in the spring of 1820, may have inundated the low-lying Kansa town, and forced a move. They appeared securely established at the old village when visited by Say's party in August, 1819; and were evidently back at that location by the winter of 1821-1822 when Becknell stopped with them briefly. It remained their principal abode till about 1830.

Throughout the 1700's the Kansa appeared in records as a nation of one village; and this was still true in the early 1800's. About 1820, however, after respected Chief Shon-ga-ne-ga stepped down in favor of his less-influential son Ka-he-ga-wa-ta-ning-ga (the Fool Chief), the Kansa tended to divide into partisan groups, each headed by a prominent chief. Commenting on the Kansa in 1823, Prince Paul of Wuerttemberg (who had conversations with the American Chief in July of that year) wrote:

"Like most of the American aborigines this tribe is divided into several bands. They join each other but rarely. Such unions occur when they go on the hunt, also when they gather in their great village. By this latter term one must not think of a very stable and constant habitat. They subordinate themselves under one single head only, when the greatest danger requires it. Among the whites Wa-kan-ze-re [the American Chief] is especially highly esteemed, because he was one of the first of his tribe who induced the Kanzas . . . to accept a friendly attitude and enter into trade with the Europeans. . . ."

In the 1820's there were three known bands of Kansa: Fool Chief (with 700 to 800 followers); Hard Chief (with 500 to 600 persons); American Chief (with about 100 people). Also, Chief White Plume apparently lived apart from the bands mentioned.

Ref: *Ibid.*, pp. 203, 237; *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Pierre, v. 19, p. 313 (for quote); *KHC*, v. 1-2, p. 287.

¶ Union Mission (sponsored by the United Foreign Missionary Society) for Clermont's band of Osage Indians, had its beginning in mid-November when advance members of the missionary party reached the previously-selected site, on the west bank of the Grand (Neosho) river about 25 miles above its mouth [in present Mayes county, Okla.]. After the arrival of the rest of the missionaries

(from a temporary camp at Little Rock, Ark.) in mid-February, 1821, Union Mission began to function. The principal village of Clermont's band was about 28 miles to the west, on the Verdigris river [near present Claremore, Okla.]. (In January, 1833, the school at Union was discontinued; and in 1836 the mission was closed.)

Ref: Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-220; G. J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, New York (1938), v. 1, p. 187; W. W. Graves' *The First Protestant Osage Missions* . . . (Oswego, c1949), pp. 41-45, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 2, pp. 285-297; Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-104; *History of Indian Missions* . . . , pp. 170, 171, 241, 340.

1821

¶ Richard Graham (Indian agent in Illinois territory) was informed, in April, of his transfer to the Osage Nation, where he would "take charge of the Osages, and of the Delawares & Kickapoos who have removed to their neighborhood," and select an agency site in the Indian country. (The Osages had been without an agent since Pierre Chouteau's release in 1818. However, Paul Liguette Chouteau, who lived among them, had continued to be their subagent. Neither Pierre Chouteau nor Graham maintained a residence among the Indians. They visited the Osages on occasion.)

Ref: *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 15, pp. 384, 715-717.

¶ On the Marais des Cygnes river, about 78 miles south of Fort Osage [and near present Papinsville, Mo.], a branch of the Fort Osage government factory for the Osages was constructed between July and October. This short-lived official trading post (the U. S. factory system was abolished in 1822) was some eight direct miles northeast of the Great Osage village.

Ref: Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 223; *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 15, pp. 627, 628; Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

¶ Missouri's admission into the Union as a state was completed August 10 by proclamation of President Monroe. The population, as given in September, was 70,652.

Ref: *Historic Missouri* . . . (Columbia, Mo., c1959), pp. 12, 16.

¶ In August the Rev. Nathaniel B. Dodge and party of some 20 missionaries (mostly Presbyterians) under the auspices of the United Foreign Missionary Society, founded Harmony Mission for the Osage Indians on the Marais des Cygnes' left bank, about a mile and a half northwest of present Papinsville, Mo. The site (distant some eight or nine direct miles from the Great Osage village) was granted by the Indians to the missionaries at a council held on August 13. (Harmony Mission continued in operation till 1836.)

Ref: Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 223; Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 1, pp. 179, 180; *The Missionary Herald*, Boston, v. 18 (1822), pp. 30, 31, v. 19 (1823), p. 214; *History of American Missions* . . . , pp. 171, 229, 253, 265, 278, 340, 341; Graves, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-175.

¶ During August the Santa Fe-bound expedition (11 men) of St. Louis merchant John McKnight and trader Thomas James journeyed by keelboat up the Arkansas from Fort Smith (Ark.) as far as present north-central Oklahoma.

The McKnight-James party had left St. Louis May 10 to descend the Mississippi to the Arkansas junction and ascend the latter stream. McKnight's mission was to find his brother Robert—a Spanish prisoner since the ill-fated 1812 expedition to New Mexico. James, who carried a Spanish passport, was on a trading venture, and had goods valued at \$10,000 aboard the boat.

Halted by low water some miles beyond the Cimarron's mouth, McKnight, James, and two others went cross-country to Clermont's village of Osages (two days' travel to the southeast) where James bought 23 horses. Returning to the Arkansas, they cached the heavier goods, loaded the pack animals and set out overland [from what is now Pawnee co., Okla.] for New Mexico.

Their route, by way of the Cimarron and the Canadian, took them across present western Oklahoma, and the Texas Panhandle (where they had a nearly-disastrous encounter with Comanches). On December 1 the McKnight-James party entered Santa Fe and found the people friendly. (*See, also*, 1822.)

Thomas James' reminiscences (of his experiences from 1809 to 1824) were published at Waterloo, Ill., in 1846 in a work entitled *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans*. It was quickly withdrawn from circulation due to sharp criticism of the author's ill-natured characterizations of men prominent in the fur and Indian trade; and has long been an extremely rare item of Americana. The reprint edition, noted below, is scarce.

Ref: Thomas James' *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans*, edited by W. B. Douglas (St. Louis, 1916).

¶ Led by William Becknell, five men with goods-laden pack animals left Franklin, Mo., September 1 on a trading trip to the Comanche country. They stopped at Fort Osage; made slow progress for a time (due to illness among the party) as they headed for the Arkansas; reached it on the 24th [east of Walnut? creek]. Crossing the river, they followed up the south bank to the mountains, and on October 21 arrived at "the forks . . . and took the course of the left hand one" [Purgatoire? river]. Three weeks later, in New Mexico, they met some Spanish troops, and accompanied them, by way of San Miguel, to Santa Fe, where they were received "with apparent pleasure and joy." (Becknell's party arrived on November 16, two weeks ahead of the McKnight-James company. *See preceding entry.*)

According to Becknell, he and "Mr. M'Laughlin" left San Miguel (about 50 miles southeast of Santa Fe) on December 13 "on our return home, in com-

pany with two other men who had arrived there a few days before, by a different route." After 17 days of travel [by way of the Cimarron desert] they came to the Arkansas [in present Ford? county]; then set a course "over the high land which separates the waters of [the Arkansas] and the Caw rivers." They visited the Kansa [at their town near the Big Blue's mouth]; found them hospitable and bought corn. In 48 days from the time they left San Miguel [*i. e.*, by the end of January, 1822], Becknell and his companions were back in Franklin, Mo. Their mid-winter journey had proved less difficult than anticipated. They brought back "specie, mules, asses & Spanish . . . blankets."

Ref: William Becknell's brief 1821-1822 journal as reprinted (from the *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, Mo., April 22, 1823) in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, St. Louis, v. 2, pp. 57-75; also, in *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, v. 4, pp. 71-81; G. C. Sibley letter (1825) in K. Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 214, 215.

¶ The Glenn-Fowler company (20 mounted men with pack horses), on a trading-trapping expedition to the Rocky mountains, left Hugh Glenn's trading house (near the Verdigris' mouth, in present east-central Oklahoma) on September 25.

Jacob Fowler (second in command), with his brother Robert and some others of the party, had reached Glenn's place earlier in the month. Kentuckian Fowler (reportedly well educated) is credited as author of the journal "Memorandum of the voige by land from Fort Smith to the Rockey mountains" which recounted the party's experiences on the outward journey, and the return trip in 1822. The journal (labeled by historian H. M. Chittenden "the best example of poor spelling and punctuation in existence"), was edited by Elliott Coues, and published in 1898 (as noted below).

Traveling northward to Clermont's Osage village, the Glenn-Fowler party crossed the Verdigris and set a northwest course; then on October 4 turned west toward the Arkansas river. On October 9 they crossed the "White River" [now Walnut river] in the vicinity of present Arkansas City; by the 13th they were at the mouth of the Little Arkansas [where Wichita is today]. On October 19 they rounded the Great Bend. Jacob Fowler's journal entry for that day stated, in part:

We set out at the ushal time and at 8 miles West We pased a point of Red Rocks about 600 yds from the [Arkansas] River and at Eleven miles Crosed the paney River [*i. e.*, it was Walnut creek they forded on the 19th—they crossed "Pawnee fork" on the 20th] . . . this is the Second Streem We Have Crosed Since pasing the little arkensaw—We found a good ford and Steered South 50 [degrees] West Six miles to the Bank of the [Arkansas] River—the land leavel as fare as the Eye Can see. Some Cottenwood on the Banks and Some Bushis. the Red Rock is evidently a volcanic production is porous like pomestone but heavier than common Sand stone. . . . [Fowler's "Red Rock" was, evidently, later-famed Pawnee Rock in what is now southwestern Barton county; and he seems to have been the first to record a mention of that Santa Fe trail landmark.]

About November 4 the expedition crossed the present Kansas-Colorado line. On the 13th, at Purgatoire river, one man was fatally wounded by a bear. The company halted in the present Pueblo, Colo., area. Fowler built a blockhouse; his comrades hunted and trapped; while Hugh Glenn, with four men, went on to Santa Fe. After Glenn secured permission from Mexican authorities to trap in the Rio Grande valley, the whole party moved to that region for the rest of the winter and early spring. (*See, also*, 1822.)

Ref: Elliott Coues, ed., *The Journal of Jacob Fowler* (New York, 1898); H. M. Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1902), v. 2, p. 503.

¶ On September 27 the independence of Mexico from Spain (proclaimed in late February) became an established fact. (Formal acknowledgment of the independence of Mexico by the United States was made in December, 1822.)

Ref: Michel Chevalier's *Mexico Ancient and Modern*, trans. by Thomas Alpass (London, 1864), v. 2, pp. 58-63; S. A. MacCorkle's "American Policy of Recognition Towards Mexico" (*The Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*, Baltimore, v. 51, no. 3, pp. 84-86).

¶ Sixteen chiefs and head men of the Pawnee, Kansa, Omaha, Otoe, and Missouri tribes who were escorted East in the late fall by Agent Benjamin O'Fallon arrived in Washington on November 29.

They were entertained at the White House by President Monroe; and Artist Charles Bird King painted several of the Indian visitors. It is believed that King's portrait of the Kansa chief White Plume (Mon-chonsia—also known as Nom-pa-wa-rah, or Wom-pa-wa-ra) was done at that time. *See* cover of Spring, 1962, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

Ref: Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-251; J. C. Ewers' article on Charles Bird King in the *Smithsonian Report* for 1953, pp. 463-473.

1821-1822

¶ On the Missouri's right bank, less than a mile above the mouth of the Kansas river [in what is now Wyandotte county, and probably within present Kansas City, Kan.], Prince Paul of Wuerttemberg stepped ashore on June 21, 1823, to visit the "little settlement of creoles and halfbreeds" and the "two large houses" of "Curtis and Woods." (*See, also*, 1823 entry.) Despite their proximity it appears these "large houses" were *separate* fur trade posts—the former an establishment of Cyrus Curtis and Michael Eley; and the latter operated by Andrew Woods (an acting partner in the Missouri Fur Company). Because so little is known about these early 1820's "houses" above (north of) the Kansas, the available information about them is dealt with at some length below. So far as known they were the second, and third, 19th century fur posts in present

Kansas, but it cannot be said with certainty the order of their founding.

ANDREW WOODS' *post*: The only known citation of the *location* of his place is Prince Paul's 1823 diary, noted above. But the letter-book of Thomas Hempstead (the Missouri Fur Company's acting partner at St. Louis, 1821-1823) contains references as early as June 27, 1821, which relate to Andrew Woods and to what Hempstead variously calls "Woods' establishment," "the lower house or establishment" [Fort Lisa being the *upper* house], "the Kansas Establishment," and "Fort Perkins, Kansas" [for Joseph Perkins, another partner in the Missouri Fur Company]. It seems likely the "house" may have been founded on "Kansas" soil in late 1820, by Woods. It operated presumably by virtue of licenses granted to the Missouri Fur Company (a one-year license to trade with the general tribes, of April 15, 1822, and a March, 1823, five-year license to trade with the Missouri river tribes. Woods' name is not on any lists of licenses granted).

An unidentified Frenchman, going upriver in 1822 in a boat bound for Fort Lisa, noted in May that on the lower Missouri his party met "Andrew Wood coming from the Riviere des Kans," and again, on June 8, that the boatmen stopped "at slough of the Isle de la Prairie" [Fire Prairie, below Fort Osage] "to get some corn which Mr. And. Wood had kept" [*i. e.*, planted?]. Other persons who may have spent some time at this post were Thomas Hempstead, and Charles Keemle. Whether Mrs. Andrew Woods (*see* 1823 entry relating to Prince Paul) came to "Kansas" before 1823 is unknown. Nor is it clear when the post was discontinued. It may have operated till some time in 1824. Andrew Woods' death occurred in Jackson county, Mo., on June 10, 1832. [Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Beacon*, July 5, 1832.]

Andrew Woods had become a partner in the reorganized Missouri Fur Company, of which Manuel Lisa was head, in 1819. His co-partners, by the September 1, 1820, agreement, were Thomas Hempstead, Joshua Pilcher, Joseph Perkins, Moses B. Carson, John B. Zenoni, Andrew Drips, and Robert Jones. [Ref: F. L. Billon's *Annals of St. Louis . . . from 1804 to 1821 . . .* (St. Louis, 1888), p. 68; *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 3, pp. 391, 392.] Thomas Say, in January, 1820, at the Council Bluffs, noted the return of "Mr. Woods, of the Missouri Fur Company from a trading excursion" (to the Pawnee villages?) [Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 14, p. 277.] Some 35 miles above the mouth of the Little Sioux river, on the Missouri's right bank, was a site (of pre-1820's date?) which Prince Paul called "Cotes a Wood" in 1823 [Ref: *S. D. Hist. Coll.*, v. 19, p. 415.]; and which was referred to in 1825 as "Woods' Hills" [Ref: *N. D. Hist. Quar.*, v. 4, pp. 12, 13, 50]. J. N. Nicollet, in 1839, wrote of it as "a beautiful site, formerly oc-

cupied by a Mr. Wood, an Indian trader; and it still bears his name." [Ref: 28th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc.* 52 (Serial 464), pp. 33, 136.]

CURTIS & ELEY'S post: It could be that when Curtis and Eley were granted a one-year license on July 20, 1822 (to trade with the Osage, Kansa, Otoe, and Ponca Indians), *their* "large house" already stood on the Missouri's bank. Cyrus Curtis had been trading on the upper river five years or longer—*see* 1817. Michael Eley, (a native Virginian), had come to Fort Osage as assistant factor in July, 1815, and remained till June 30, 1820, it appears. Perhaps the partnership began soon afterwards. In 1823, Prince Paul (headed up the Missouri) noted in his diary on May 28: ". . . we met a large boat coming from the Kansas River. It belonged to a certain Mr. Curtis who has established himself as merchant at the mouth of that river." And on June 29 he wrote: "Near the fort [Osage] I met Mr. Curtis from the Kansas. He was in a boat. I delivered to him the letters from his trading company." The two-year license which "Curtis & Eley" obtained on September 17, 1823, is the last on record for the partnership. (However, the post was operating after the expiration date of the license.)

Following the Kansa treaty in August, 1825, the Indians were given an order for \$500 worth of goods from the Curtis and Eley trading house. (But it was the Chouteau post downriver that supplied the \$3,500 Kansa annuity goods later in the year.) In October, 1825 (*see* annals entry), the Atkinson-O'Fallon party on the keelboat *Antelope* stopped briefly at "Curtis & Eley's establishment." (Four days earlier they had met Curtis going upstream in a boat.) Up-river, at Fort Atkinson, on October 14, 1825, and again on December 28, James Kennerly (post sutler) mentioned Curtis in his diary. Jedediah Smith's (Ashley) party (*see* last 1825 entry) bought beef from "Ely and Curtis" in December(?), 1825. (Jim Beckwourth of that party, later had some recollections of "Messrs. Ely and Curtis.") Bvt. Maj. S. W. Kearny (who had mentioned "*Curtis & Ely's* Trading House" as being *a mile* above the mouth of the Kansas on his up-river journey in 1824), descended the Missouri in May, 1826, and on the sixth "halted for dinner at *Mr. Ely's* establishment." Kearny's is the last specific mention of the post that has been located. It does make clear that Curtis & Eley's "large house" survived the April, 1826, flood which engulfed Francis Chouteau's post some four miles downstream. Eley and Curtis had a store in Liberty, Mo., in the 1820's, and were operating a distillery there in 1826. Michael

Eley went to Santa Fe in 1827 (and died there in 1832). Cyrus Curtis died at Liberty, Mo., in 1844.

Ref: *South Dakota Historical Collections*, v. 19, pp. 251, 303, 309 (for Prince Paul references); the Thomas Hempstead letterbook is in the Coe Collection, Yale University, but all the notes from it (and the opportunity to use them) are courtesy of Dale L. Morgan, of the Bancroft Library, whose generous sharing of his own research efforts have added immeasurably to this, and other annals entries dealing with the fur trade; 18th Cong., 1st Sess., *Ex. Doc. No. 7* (Serial 93)—for Missouri Fur Company licenses, 1822, 1823, also, the Curtis & Eley licenses, 1822, 1823; *The Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 16, pp. 16, 18 (for 1822 diary, and note on Eley); *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 15, p. 567 (for Eley at Fort Osage, 1816); Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 34 (for Kansa treaty item); *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, pp. 51, 52 (for Atkinson-O'Fallon); *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 6, pp. 82, 92 (for Kennerly diary); T. D. Bonner's *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth* (New York, 1856), pp. 31, 32; S. W. Kearny's ms. diary is in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, but the items above, were supplied by Dale L. Morgan; *KHQ*, v. 26, p. 361; *History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1885), p. 100; other data on Curtis, Eley, and Woods from letters July, 1961, Dale L. Morgan to L. Barry.

¶ In 1821 (it is said) Francis G. Chouteau established a Missouri river fur depot about three miles below the mouth of the Kansas for the French Fur Company [*i. e.*, the Berthold, Pratte & Chouteau partnership which late in 1826 became the American Fur Company's Western Department]. Apparently the first license for that company to operate below the Council Bluffs was granted on August 21, 1822—to Chouteau, Berthold, and Pratte, to trade with the Sac, Fox, Iowa, Kansa, Ponca, and Otoe Indians, on the Missouri.

The partners had received licenses on July 19 to trade on the Missouri above the Council Bluffs, and on the Platte; and on the same date Francis G. Chouteau obtained a two-year license to trade with the Kansa and Osage Indians on the Kansas river [where he maintained his "Four Houses" post—see 1819].

Various 19th century writers indicated that the 1821(?) depot was on the right (or Kansas City) bank of the river. (The 1878 reminiscences of John C. McCoy, the 1881 Jackson county history, and the 1881 Miller history of Kansas City, Mo., are three examples.) From the accounts of two persons who were on the scene in the 1820's it seems clear that the short-lived post (destroyed by flood in 1826) was on the left (or Randolph Bluffs) bank of the Missouri [near the Chouteau bridge of today].

(1) In the summer of 1823 Prince Paul of Wuertemberg (*see, also*, under 1823) spent several days at the cabin of "Grand Louis" Bertholet and family on the left (Randolph Bluffs) side of the Missouri, about three miles below the mouth of the Kansas; and hunted on the Indians' land across the river, where Kansas City, Mo., now extends. The Bertholet cabin was, apparently, the fur depot Francis G. Chouteau had founded two(?) years earlier.

In 1825, and presumably in 1823, Louis Bertholet lived on Sec. 18, T. 50, R. 32, Clay co., Mo. [Ref: *History of Clay and Platte Counties* . . . , p. 113.]

(2) Frederick Chouteau (reminiscing in 1880) stated: "I came to Randolph, Clay county, Missouri, about two miles below Kansas City, on the opposite side of the Missouri river, in the fall of 1825, October or November. . . . My brothers, Francis and Cyprian, were trading there."

Bvt. Maj. S. W. Kearny (ascending the Missouri with Gen. Henry Atkinson and party) noted in his diary on October 12, 1824:

Started [from near Liberty, Mo.] at day break; morning cool, frosty & a heavy fog on the water. made 3½ to breakfast came up to Mr. Chouteaus Trading House to dinner, where we found the *Kickapoos*, & the *Kansas* were expected to-morrow made some purchases: In the afternoon passed the *Kansas River* & halted one mile above it, on the left Bank, opposite to *Curtis & Ely's* Trading House, having made 16 miles.

A year later (see October, 1825, entry) a journalist with Atkinson's party *descending* the Missouri made reference to "Chateau's place," but he, too, failed to state on which bank of the river it was located. If James P. ("Jim") Beckwourth's account of his own adventures in the winter of 1825-1826 (an account known to be partly fanciful) can be credited, he spent the early months of 1826 (till the ice on the Missouri broke up in the spring) "packing peltries" at "G. Choteau's trading-post" ["G." meaning Gesseau—Francis Gesseau Chouteau] for \$25 a month wages.

The Kansas City and Jackson county histories referred to above also say that Francis G. Chouteau brought his family to the fur depot the same year it was established. McCoy (an 1830 arrival in the Kansas City area) gave a different account. His statement: "Col. C[houteau] established a trading post on the south [right] bank of the river opposite the Randolph bluffs three miles below the city in 1821, and brought up his family and servants from St. Louis the next year[!], in barges occupying more than a month in the voyage." Apparently neither 1821 nor 1822 was correct since Prince Paul did not find the Chouteau family in the fur depot vicinity in the summer, or fall, of 1823. It would seem, then, that Mrs. Berenice Therese (Menard) Chouteau, and children, did not arrive before *late* 1823, or till 1824 (unless they were at the "Four Houses" post up the Kansas, which the Prince did not visit).

Ref: *The History of Jackson County, Missouri* . . . (Kansas City, Mo., 1881), pp. 102, 378; W. H. Miller's *The History of Kansas City* (Kansas City, 1881), pp. 9, 10; John C. McCoy's reminiscences in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal*, December 12, 1878 (or, see "Kansas Reminiscences Clippings," p. 113, in KHi); *South Dakota Historical Collections*, v. 23, pp. 300-318 (for Prince Paul), but also see 1823 annals entry; KHC, v. 8, p. 423 (for Frederick Chouteau); G. J. Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City* . . . (Chicago, 1920), pp. 14, 15; C. R. Barns, ed., *The Commonwealth of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1877), pp. 748, 749 (for items on Mrs. Bertholet and Mrs. Chouteau); 18th Cong., 1st Sess., *Ex. Doc. No. 7* (Serial 93) for abstract of Indian licenses; S. W. Kearny's ms. diary is in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, but the above quotation came to

this writer from Dale L. Morgan, of the Bancroft Library; Bonner, *op. cit.*, p. 32. Frederick Chouteau in a May 5, 1880, letter to W. W. Cone (in KHi ms. division) stated that Mrs. Francis Chouteau had a child born in Kansas "over fifty years ago," and that "she came here 5 or 6 years before me" [before he came in 1828 as a trader].

1822

¶ In the spring White Hair and his band of Osages (who had lived on the Neosho river in present Kansas since about 1815) returned to the vicinity of the Great Osage village [in what is now Vernon county, Mo.] and set up a town within seven or eight miles of Harmony Mission. (They occupied it for a few months only. See autumn entry below.)

Ref: Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

¶ Andrew Henry and William H. Ashley (who had formed a fur trade partnership in the summer of 1821), outfitted a large company of young men (including Jedediah Smith, James Bridger, Mike Fink, Moses "Black" Harris, and John H. Weber) in March; obtained licenses to enter the Indian country; and in April started their first expedition up the Missouri. Henry with a part of the company set out by keelboat; and Daniel S. D. Moore (with whom Smith traveled) started out with another boat in May. The second one sank below Fort Osage, but Ashley outfitted a third boat, pick up his stranded men, and joined forces with his partner in October at the mouth of the Yellowstone river where Henry built a fort as operational base for the trappers. (Ashley returned to St. Louis in the late fall. See, also, 1823.)

Ref: Dale L. Morgan's *Jedediah Smith* . . . (Indianapolis and New York, c1953), pp. 23, 26-29; also a letter by Dale L. Morgan, of July 15, 1961, to L. Barry, supplying data not only for the above entry, but for several other entries in this chronology—information of much value, which would otherwise have been unavailable to this writer, and acknowledged here with gratitude; *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 11, p. 12; J. Cecil Alter's *James Bridger* . . . (Salt Lake City, c1925), pp. 4-8; D. M. Frost's *Notes on General Ashley* . . . (Worcester, 1945), p. 59.

¶ Father Charles De La Croix, the first (Catholic) missionary to visit the Osages of western Missouri, came on horseback from Florissant, Mo., in the spring. Between May 5 and 12, at the Chouteau trading post [near present Papinsville, Mo.] he baptized 20 Osages, mostly French half-breed children. The first name on the list under the May 5th date was Antoine Chouteau (born in 1817), whose father was trader and subagent Paul Liguette Chouteau. (See, also, under August.)

Ref: Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 1, pp. 178-182; also, his *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City*, pp. 23-25.

¶ Signed on May 6 was an act abolishing the United States trading houses for Indian tribes. Among the establishments to be discon-

tinued were the Fort Osage factory, and its branch on the Marais des Cygnes [in present Bates county, Mo.]. (The nonprofit government system had been in existence since 1796.)

Ref: *Laws of the United States of America* (Washington City, 1827), v. 7, pp. 53-55; F. S. Cohen's *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Washington, 1942), p. 10.

¶ Benjamin Cooper, his nephews Braxton and Stephen Cooper, and 12 other men left Franklin, Mo., early in May on a trading expedition to New Mexico. It is said their pack animals carried goods worth \$4,000 to \$5,000. They followed the Arkansas river to the mountains then turned southward to Taos. (On June 13, in present western Kansas, they met the east-bound Glenn-Fowler and McKnight-James party.)

Cooper, part of his original company, and some from Becknell's, recrossed present Kansas in September; and by early October had reached home again. Their expedition had been a profitable venture.

Ref: Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* . . . (New York, London, 1844), v. 1, p. 22; *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, Mo., October 8, 1822 (reprinted in *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 4, pp. 67, 68); Coues, *op. cit.*, p. 154; James' *Three Years* . . . , pp. 167, 168. "The Book of the Muleteers" published in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, August 5 and 19, 1825 (and reprinted in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, Santa Fe, v. 17, pp. 289-293), may have described the above expedition.

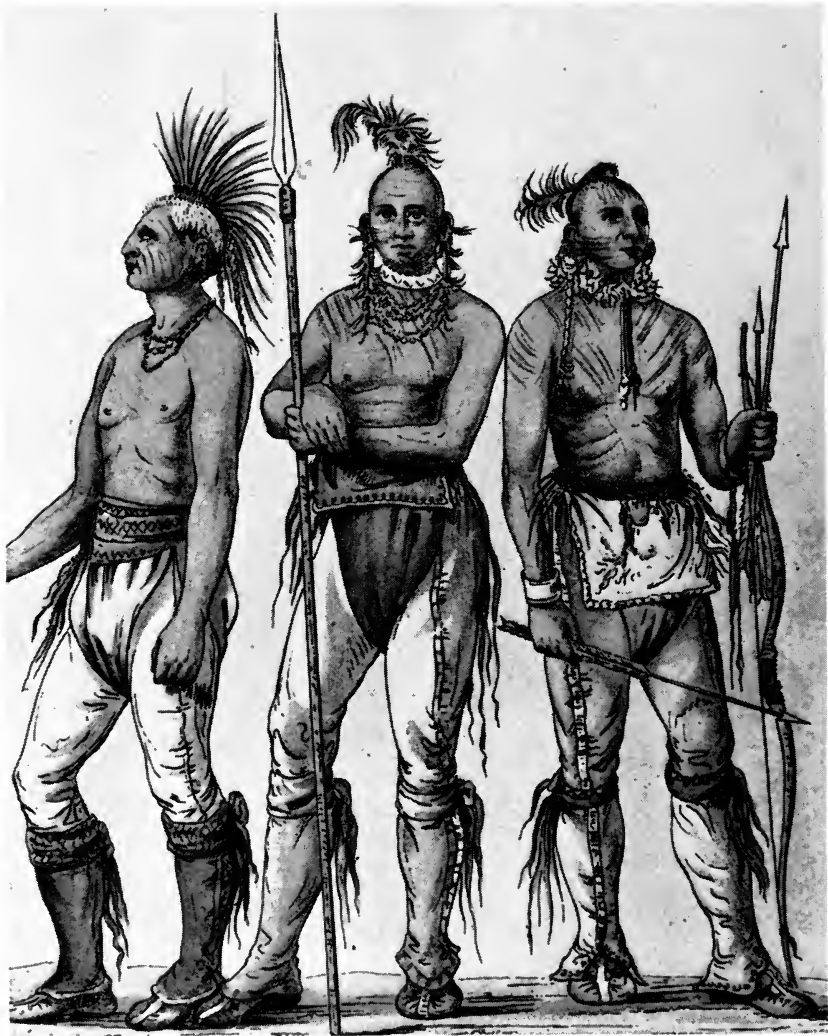
¶ Heading a mounted company of 21 men, with three loaded wagons (the first to be taken from Missouri overland to Santa Fe), William Becknell left Fort Osage about May 25 on his second trading expedition to New Mexico. Again his route varied to some extent from the soon-established road. Becknell's party crossed the Arkansas before reaching the Great Bend. It was probably in present Rice county that his company forded that river one June day, and camped on the right bank. During the night 28 horses strayed—frightened by buffalo. Eighteen were found, but two of the searchers met some "rascally Osages" who whipped them, took their horses, guns, and clothing. A third man was rescued by trader Auguste P. Chouteau who was at the Indians' camp.

While Becknell's company remained in the vicinity for six days (trying to recover the stolen animals), "Mr. Heath's company" came up and joined them. The combined parties continued up the Arkansas (along the south bank) for eight days [to present Ford county], then struck southwest across the Cimarron desert. They reached San Miguel (where some of Heath's company stopped) 22 days later. Becknell went on to Santa Fe.

Of his trip back to Missouri (probably in October), Becknell stated only that "we took a different course from that pursued on our way out which considerably shortened the route and arrived at Fort Osage in 48 days."



"Arrival of the Caravan at Santa Fe" (from Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*, first published in 1844). The earliest extensive use of wheeled vehicles on the trail was in 1824, when 20 dearborns, two road wagons, two carts, and one "small piece of cannon" were in the Santa Fe-bound trading caravan.



Three "distinguished and ambitious young men . . . of the best families in the Osage nation"—according to Artist George Catlin, who painted them in 1834.

"These portraits," he added, "set forth fairly the modes of dress and ornaments of the young men of the tribe, from the tops of their heads to the soles of their feet. The only dress they wear in warm weather is the breech-cloth, leggings, and moccasins of dressed skins, and garters worn immediately below the knee, ornamented profusely with beads and wampum."

Elsewhere, Catlin wrote: "The Osages may justly be said to be the tallest race of men in North America . . . few . . . of the men . . . are less than six feet in stature, and very many of them six and a half, and others seven feet."



Duke Paul Wilhelm of Wuerttemberg in 1844. As a prince in 1823, on his first journey to North America, he traveled up the Missouri in the summer of 1823 and returned in the fall.

A planned excursion up the Kansas, in June, was abandoned when the hordes of mosquitoes his party encountered a few miles upriver spoiled the outing. ("Photograph" reproduced, by permission, from the *New Mexico Historical Review*, Albuquerque, July, 1942.)

On verso—→

A section of the Fremont-Gibbs-Smith map, reproduced from Robert W. Baughman's *Kansas in Maps*. The dotted line following up the Kansas and Republican rivers, then looping northeast to the Platte, shows the route Jedediah Smith and fur trappers took in the winter of 1825-1826. (See last 1825 entry.)



William Becknell was, probably, the first to suggest publicly (in an April, 1823, newspaper) that "An excellent road may be made from Fort Osage to Santa Fe. Few places would require much labor to make them passable."

Ref: Becknell's brief 1822 journal (first published in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, Mo., April 22, 1823) as reprinted in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 2, pp. 65-67, and in *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 4, pp. 79-81; *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, Mo., October 8, 1822, April 22, 1823; James' *Three Years* . . . , pp. 175, 176. *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 23 (November 23, 1822), p. 177, carried an item, from an unidentified source, on the party of traders under "col. Cooper" [i. e., William Becknell] which had "arrived [at Santa Fe] with three wagons loaded with goods, to the great astonishment of the people. In return for his goods, colonel Cooper [Becknell] brought back specie and mules. . . ."

¶ From Taos, N. M., on June 1 the Glenn-Fowler and McKnight-James companies (*see* 1821) started East together. With the latter group was Robert McKnight, reunited with his brother John after nine years in Spanish custody. The united force had over 140 horses and mules—83 belonged to the McKnight-James party.

About June 11 they entered present Kansas and struck the Arkansas (after crossing what is now the southeast corner of Colorado on a direct—and original—northeast course). They followed up the south bank. On the 13th they met Cooper's westbound party (traveling up the north side of the river). On the 18th and 19th they encountered large numbers of Pawnees (fortunately not war-minded). Also on June 19th, in the Great Bend area [present Barton county], the two companies (traveling separately since the 14th) took divergent routes.

THE MCKNIGHT-JAMES PARTY continued down the Arkansas (spending one day at an Osage camp [in present Reno? county] in which were Auguste P. Chouteau and other French traders), as far as the Little Arkansas. Crossing it, they traveled eastwardly; followed an Osage trail to the Neosho; forded that stream in present Neosho county. (On the way they met more Osages, for the most part friendly.) Three days east of the Neosho they crossed into Missouri, and camped in what is now Vernon county, Mo. While they slept, Osages stole 38 of Thomas James' best animals. Finding pursuit futile, the party proceeded to the Chouteau trading post [near present Papinsville, Mo.] six miles distant. The McKnights, James, and several others then traveled by canoe and pirogue down the Osage and Missouri to St. Louis; the rest went overland with the remaining horses and mules. The journey to eastern Missouri was concluded about mid-July.

THE HUGH GLENN-JACOB FOWLER COMPANY camped June 19 on the Arkansas in what is now western Rice county; left the river next day on a course "north 60 East." By a devious and circuitous route, which took them southward as far as present Butler county, and then northeastward across Chase, Lyon, Osage, Douglas, and Johnson counties of today, they entered Missouri, near present Kansas City, on July 5, and reached Fort Osage that night. Around the middle of July they were in St. Louis.

Ref: Coues, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-174; James' *Three Years* . . . , pp. 161-186.

¶ A large delegation of Western Cherokees (from Arkansas territory), and 150 of Clermont's band of Osages (from present Oklahoma), after counciling at Fort Smith, settled their tribal differences and signed a peace treaty on August 9. (Designed to end more than a decade of warfare between the two nations, the treaty was not entirely effective for Osage-Cherokee clashes were renewed in 1823 and continued in succeeding years.)

Ref: Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-139, 147-150.

¶ In August the Rev. Charles De La Croix, on his second visit to the Osages (of Missouri), spent some three weeks among them. He performed 12 baptisms on August 11, and one on the 16th. As in May, sponsors for some of the half-breed children who received the rite were traders Paul Liguette Chouteau and Pierre Melicour Papin. It is probable that Father De La Croix visited the Osage towns on the Neosho [in Neosho, and Labette? counties of today] at some time during August. (On the 31st he was a witness to the treaty noted below.)

Ref: Garraghan's *Jesuits* . . . , v. 1, pp. 178-182; *KHQ*, v. 8, p. 209; *KHC*, v. 16, p. 749.

¶ At the Fort Osage sub-factory on the Marais des Cygnes [in present Bates county, Mo.] on August 31, the Osages, by treaty, and in return for merchandise worth \$2,329.40 from the Fort Osage post, released the United States from its obligation (under the 1808 treaty) to maintain the trading establishment at Fort Osage. (Agent for winding up the post's affairs was Samuel Blunt; Paul Baillio, factor, handled the closing of the Marais des Cygnes branch.)

Ref: C. J. Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), v. 2, pp. 201, 202, 18th Cong. 2d Sess., *Ex. Doc. No. 61* (Serial 116).

¶ Early in September when most of the Great Osages of Missouri left to go on their fall hunt, the missionaries at Harmony [in present Bates county, Mo.] reported: "It is understood . . . they do not intend to return to their late residence but to establish themselves sixty or seventy miles from this station."

On September 26, in the journal of Union Mission [in Mayes county, Okla., of today], it was recorded:

Mr. August P. Cheauteau with a party of Indians from White Hair's village called here. A boat of his had arrived at the mouth of Grand [or Neosho] River with goods to trade with the Indians. He intends to form an establishment on this river [about 15 miles] above this place and states that White Hair's people have left their town with the intention of moving to this [Grand or Neosho] river. [Auguste P. Chouteau took over the trading house (where Salina, Okla., is today) previously run by his associate—the half-breed Joseph Revoir (killed by Cherokees in June, 1821).]

And in the Union Mission journal of October 17 was the comment: "Last evening arrived a company of White Hair's Indians. This is the first visit from that part of the nation. It appears that they are in an unsettled state and have not selected a place for their new home."

(On August 20, 1823, when the Osages were assembled in present Bates county, Mo., to receive their annuities, the Harmony Mission journal stated: ". . . In his talk, the Agent [Richard Graham] requested them to decide whether they would live at Neosho [in present Kansas], or at the Osage river [in Missouri], that he might know where to build houses for his interpreter and blacksmith. They finally determined to remain at Neosho." After August, 1823, there were still some Osages left in Missouri, particularly in a Little Osage village about 14 miles from Harmony Mission.)

Ref: Graves, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 179-182; Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 142, 143.

¶ In the autumn Missouri Fur Company peltries reportedly valued at \$24,000 were brought down the Missouri from the Yellowstone country. The scope of revived interest in the fur trade was indicated by a St. Louis newspaper's comment (in September):

Since the abolition of the United States' factories a great activity has prevailed in the operation of . . . [the fur] trade. Those formerly engaged in it have increased their capital and extended their enterprize; many new firms have engaged in it, and others are preparing to do so. It is computed that a thousand men, chiefly from this place, are now employed in this trade on the waters of the Missouri, and half that number on the Upper Mississippi. The Missouri fur company . . . alone employs upwards of 300 men. . . .

Ref: *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 23 (September 28, and November 16, 1822), pp. 53, 164; *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, Mo., September 17, October 29, 1822; H. C. Dale's *The Ashley-Smith Explorations* . . . (Cleveland, 1918), p. 64.

1822-1823

¶ James Baird and Samuel Chambers (Spanish prisoners, along with Robert McKnight, from 1812 to 1821), and a company of traders left the St. Louis area in August, en route to New Mexico. (According to one 1822 report there were 20 men and 60 pack animals; another described it as a company of 50 persons; and in 1823 it was stated 40 men had made up the party.) Whatever their number, the adventurers made a late start out of Missouri, and experienced difficulties.

On the Arkansas, in present Ford county, they were caught in a blizzard; took shelter (on a large island, it is said); and were stranded for three months during a severe winter, when most of their animals perished. In the early spring of 1823 they dug deep pits in a slope on the north side of the river above their winter camp, secreted their merchandise, and proceeded to Taos where they obtained pack animals, came for their goods, then retraced the route

to New Mexico. (Baird and Chambers remained in the Southwest; but others in the party reached St. Louis in the summer and autumn.)

The excavations the Baird-Chambers party had made were known thereafter as "the Caches," and remained for years a noted landmark on the Santa Fe trail [about five miles west of present Dodge City]. In 1846 a woman traveler (Mrs. Susan Shelby Magoffin) wrote in her diary: ". . . 'the Caches' . . . are large holes dug in the ground somewhat the shape of a jug. . . . They are situated about a quarter of a mile from the River, on rather an elevated piece of ground, and within a hundred yards of the road, which runs at present between them and the river. They are quite as noted as any point on the road and few travellers pass without visiting them. . . ."

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Enquirer*, September 2, 1822; *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, September 3, 1822 (reprinted in *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 23, p. 177); *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, August 27, November 8, 1823; *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 15, pp. 190, 191; Stella M. Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fe Trail . . . the Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin . . .* (New Haven, 1926), pp. 53, 54. Alphonse Wetmore in his *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (1837), p. 269, called the pits "Anderson's Caches on the Arkansas."

1823

¶ The keelboats *Yellow Stone Packet* and *The Rocky Mountains* carried the second large Ashley-Henry fur expedition up the Missouri along the present northeast Kansas boundary in April. (They had left St. Louis on March 10 with 70 or more persons aboard.) Led by William H. Ashley, the company on this trip included such young men as Thomas Fitzpatrick, William Sublette, Hugh Glass, and James Clyman.

On June 2, at the Arikara villages, in what is now South Dakota, the Indians defeated and routed Ashley's men in a treacherous surprise attack. In the battle 13 trappers or boatmen were killed, 11 were seriously wounded (two died later); and all of the party's horses were lost. From Fort Atkinson [Neb.] Col. Henry Leavenworth led a punitive expedition against the Arikaras in July and August. It ended, indecisively, in negotiations, and a peace treaty on August 11.

Ref: Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-77; *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 11, p. 12; J. E. Sunder's *Bill Sublette Mountain Man* (Norman, Okla., c1959), pp. 34-45; L. R. Hafen and W. J. Ghent, *Broken Hand; the Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick* (Denver, 1931), pp. 18-30; C. L. Camp, ed., *James Clyman American Frontiersman . . .* (San Francisco, 1928), pp. 12-22; Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-126.

¶ About 30 men were in the Santa Fe-bound expedition captained by Stephen Cooper which left Missouri in May. Joel P. Walker was another leader of this company. Each trader had one or two pack horses and an average of about \$200 in goods. On June 1 on the bank of the Little Arkansas [present Rice? county] Indians stampeded and ran off all but six of their horses. Cooper and five others went back to Missouri to buy more animals. When they returned to

their party they found some 1,500(?) Kansa (on a buffalo hunt) camped near by. Cooper took his company over the Cimarron desert route where they nearly succumbed to thirst; but finding water in time, they reached Santa Fe safely.

On their return to Missouri in November(?), it was reported they had brought back "400 Jacks and Jennets and mules, a quantity of beaver and a considerable sum in species. . . ."

Ref: *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 4, pp. 69, 70; *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 25, (December 13, 1823), p. 230; *History of Howard and Chariton Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1883), pp. 153, 154; Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 251, 252; a Joel P. Walker narrative in the Bancroft Library is noted in *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. 14, p. 43n.

¶ John McKnight (of the 1822 McKnight-James expedition to New Mexico) was killed by Comanches in May, in the country south of the North Fork of the Canadian.

(The McKnight brothers, John and Robert, with Thomas James and some 20 others had taken a pack train up the North Fork in the early part of the year. While most of the company began to construct a trading "fort" in what is now Blaine county, Okla., McKnight and three others went to locate the Comanches. After leaving the Indians' camp alone he was slain.)

Ref. James' *Three Years* . . . , pp. 190-227; *Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, July 22, 1823; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, July 30, 1823.

¶ Prince (later Duke) Paul Wilhelm of Wuerttemberg and his hired hand Louis Caillou spent the night of June 16 at the new town of Liberty, Mo. Next day, on horseback, they traveled "five miles on the slope of a chain of hills" to the cabin of "Grand Louis" Bertholet (and his family) on the Missouri's left bank, some three miles below the mouth of the Kansas—a site later known as Randolph Bluffs, Mo.

Prince Paul, 25, traveler and naturalist, had arrived at New Orleans in December, 1822. At St. Louis in May, 1823, he had obtained passage up the Missouri for himself and two employees on a keelboat of the "French Northwest Trading Company" [*i. e.*, the Berthold, Pratte & Chouteau firm]. At Franklin on June 12 the Prince and Caillou had left the slow-moving boat (after arranging a mouth-of-the-Kansas rendezvous), and set out overland for that vicinity. They had proceeded mostly afoot, crossing the Missouri twice, and reaching Liberty, Mo., on the 16th.

"Grand Louis" Bertholet's cabin was Prince Paul's headquarters for several days. [This was, apparently, the fur depot which Francis G. Chouteau established about 1821. See 1821-1822.] On June 18 the Prince crossed the Missouri to hunt [in present Kansas City, Mo.]. Intense heat, nettles, and dense forest made the going difficult, and he brought back only one deer. Three days later, in company with Caillou, "Grand Louis," and a man named Roudeau, he went in a pirogue to the Kansas river. Before ascending it, he paid a visit to the "two large houses" of fur traders "Curtis and

Woods" [see 1821-1822 entry] which were "scarcely more than a half mile further up on the right bank of the Missouri" [in present Kansas City, Kan.]. Of this place Prince Paul wrote:

Neither of them [Cyrus Curtis; Andrew Woods] was at home but the wife of the latter was there. She was a creole, a daughter of old Mr. Chauvin . . . [of] St. Charles. The whole population of this little settlement consists of only a few persons, creoles and halfbreeds, whose occupation is the trade with the Kansas Indians, some hunting and agriculture. Here I also found a youth of sixteen years of age, whose mother . . . [Sacajawea], had accompanied the Messrs. Lewis and Clark, as an interpreter, to the Pacific Ocean, in 1804-1806. This Indian woman married the French interpreter, Toussaint Charbonneau. Charbonneau later served me in the capacity of interpreter, and Baptiste, his son, whom I mentioned above, joined me on my return, followed me to Europe and has since then been with me. I remained for dinner with Mrs. Woods and after the meal went to the Kansas again.

Marie Louise Chauvin Woods, wife of Andrew Woods (and daughter of Francis and Helene Tayon Chauvin) was, perhaps, the first white woman to reside in present Kansas, and has the distinction of being the first white female "Kansas" resident whose name is known.

The Prince and his party proceeded "eight English miles up stream" and "spent the night without food on a sandbar" of the Kansas river. Their next day's (June 22) hunt was hampered by insects. Wrote Prince Paul:

. . . we were swarmed about and covered by mosquitoes to such an extent that we could scarcely see and recognize each other at a distance of twenty paces.

But "Grand Louis" killed a large black bear, and "turtle eggs and bear meat afforded . . . a delicious noonday meal." Because of the mosquitoes the Prince gave up his plan to go further up the Kansas.

On June 24 Prince Paul and Caillou set out *down* the Missouri—their craft two small canoes tied together and a seat put across—to hunt for the slow-to-arrive fur company boat. They got as far as recently-abandoned "picturesque" Fort Osage that evening; and next morning met and boarded the upbound keelboat.

Reaching "Grand Louis" Bertholet's cabin again on July 4, the Prince learned that Kansa chief Wa-kan-ze-re (the American Chief) and his band were camped across the river [opposite Randolph Bluffs] waiting to meet him. He went over in a canoe and was the honored guest among the Indians. (In his diary Prince Paul made some notes on the Kansa, particularly of their appearance, clothing, and weapons.) Next day, the American Chief and several other Kansa repaid the visit, and there was an exchange of gifts.

The keelboat continued upstream on July 6. The Prince caught up with it and went aboard on the 7th. As they proceeded he noted such landmarks as the *old* Kansa "Village of the Twelve," "Ile a la vache" (Cow Island), and the "Village de vingt quatre" (Village of 24—the second *old* Kansa town). On July 18 they passed the mouth of Wolf river [in present Doniphan county]; and on that same date the Prince noted in his account:

The whole day long canoes with men of Mr. [William H.] Ashley's party had come down the stream. Most of them were wounded men, who had taken part in the fight with the Arikaras. . . .

Prince Paul's river journey ended above the Platte's mouth on July 29. During August he visited the Otoes, and then traveled overland to the Missouri Fur Company's post near the White river's mouth [in present South Dakota], where his host was Joshua Pilcher. He returned to the Council Bluffs (by boat) on September 9. On the 17th he left Fort Atkinson (accompanied by Capt. Bennet Riley, a few soldiers, and an interpreter) and journeyed overland to the Pawnee villages. During his three-day stay among the Grand Pawnees and the Pawnee Loups (on the Loup Fork of the Platte) he was given honored and preferential treatment. Returning to the fort on September 29 the Prince then continued (by boat) down the Missouri again on October 2. At the mouth of the Kansas, on the 9th, a stop of a few hours was made. (As noted above, Baptiste Charbonneau there joined Prince Paul and accompanied him to Europe.) They arrived at St. Louis on October 24.

Ref: *South Dakota Historical Collections*, v. 19 (1938), pp. [7]-471, contains Wm. G. Bek's translation from the German of *First Journey to North America in the Years 1822 to 1824*, by Duke Paul Wilhelm of Wuertemberg, originally published at Stuttgart in 1835. For notes on "Grand Louis" Bertholet, see Louis Houck's *Spanish Regime in Missouri* (Chicago, 1909), v. 2, pp. 381, 391 (note 31); C. R. Barns, ed., *The Commonwealth of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1877), pp. 15, 748, 749; and Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City*, pp. 18, 121. For trader Cyrus Curtis see 1821-1822 entry. Data on Mrs. Andrew Woods from the *Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis; and from *The Bulletin*, v. 16, p. 16, of that Society. See 1821-1822 entry for Frederick Chouteau's statement on his brothers' Randolph Bluffs fur post; also Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City*, p. 14.

¶ Between September 3 and October 16 the western boundary of Missouri, from the mouth of the Kansas river southward, was surveyed by Joseph C. Brown, of St. Louis, for the federal government.

Ref: *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, August 13, 1823 (for item on survey party); the *Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis (which has Brown's field notes) supplied the inclusive dates.

¶ Returning from a raid against the Caddo Indians, some 200 Osages (led by Mad Buffalo, a son of Clermont) attacked a camp of Arkansas hunters on Blue Water river in present southern (Bryan county) Oklahoma, on November 17. During the battle five of the Arkansans (Curtis Welborn; men named Sloan, Lester, and Deterline, and a Negro, Ben) were killed; the camp was plundered; and 30 horses were taken.

In June, 1824, five Osages gave themselves up to Little Rock authorities. At trials held in November, Mad Buffalo and Little Eagle were convicted,

and sentenced to be hanged in December. (The other Osages were acquitted.) The executions were postponed; and on March 21, 1825, President Adams pardoned the two Indians. They were set free in May.

This incident particularly, plus other Indian depredations, focused attention on the need for military posts on the frontier. (See 1824.)

Ref: *Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, July 22, December 9, 16, 23, 1823, June 22, 1824; *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, January 15, 29, November 13, 27, 1824, June 4, 1825; *Niles' Weekly Register* (December 4, 1824), v. 27, p. 219; Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-201.

❧ Missionaries Epaphras Chapman and William C. Requa of Union Mission [in present Mayes county, Okla.], in December began a new Osage mission station, Hopefield, about four miles higher up Grand (Neosho) river, and on the opposite side.

In the spring of 1824 they moved their families from Union to Hopefield. Among the difficulties which the missionaries survived were devastating flood losses in 1826 and Indian troubles in the same year.

Ref: Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 245, 246; *History of American Missions* . . . , p. 171.

❧ Late in the year Auguste P. Chouteau (who had taken over the Osage trading post on Grand river [at present Salina, Okla.] in September, 1822) bought a post near the mouth of the Verdigris. A Union Mission report, dated December 10, stated:

Mr. Chouteau now owns the establishment formerly occupied by Messrs. Barber and Brand near the falls of the Verdigris, about four miles above its entrance into the Arkansas and 22 miles from this place.

Ref: Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 60. See, also, A. P. Chouteau's statement (1831) in 22d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 90* (Serial 213), p. 60.

❧ A man who called himself John Dunn Hunter had a book published at Philadelphia in 1823 under the title:

Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes Located West of the Mississippi; to Which Is Prefixed the History of the Author's Life During a Residence of Several Years Among Them.

As the more colorful title—*Memoirs of a Captivity Among the Indians of North America, From Childhood to the Age of Nineteen; with Anecdotes Descriptive of Their Manners and Customs*—of the London edition (also 1823) indicated, the writer claimed to have spent most of his first 20 years as an Indian captive—first among the Kickapoos; briefly with a Pawnee band; and for a span of years among the Kansa and Osages.

Hunter's popular work was accepted as factual in England; but in the United States the author was denounced as an imposter and his verisimilar autobiography was labeled fiction by such prominent men as William Clark ("It is not possible that he could have lived with the tribes he mentions, and gone through with the scenes he describes, without some knowledge of him,

and of his history, having reached me.”); Pierre Chouteau (“ . . . my acquaintance with the Osages has been since 1775 to this day [September 3, 1825], in the capacity of trader, agent, or otherwise, and . . . during that period, there never was any white boy living or brought up by them. . . .”); Baronet Vasquez (“ . . . I have been engaged in trade with the Kansas tribe of Indians nineteen years, between the years 1796 and 1824, and . . . during the whole of that time, there was no white man a prisoner, of any age or description among them; nor do I believe that such a circumstance has occurred for the last thirty years.”); and by John Dunn, a Missouri legislator, who wrote he had “never known such a person as John Dunn Hunter” (contrary to Hunter’s claim).

Ref: *North American Review*, Boston, v. 22 (January, 1826), pp. 105, 106 (for quotes—all from letters written in September, 1825). John Dunn Hunter was killed by Indians in 1827—see H. Yoakum’s *History of Texas* . . . (New York, 1856), v. 2, pp. 246-250.

1824

¶ Jedediah S. Smith “rediscovered” (or made the “effective discovery” of) the South Pass [in present Wyoming] in March, while he and a trapping party (including James Clyman and William Sublette) were seeking a way to the rich fur country beyond the Wind River mountains. (See 1812-1813 for an earlier discovery of the passageway.)

A hint of the future—that the South Pass would become the great emigrant route to Oregon and California—was to be found in a St. Louis newspaper item (reprinted widely) in the autumn of 1824:

We learn that his party [referring to Andrew Henry, partner of Smith’s employer, William H. Ashley] have discovered a passage by which loaded wagons can at this time reach the navigable waters of the Columbia River. This route lies South of the one explored by Lewis and Clarke, and is inhabited by Indians friendly to us.

Ref: Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-92, 154, 155; *Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, November 16, 1824; or, see *Niles’ Weekly Register*, v. 27 (December 4, 1824), p. 224.

¶ In April Cantonment Gibson was established by Col. Matthew Arbuckle and five companies of the Seventh U. S. infantry in present east-central Oklahoma—on the east side of the Grand (or Neosho) river about two miles from the “three forks” (the Grand, and Verdigris junctions with the Arkansas).

(Fort Gibson, for many years an important post in the Indian territory, was discontinued in 1857 as a military establishment, and turned over to the Cherokee Nation; but during the Civil War it was reoccupied, and not permanently abandoned till 1890.)

In May, some 120 miles to the south, Cantonment Towson was established by Maj. Alexander Cummings and two companies of

the Seventh infantry near the present Oklahoma-Texas boundary, not far from the mouth of the Kiamichi river.

(Fort Towson was abandoned as a military post in 1854.)

Ref: Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 193, 195, 196, 204, 205; W. B. Morrison's *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, c1936), pp. 28-58.

¶ The largest Santa Fe-bound caravan of the year (83 persons), which left the Franklin, Mo., area in mid-May, had 156 horses and mules, but was notable for its extensive use of wheeled vehicles (20 dearborns, two road wagons, two carts, and one "small piece of cannon"). The trading goods carried was estimated to total \$30,000. In this company were Alexander Le Grand (the elected captain), Meredith M. Marmaduke (later governor of Missouri), Augustus Storrs (soon to be U. S. consul at Santa Fe), and "other gentlemen of intelligence."

Except for the loss of some stock (frightened by buffalo), the traders' journey was without particular incident. They left the Arkansas on June 28 to take the Cimarron desert route; and reached Santa Fe a month later—their total trip an estimated 931 miles.

Most of the company returned to Missouri in September. It was reported they brought back \$180,000 in gold and silver, and furs valued at \$10,000. M. M. Marmaduke (whose "Journal of a Tour to New Mexico" is a principal source of information on the expedition) made the homeward journey in 1825.

Ref: *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 6, pp. 1-10 (for Marmaduke's diary as reprinted from the *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, September 2, 1825); *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. 29, p. 84; *Glimpses of the Past*, St. Louis, v. 5, pp. 70, 88-90; *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 27 (January 15, 1825), pp. 312-316 (for Storrs' statement).

¶ An act providing for the appointment of an agent for the Osage Indians west of the state of Missouri and Arkansas territory was signed on May 18 by President Monroe. Alexander McNair (ex-governor of Missouri) was appointed to the post on June 1. (Following McNair's death in the spring of 1826, John F. Hamtramck became Osage agent.)

Ref: *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America from . . . 1789 to . . . 1845* (Boston, 1854), v. 4, p. 25; Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 200; *KHQ*, v. 16, p. 2.

¶ MISSION NEOSHO—the first Indian mission and school in what is now Kansas—was started in mid-September by the Rev. Benton Pixley and his wife Lucia F. (Howell) Pixley, who came from Harmony. They had the use of a trader's log house located near a small Osage village on the Neosho's west bank [not far from present Shaw, Neosho county]. The site was some 60 miles west-southwest of Harmony Mission (*see* 1821), of which it was a branch; and about 110 miles north of Union Mission (*see* 1820). Before the end of the year the Pixleys opened a Protestant school for Osage children. Samuel B. Bright and his wife Charlotte

(Stocker) Bright were in charge of Mission Neosho's farm and household affairs during the early part of its existence.

Most of the near-by villagers soon moved to White Hair's town, about six miles distant, where other small Osage bands had also congregated, forming (as reported in 1828) a village of nearly 2,000 Indians (living in lodges or mud houses spread over four or five acres of land).

Because of the opposition of the Osages' traders and subagents, Mission Neosho was only modestly successful; and, following a controversy between Pixley and Agent John F. Hamtramck, the school and mission closed abruptly in the spring of 1829 after less than five years of operation.

(The Pixleys, who were married in August, 1812, eventually had a family of six children. A statement that some of them were born at Mission Neosho, while quite possibly correct, has not been verified. But *see* under 1827.)

Ref: Graves, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-196; *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions . . . at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting . . .* (1828), pp. 94, 95; *History of American Missions . . .*, pp. 171, 194, 340, 341.

¶ A delegation of 26 Spaniards (sent by Bartolome Baca, the New Mexican governor) traveled from Santa Fe to the Council Bluffs [Neb.] in the summer, and, with the assistance of Agent Benjamin O'Fallon and Fort Atkinson authorities, concluded a peace treaty with their long-time enemies—the Pawnee Indians. O'Fallon, arriving at Franklin, Mo., the latter part of September, reported the Spaniards were "highly delighted" with the reception given them and had left the Council Bluffs September(?) 11 on the homeward journey. Their route across present Kansas is not known.

Ref: *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 27 (November 6, 1824), p. 151; *see, also, ibid.* v. 26 (June 19, 1824), pp. 252, 253; *The Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 16, pp. 20-29.

¶ On September 30, a Robidoux trading (and trapping?) party headed by Isidore? Robidoux left the Council Bluffs bound for Santa Fe. It appears that young Antoine Robidoux, on his first trip to the southwest, was in this company. Presumably these traders crossed some part of what is now western Kansas on their way to New Mexico. (*See* under September, 1825, for return of this party.)

Ref: *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 6, p. 75; W. S. Wallace's *Antoine Robidoux, 1794-1860 . . .* (Los Angeles, 1953), pp. 10, 52.

¶ In November Augustus Storrs, of Franklin, Mo. (replying to queries addressed to him by Missouri's U. S. Sen. Thomas H. Benton) supplied a variety of information on the "Trade Between Missouri & Mexico" which was presented by Benton to the second session of the 18th Congress on January 3, 1825.

According to Storrs, three companies, in addition the large May caravan of which he was a member, had gone from Missouri to Santa Fe in 1824—

in February, August, and November; and the last one (departing November 10) had taken \$18,000 in goods. [William Becknell, on his third trip to New Mexico was in the August (?) party.]

Ref: 18th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. No. 7*; also, published in *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 27 (January 15, 1825), pp. 312-316; for Becknell, see *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 4, p. 81.

1825

¶ On March 3 a bill authorizing the President "to cause to be marked out" a road from Missouri's frontier to the New Mexican boundary, was signed by President Monroe (shortly before he left office). The act provided the sum of \$10,000 to survey and mark the road; and \$20,000 to treat with the Indians for a right of way. President Adams, on March 16, appointed three Santa Fe road commissioners: Benjamin H. Reeves (of Howard county, Mo.); Pierre Menard (who resigned and was replaced by Thomas Mather of Kaskaskia, Ill.); and George C. Sibley (of Fort Osage, Mo.). See, also, under July.

Ref: *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America From . . . 1789, to . . . 1845* (Boston, 1854), v. 4, pp. 100, 101; K. Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7.

¶ The caravan of 105 New Mexico-bound traders, with 34 wagons and 240 horses and mules, which stopped at Fort Osage on May 16 carried "a much larger & better assortment of merchandise" than any previously taken over the Santa Fe trail. Augustus Storrs was elected captain; Robert McKnight, Elisha Stanley, Ira Emmons, and men named Thompson and Shackleford drew up the company's code of laws. A party of 33 persons (which included a Doctor Willard of St. Charles, Mo.) probably part of the caravan, was, by Willard's account, beyond the Missouri settlements on May 16; at the Arkansas on June 8; and had reached Taos (by way of the Cimarron desert route) early in July.

Ref: *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 28 (July 16, 1825), p. 309; K. Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 216, 254, 264; James O. Pattie's . . . *Personal Narrative* . . . (1831), pp. 255-300, for Doctor Willard; or, see Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 18, pp. 325-347.

¶ A company of some 40 Tennesseans crossed present Oklahoma (traveling west from Fort Smith, Ark.) in May, en route to Santa Fe. Each trader was mounted, and led one or more goods-carrying pack horses.

Ref: Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

¶ At St. Louis, the Osages (on June 2), and the Kansa (on June 3), signed treaties with the United States (William Clark acting for the government) which (as described by Thomas L. McKenney of the Indian affairs office in a November 30 report) extinguished Indian titles to three or four million acres of land in the state of Missouri and Arkansas territory, and to nearly 100,000,000 acres west

of Missouri and Arkansas. Reservations within the latter acreage were secured to the Osages and Kansa, he noted: ". . . to the first, a tract of fifty miles front, parallel to, and about twenty-five miles West of, the Western boundary of Missouri, and to the Kansas a tract of thirty miles front, parallel also to the Western boundary of Missouri, and about fifty miles West of it; both running back to the Spanish line [*see* 1819]. A judicious arrangement as to space between those two reservations, and between the frontier of Missouri, has been effected. Thus, all the titles of Indians to lands within the limits of Missouri, except a few reservations, have been extinguished; and a country, represented to be fertile, and in all respects desirable, provided, and in sufficient extent, beyond the boundaries of Missouri and Arkansas, for the accommodation of all the tribes within the States, which, should they incline to occupy it, it is the policy of the Government to guarantee to them lasting and undisturbed possession. . . ."

The GREAT AND LITTLE OSAGES' *reserve* was described in the treaty of June 2 as follows: "Beginning at a point due east of White Hair's village [on the Neosho, in present Neosho county], and twenty-five miles west of the western boundary line of the State of Missouri, fronting on a north and south line, so as to leave ten miles north, and forty miles south, of the point of said beginning, and extending west, with the width of fifty miles, to the western boundary of the lands hereby ceded and relinquished. . . ." Their treaty also provided (1) for a government survey of the reserve; (2) payment of a \$7,000 tribal annuity for 20 years; (3) that the Osages would be furnished 600 head of cattle, 600 hogs, 1,000 domestic fowls, 10 yoke of oxen, six carts, some farming utensils; (4) that the government would support a blacksmith among them; (5) that a house for each of the four principal chiefs would be built at their respective villages. In addition to the tribal reserve, 640-acre tracts were specified for each of 42 Osage half-breeds (including Noel Mongrain's 10 children and four grandchildren; William Sherley "Old Bill" Williams' daughters Mary and Sarah; and James G. and Alexander Chouteau); 54 other tracts (of a mile square each) were reserved (these to be sold to provide funds for educating Osage children); two sections of land at Harmony Mission, and one at the Union establishment were also reserved.

The KANSA *land cession* was described in the treaty of June 3 as follows: "Beginning at the entrance of the Kansas river into the Missouri river; from thence north to the northwest corner of the State of Missouri; from thence westwardly to the Nodewa [Nodaway] river, thirty miles from its entrance into the Missouri; from thence to the entrance of the Big Nemahaw river into the Missouri, and from that river to its source; from thence to the source of the Kansas river, leaving the old village of the Pania [Pawnee] Republic to the west; from thence, on the ridge dividing the waters of the Kansas river from those of the Arkansas, to the western boundary of the State line of Missouri, and with that line, thirty miles, to the place of beginning."

The KANSA *reserve* was briefly described: "From the cession aforesaid

. . . a tract of land, to begin twenty leagues up the Kansas river, and to include their village [east of present Manhattan] on that river; extending west thirty miles in width, through the lands ceded in the first article. . . ." The treaty also provided (1) for a government survey of the reserve; (2) payment of a \$3,500 tribal annuity for 20 years; (3) that the Kansa would be furnished 300 head of cattle, 300 hogs, 500 domestic fowls, 3 yoke of oxen, two carts, farming implements; (4) that the government would support a blacksmith among them. In addition to the tribal reserve, 23 one-mile-square tracts were reserved for the Kansa half-breeds. These were to be located on the north side of the Kansas river "commencing at the [east] line of the Kansas reservation [not far west of present Topeka—North Topeka is on Tract No. 4], and extending down the Kansas river for quantity" [*i. e.*, for 23 miles—to the vicinity of present Williamstown, Jefferson county]. The Kansa half-breeds included four children of trader Louis Gonville, and two of Baptiste Gonville. On the Big Blue river (of Missouri) 36 sections of land were reserved (these to be sold to provide funds for educating Kansa children). The United States was granted "the right to navigate freely all water-courses or navigable streams" in the Kansa reserve. [Currently (1961) the tribal council of the Kaw (Kansa) Indians is seeking to have the bureau of Indian affairs file suit to quiet title on the 23 half-breed sections of land allotted under the above 1825 treaty, claiming there is a cloud on the land titles. See news stories in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, July 9, 1961, and Topeka *Daily Capital*, July 13, 1961.]

Ref: 19th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Ex. Doc. No. 1*, pp. 89-92 (Serial 131) for McKenney; Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 217-225.

¶ Headed for Missouri, and probably captained by Bailey Hardeman, a good-sized expedition of American and Mexican traders with "a great number of Mules, Asses, &c." (nearly 500, by report), set out from Santa Fe about June 1. They traveled towards the Canadian's headwaters; descended that river's left bank for some 300 miles; then set a course to the northeast; and reached the Arkansas river not far from present Wichita on July 12. As reported (to G. C. Sibley) by expedition members M. M. Marmaduke and James Moore, they met a large band of Osages "not far from the Mouth of the Little Arkansas, the 14th of July, by whom they were robbed of about 120 head of Animals, & some other property, and were otherwise illy Treated." (Osage Agent Alexander McNair later recovered some of the stolen stock.)

Ref: *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, August 15, 1825; *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 29 (September 24, 1825), p. 54, and v. 29 (October 22, 1825), p. 100; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 4, p. 84 (for item on Hardeman as captain); K. Gregg, *op. cit.* (for quote from Sibley's journal, July 27, 1825, entry).

¶ Between July and October (in present North and South Dakota, or at the Council Bluffs, [Neb.]) the following Indian tribes (in peace treaties with the United States) agreed not to molest American citizens who traversed the Santa Fe road: the Sioux and Ogallalabs (July 5); the Cheyennes (July 6); the Crows (August

4); the Otoes and Missouris (September 26); the Pawnees (September 30); the Mahas (October 6).

Ref: Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 230-261 *passim*.

¶ The Santa Fe road surveying-and-marking expedition (40 men; 57 horses and mules; seven baggage wagons) left Fort Osage on July 17. Heading the company were U. S. Commrs. Sibley, Reeves, and Mather (*see* March entry); their secretary Archibald Gamble; and surveyor Joseph C. Brown. Stephen Cooper was pilot and captain. The work party included such men as Benjamin Jones (one-time Astorian), Joseph R. Walker (later-famous mountain man), and Benjamin Majors (father of freighter-to-be Alexander Majors).

Reaching the Neosho on the morning of August 5 the expedition camped in a "Large & beautiful Grove of fine Timber" 160 miles from Fort Osage. Wrote George C. Sibley in his journal:

As we propose to Meet the Osage Chiefs in council Here, to negotiate a Treaty with them for the Road &c. I suggested the propriety of naming the place "Council Grove" which was agreed to, & Capt. Cooper directed to Select a Suitable Tree, & to record this name in Strong and durable characters—which was done. . . . From our camp, near the great Oak that is Marked, just at the eastern edge of the Grove, to the Crossing of the Nee Ozho the distance is 25 chains [550 yards].

Three days later about 50 Osages arrived with their interpreter William S. ("Old Bill") Williams. Next day a council was held; and on August 10 Chief White Hair (of the Great Osages), the Foolish Chief (of the Little Osages), and other leading men, signed a treaty giving the United States the right to mark the Santa Fe road through their land, and the free use of the road forever, in return for \$800 compensation.

Having hired Interpreter Williams for the rest of the journey, the commissioners sent him to the Kansa village (about 45 miles north—near present Manhattan) to summon the Kansa for a similar treaty council at a point farther west on the Santa Fe trail (where game was more plentiful). On "the Sora Kansas Creek" (a small branch of present Turkey creek, about five miles southeast of McPherson) some 50 Kansa came and counceled with the commissioners on the 15th, and signed a right-of-way treaty on August 16, receiving \$800 in payment. For the Kansa, their great chief Shone-gee-ne-gare signed first; followed by his eldest son Ke-hea-bash-ee [another name for the Fool Chief, apparently]; then Hu-ra-soo-gee, the red eagle" [probably the same as He-roch-che (the Real War Eagle) of the September, 1819, entry]; and other leaders. White Plume was not present, but a warrior signed as his deputy.

On September 11 the expedition reached a point on the Arkansas calculated to be the 100th meridian [the U. S.-Mexican boundary—see 1819]; and camped till the 20th in a futile wait for permission to extend the survey into Mexico. It was then agreed that Sibley, Brown, Williams, and nine others would continue on to Taos and Santa Fe (to obtain authority for continuing the survey); and that Reeves, Mather, Gamble, and the rest of the party would return to Missouri—which they did, reaching Fort Osage on October 25.

Sibley's party crossed the Arkansas on September 25; left the river on the 27th at Chouteau's Island; and struck out across the sand hills for Taos, arriving there on October 30. (A month later Sibley moved on to Santa Fe.)

It was June 16, 1826, before official permission came for examination (but no marking) of the Santa Fe road in Mexican territory. As stated in the report later prepared: "He [Sibley; and Joseph C. Brown] accordingly commenced a Survey at San Fernando [in the valley of Taos] on the 24th. of August, Ran it through the Mexican Territory, and on the 16th of September, connected it with the former [1825] Survey at the line, on the Arkansas River." Subsequently (between May and July, 1827—see 1827 entry), Sibley made some corrections in the *eastern* section of the 1825 survey.

Commrs. Mather, Reeves, and Sibley submitted their Santa Fe road report (written by Sibley) under date of October 27, 1827 (and Surveyor Brown's field notes also carried that date). The report (first printed in 1952, after 125 years had elapsed) presented a picture of the "Space between the Missouri River and the Rio Grande del Norte" which contrasted with Maj. Stephen Long's and Dr. Edwin James' "Great American Desert" descriptions (see 1820):

[It] . . . is occupied by an almost unbroken plain or Prairie. Taken as one great whole, this vast expanse . . . presents but little more variety of Surface, than the face of the Atlantic Ocean. Its features are generally proportioned to its great magnitude, except as to its Streams. Numerous Rivulets, Creeks & Small Rivers flow through it, the most of which are marked in their courses by narrow fringes of forest Trees, & thickets of underbrush. Prominent Ridges frequently occur, which . . . Relieve in Some degree, the dull *monotony* of the Scene. . . .

The Herbage of this Plain is in general Rich & luxuriant, consisting chiefly of Strong and Succulent Grasses, of many varieties; Some of which would doubtless prove valuable additions to the cultivated grasses of the United States. In the Season of flowers, a very large portion of this great plain presents one continual *carpet* of Soft verdure, enriched by flowers of every tint—these beauties afford pleasure for a time; but the traveller is apt Soon to lose the Relish for them, as he pursues his tedious way, under a cloudless Sky, and exposed to the unbroken Rays of a burning Sun, which, but for the brisk flow of air that usually prevails, would be Scarcely Supportable.

(In 1868 the Kansas legislature passed an act declaring the Santa

Fe road from the eastern to the western boundaries of Kansas, a state road.)

Ref: K. Gregg, *op. cit.*; Kansas State Historical Society's 18th Biennial Report, pp. 107-116 (for Santa Fe road data and map), and pp. 117-125 (for J. C. Brown's field notes); Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 246-250 (for Osage and Kansas treaties); *Special Laws of the State of Kansas* . . . 1868 (Lawrence, 1868), p. 83.

¶ With the errors and discrepancies that accompany an account written from memory, *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie, of Kentucky* . . . (edited by Timothy Flint) was published at Cincinnati in 1831. In it, young Pattie described his 1825-1830 adventures in the West. His "Kansas" experiences were limited to the late summer of 1825 [not 1824, as in the *Narrative*—see explanation below]. *But his account is particularly notable because it is one of the very few existing records of a journey to New Mexico in the 1820's from the Council Bluffs area; and to describe a route north of the Kansas river.*

In July, 1825, at the Bernard Pratte & Co. trading post [six miles or so below Fort Atkinson], a large New Mexico-bound expedition (112 men; 300 mules and some horses) was outfitted, and placed in charge of Sylvester Pratte (Bernard's 26-year-old son) who arrived from St. Louis on July 26. At a rendezvous camp on the Platte river in early August, this company was augmented by Sylvester Pattie (a War of 1812 hero), his son James Ohio Pattie, and two other tyro traders (whose upper-Missouri trip had foundered for lack of an Indian trading license).

The expedition moved upstream on August 6, to the Pawnee Loup village. After five days there (during which Pratte bought 600 buffalo skins and some horses; and Sylvester Pattie ransomed a captive Indian child), the journey to the southwest, across the Plains, began on August 11.

The route cannot be determined with any accuracy from young Pattie's account. It would appear this expedition reached the Republican fork on the 19th; repelled an attack by Arikaras on the 22d (the Indians lost five warriors); encountered large herds of buffalo and wild horses on the 26th; reached, that evening, what Pattie referred to as "a fork of the Platte called Hyde Park" [a *Republican* tributary], in an area where there were "multitudes of prairie dogs"; attacked a Crow camp (after finding the arrow-riddled bodies of two white men) on August 31 (killing 30 Indians and losing one man); arrived at the Republican-Smoky Hill dividing ridge on September 9; had an encounter with a grizzly bear on the 11th (one man died of wounds received); came to a fork of "Smoke Hill river" on the 14th [they were probably in far-western Kansas of today at this time]; and after some fairly steady traveling, reached the Arkansas river [in present eastern Colorado] on September 22. A

little over a month later (October 26)—11 weeks after leaving the Loups' village—the large trading expedition arrived at Taos.

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 18 (in which Pattie's *Narrative* is reprinted). To Dale L. Morgan, of the Bancroft Library, I am indebted for information (generously offered) that he has ascertained Pattie to be a year off in his dates—that Bernard Pratte & Co's. expedition went to New Mexico in 1825, not 1824. This is fully established by documents in the "Chouteau Collection," Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. In that perspective, a corroborative note is added by the James Kennerly diary entry of July 27, 1825, at Fort Atkinson: ". . . young Pratte & party arrived last night from St Louis at Mr Cabannies" [J. P. Cabanne operated the trading post]. Kennerly's published diary (1823-1826) is in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 6, pp. 50-97 (for above quote see p. 78). George C. Sibley, at Taos, N. M., mentioned "Messrs. Pratt, Robidoux and others" as recent arrivals there under date of November 12, 1825—see K. Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 114, also, see p. 150.

¶ Indian traders who obtained licenses during 1825 which specifically entitled them to trade (for one year) *at the mouth of the Kansas river* were:

<i>License issued to</i>	<i>Date of license</i>
Joshua Pilcher, Lucien Fontenelle,)	
William Vanderburgh, Charles Bent,)	July 4
& Andrew Drips)	
Bernard Pratte & Co. [Pratte, Chouteau & Berthold]	July 5
Russel Farnham [associated with the American Fur Company]	August 17
Michel Robidoux	October 8

On December 5 Bernard Pratte & Co. was also licensed to trade at the "Kansas Village, on Kansas River."

Ref: 19th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Doc. 118* (Serial 136); 19th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 58* (Serial 146). See *KHQ*, v. 18, pp. 159, 160, for an 1841 "Kansas" item on Michel Robidoux. An account of Russel Farnham is in *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Portland, v. 24, pp. 338-344. He had been a witness to the Kansa treaty of June 8, 1825, at St. Louis.

¶ On August 30 (11 months after setting out for New Mexico—see September, 1824, entry) a Robidoux trading party returned to the Council Bluffs [Neb.]. But only two weeks later (September 14) it was reported: "Robidoux party started to day to Tous. . . ." Probably both Isidore and Antoine Robidoux were in this expedition, which made a fairly rapid journey (undoubtedly across present western Kansas). The company was in Taos in November.

Ref: *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 6, pp. 78, 80 (James Kennerly diary entries of August 30 and September 14, 1825); Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 52; Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

¶ While camped near the mouth of Walnut creek, at the Great Bend of the Arkansas on September 29, the east-bound party of U. S. (Santa Fe road) Commrs. Reeves and Mather met other travelers. Archibald Gamble (the commissioners' secretary) reported:

. . . a company of 20 adventurers, with a great many mules and horses

laden with merchandize, arrived from Missouri [they had left Fort Osage around September 14], bound for Santa Fee; and an hour afterwards a company of 81 persons, returning from Santa Fee, also arrived at . . . camp.

The west-bound company later took the "Mule Trace" through the mountains (from the upper Arkansas) and arrived at Taos on October 28 (by G. C. Sibley's report). Gamble, who joined the east-bound party (to get back to Missouri more quickly), learned from one trader that they had left New Mexico with \$18,568 in silver, \$182 in gold, 2,044 beaver furs (valued at \$10,220), 630 animals (416 mules; 25 jacks & jennets; 189 horses) valued at \$15,700. (The total figure: \$44,670.) However, before reaching Walnut creek, 100 head of the stock had stampeded and not been recovered.

Ref: Gamble's October 24, 1826, letter, in K. Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 112, 230, 256; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, October 24, 1825 (for accurate statistics), or, *see*, *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, Lincoln, v. 20, p. 47.

¶ Gen. Henry Atkinson, Agent Benjamin O'Fallon, Capt. Bennet Riley, Lt. Samuel McRee, Lt. Jason Rogers, and 18 other persons were aboard the keelboat *Antelope* which left the Council Bluffs on October 7.

Atkinson and O'Fallon were en route to St. Louis after serving since May as U. S. commissioners on a treaty-making mission to the upper Missouri Indians. Their expedition (nine-keelboats, with a 476-man First, and Sixth infantry escort) had been active on the upper river from May 16 to September 19; and the commissioners had concluded 12 treaties between May and October 6—the last three being made at Fort Atkinson.

A journalist (name not established—quite possibly Lt. Samuel McRee) who recorded the expedition story, and the downriver trip of the *Antelope* in October, as well, included these comments relating to present Kansas:

[Under date of October 12, as the keelboat passed along the northeast Kansas boundary, in the Doniphan-Atchison county area of today] . . . proceeded at 9 o. c. at 11 saw a deer come into the water from the right bank, pursued it with the *Antelope*, came up with & succeeding in taking it after it was twice shot by Maj. O'Fallon, the deer had been driven into the water by a panther as appeared on examination the deer being wounded by the claw of the animal on the thighs & around the tail. Passed Cow Island at 5 & halted 2 miles below on the right [Kansas] bank for the night. Saw several Indians on the lower point of the Island & some 20 Horses.

Thursday [October] 13th Proceeded at ½ past 5 & ran till 8 & came to on the right bank for breakfast—proceeded at ½ past 8, saw a party . . . [of] Kansas on the right bank arrived at Curtis & Eley's establishment [*see* 1821-1822] at 12 o. c. Here we saw the [chief] white plume & several other Kansas Indians—proceeded at ½ past 12 passed the Kansas river [mouth] & arrived at Chateau's place [Francis Chouteau's Randolph Bluffs post—*see* 1821-1822] at one o. c. & halted for dinner. F. Chateau had gone with his Father [Pierre Chouteau, Sr.] across to the Osage river.

The *Antelope* and its passengers, after various other stops on the way downstream, reached St. Louis on October 20.

Ref: "Journal of the Atkinson-O'Fallon Expedition," in *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 4, pp. [5]-56 (p. 52 for quote above).

¶ With goods valued at \$3,500, purchased from the Chouteaus' Randolph Bluffs, Mo., post, Subagent Baronet Vasquez made the first annuity payment to the Kansa Indians late in the year. According to Frederick Chouteau (reminiscing in 1880):

. . . [Vasquez] took the goods in my brothers' [Francis G. and Cyprian's] boat across the Missouri river and up to the yellow banks, just above where Wyandotte [Kansas City, Kan.] is. [They] . . . were landed on a sand-bar there.

Ref: KHC, v. 8, p. 423. (Baronet Vasquez had accompanied Capt. Z. M. Pike on the 1806 expedition as interpreter [see 1806]; and had traded with the Kansa since 1796 [see last 1823 entry].)

¶ At St. Louis on November 7 the Shawnee Indians of *Missouri*, in a treaty with the United States (William Clark acting for the government), agreed to cede their land claims in Missouri (in the Cape Girardeau area) for (1) a tract equal to 50 miles square, west of that state within the bounds of the recent Osage cession—a tract which would also be for the use of the *Ohio* Shawnees (subject to their agreement to move west); and (2) \$14,000 as payment for improvements on the lands given up.

The Missouri Shawnees were granted \$11,000 to settle indemnity claims against white men; and the United States agreed to maintain a blacksmith among them for five years. Another treaty article provided that if, on examination of the Osage-lands tract, the Shawnees were dissatisfied, then the government would ". . . assign to them an equal quantity of land, to be selected on the Kansas river, and laid off either south or north of that river, and west of the boundary of Missouri, not reserved or ceded to any other tribe."

The Indians chose a reserve which was bounded on the north by the Kansas river, bordered Missouri on the east for 28 miles, and extended west 120 miles. This tract (not fully described till the Shawnee-United States treaty of 1854) was estimated to contain 1,600,000 acres.

At the beginning of 1825 the Shawnees of *Missouri* were reported to number 1,383 persons. (At the same time, the *Ohio* Shawnees were *estimated* at 800.) The movement of these first immigrant Indians into present Kansas began late in 1825; continued in 1826 (with accessions from Ohio, also); and extended as late as 1833 for the last of the Shawnee bands.

Ref: Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 262-264; KHC, v. 8, p. 78, v. 9, pp. 162, 163; 18th Cong., 2d Sess., *Ex. Papers* No. 64-3 (Serial 116), or *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, v. 2, p. 544, or *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 27 (February 15, 1825), p. 264 (for population figures, 1825); *History of American Missions* . . . , p. 540; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc.* 512, v. 3 (Serial 246), pp. 408, 409, 634, 635, 649, 650.

¶ As reported by Gen. Henry Atkinson and Agent Benjamin O'Fal-

lon (on November 23) the Grand Pawnees (estimated at 5,500 souls; 1,100 warriors) and the Pawnee Loups (3,500 in all; 700 warriors) were living on the Platte. The Republican Pawnees (1,250 persons; 250 warriors) were situated *on the Republican fork of the Kansas river*.

The return (for something like a decade, as indicated below) of the Republican Pawnees to the Kansas tributary named for them deserves attention (which it has not previously had) for its probable connection with one, or the other, of the two known Pawnee Republic village sites on the Republican river [*i. e.*, the Republic county, Kan., and the Webster county, Neb., sites—see comment under 1806]. These Indians dared to move southward in the 1820's because their chief (Iskatappe) had made peace with the Kansa.

When Pike visited the Republican Pawnees in 1806 their town was on the Republican river (where they had lived for some time—see 1793 for notes on their 18th century homes). When Sibley visited the Pawnees in 1811, the Republican band had moved northward and was sharing a new and uncompleted village on the Platte's Loup Fork with the Grand Pawnees. (The latter, by Robert Stuart's 1813 comment, had removed from the main Platte about 1809; and by Sibley's statement the former had left the Republican about the same year.) Between 1811 and 1820, when O'Fallon (in May) and Long (in June) visited the Pawnee villages on the Platte's Loup Fork, the Republican band had left the Grand Pawnees' town, but their village was only a few miles distant. However, three years later (September, 1823) when Prince Paul of Wuertemberg visited the Grand and Loup Pawnees (on the Loup Fork), he made only passing reference to the existence of the Republican Pawnees—and the inference is that they had already left that area (between 1820 and 1823) and were probably on the Republican where O'Fallon reported them to be in 1825 (as noted above). And, in fact, on September 24, 1823, Louis Vasquez was licensed to trade with the Pawnees on "Republic Fork."

When, in a letter of August 27, 1824, Agent O'Fallon advised Indian traders on locations, he stipulated: ". . . For the convenience of the Panis Loups and Panis Republics all trade and intercourse will (for one year from the date of this) be confined to their two Dirt Villages one on the Loup fork of the River Platte & and the other on the Republican fork of the Kansas River. . . ."

Jedediah Smith's (Ashley) party, en route to the mountains in the winter of 1825-1826, spent some time with the Republican Pawnees in early 1826 at their village *on the Republican river* 50 miles south of the Platte. (See last 1825 annals entry for comment on Smith's journey and the "Fremont-Gibbs-Smith" map which traces his route and *shows the location of the Republican Pawnees' village at that time*. Also, see a segment of this map, facing p. 521.)

In a February, 1829, report on Indian affairs (by the secretary of war), it was stated of the Pawnees:

There are four great bands of this tribe: the Pawnee Republicans, living on the Republican fork of the Kansas, the Pawnee Loups, living on the Loup fork of the Platte, the Grand Pawnees, living on the main branch of the Platte, and the Pawnee Piques [the Wichitas and related tribes], living in Texas. . . .

Two years later a superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis report (November 28, 1831) referred to "the Grand Panis, Loup and Republican Panis.—At their present Dirt villages, two on the Loup fork of the Platte, and one on the Republican fork of the Kansas."

Apparently before the Pawnee-United States treaty of October 9, 1833, the Republican Pawnees again moved northward (though a trading license issued on April 15, 1834, still mentioned the locations noted above under 1831). In late 1834 the Rev. John Dunbar, missionary, wrote that the Grand Pawnees were on the south side of the Platte; the "Tapage and a part of the Republican band" were in a village on the north side of the Loup Fork, 30 miles above its mouth; and the other part of the Republican band was in a "little village four miles above the Tapage on the same stream." Above them three miles was the Pawnee Loups' town.

Ref: 19th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Doc. 117* (Serial 136), pp. 7, 8 (for 1825 report); *The Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 16, p. 25 (for item on the Republican Pawnee-Kansa peace treaty); for Sibley, *see* under 1811; K. A. Spaulding, ed., *On the Oregon Trail* . . . (c1953), pp. 155-157 (for Robert Stuart); for O'Fallon and Long in 1820, *see* 1820 entries; for Prince Paul, *see* under 1823; 18th Cong. 2d Sess., *House Ex. Doc. 54* (Serial 115) for Vasquez; O'Fallon's 1824 directive quoted by courtesy of Dale L. Morgan, who helpfully supplied this item from the Bancroft Library's filmed copy of O'Fallon's letterbook, 1822-1829; 20th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 72* (Serial 181), p. 103 (for 1829 report); 22d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 90* (Serial 213), p. 63 (for 1831 report); 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *House Ex. Doc. 97* (Serial 273) (for 1834 license to "Soublette and Campbell"); *KHC*, v. 11, p. 328 (for Dunbar); W. R. Wedel's *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology* . . . (Washington, 1959), pp. 58-60 (for some comment on Pawnee Republic village sites).

¶ Jedediah Smith (William H. Ashley's partner) led the company of about 60 Ashley-Smith men (with 160 horses and pack-mules; an outfit worth \$20,000) which left St. Louis on November 1 for the Rocky mountains. Making this trip were such experienced hands as Jim Beckwourth (who later told a partially fanciful version of this journey), Louis Vasquez, Moses ("Black") Harris, Hiram Scott, and A. G. Boone; as well as novice Robert Campbell.

They crossed the Kansas near its mouth; bought beef at the Curtis & Eley post; proceeded up the north bank of the Kansas (camping for a time at, or near, the Kansa village, according to Beckwourth); and reached the Smoky Hill-Republican junction on January 1, 1826 (as Robert Campbell recalled it, in 1870). The slow (two months') journey from St. Louis to the present Fort Riley site was

probably due to shortage of food, and severe weather. According to Campbell they “. . . wintered all along the Republican Fork, and suffered very much for want of provisions.” A third of their mules died, and Smith sent back to St. Louis for others. (From Beckwourth's account, he and “Black” Harris had this mission.) Up on the Republican they came to the dirt village of the Republican Pawnees (*see* preceding entry); found the absent Indians' cached corn; paid the Pawnees (on their return from a hunt) for what they took; and remained in the Indian town, apparently, till some time in March. Jedediah Smith and Robert Campbell were guests in Chief Iskatappe's lodge.

Leaving the Republican river, above the Indian village (which Campbell later said was 50 miles from the Platte), Smith's company crossed to the Platte in two days of travel. Early in April William H. Ashley, coming up that river with supplies, overtook them at Grand Island. The expedition continued up the north side of the Platte to the forks, then on to South Pass via the North Platte and the Sweetwater.

(A “lost” map by Jedediah Smith, which over a century ago was available to mapmaker George Gibbs, included a showing of his 1825-1826 journey up the Kansas-Republican-Platte rivers. Gibbs, using a “Fremont” printed map of 1845, copied thereon some data from Smith's map, including the route of 1825-1826 taken by the Smith-Ashley party to the Rockies, and the location of the Pawnee Republic village. A segment of the “Fremont-Gibbs-Smith” map showing the “Kansas” section is reproduced *facing* p. 521.)

Ref: Robert Campbell's 1870 dictation in the Bancroft Library, made available for use and quoting by courtesy of Dale L. Morgan (of the Bancroft Library) to whom a special debt of gratitude is due for the opportunity to include this “new” chapter of Kansas-Republican river history in the *Annals*; Dale L. Morgan and Carl I. Wheat, *Jedediah Smith and his Maps of the American West* (San Francisco, 1954), pp. 56, 57, and the “Fremont-Gibbs-Smith” map (folded, in back pocket); Dale L. Morgan's *Jedediah Smith* . . . , pp. 175, 331, 408; Bonner, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-32. Campbell made no reference in his recollections to passing the Kansa village, but the Kansa played a part in Beckwourth's account.

(Part Five Will Appear in the Spring, 1962, Issue.)

Some Notes on Kansas Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters—*Continued*

NYLE H. MILLER AND JOSEPH W. SNELL

MATHER, DAVE

(1845?-)

MYSTERIOUS Dave Mather was one of many colorful frontier characters who found themselves equally comfortable on either side of the line dividing lawlessness from order. Of course, there is a possibility that some of the early reports of Mysterious Dave, especially those which mentioned no last name, were not the Mather of Dodge City fame.

The first time the name "Mysterious Dave" appeared in the Dodge City newspapers was January 7, 1879, when the *Ford County Globe* reported that "Dutch Henry was at Trinidad in company with . . . Mysterious Dave and others. . . ." [This article, complete, was reprinted in the section on W. B. Masterson.] Was this Dave Mather or some other David?

On March 9, 1880, the *Globe*, copying from the Las Vegas (N. M.), *Optic*, said that James Allen, who had shot and killed one James Morehead in that New Mexican town, "was arrested by Officer Dave Mather, the writer accompanying him into the dining room, where Allen was found quietly preparing the tables for dinner." Was this the "Mysterious" Dave Mather?

A few weeks later, on April 27, 1880, the *Globe* mentioned that Mysterious Dave, along with Charley Bassett and two other prospectors, had left Dodge City "in search of 'greener fields and pastures new.'" The Dodge City *Times*, May 1, 1880, left no doubt that this was the Dodge City character, the subject of this sketch: "Chas E. Bassett, 'Mysterious Dave' Mather and two others left Saturday, in a wagon well equipped, for the Gunnison country."

On November 16, 1880, the *Globe* again copied an article from the Las Vegas *Optic*, this time about an escape from the city jail. The *Optic*, November 10, had ended its article with this statement: "The friends who assisted in the escape are the dreaded gang of

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NOTE: These articles on Kansas cowtown officers and gun fighters, with additional information and an index, are expected to be reprinted and offered for sale under one cover, upon completion of the series in the *Quarterly*.

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'killers' who infested Las Vegas last winter and made times lively for newspaper reporters. Dave Rudabaugh, 'Mysterious Dave,' 'Little Allen,' Bennett and others . . . are known to be the most desperate men on the plains." The *Dodge City Times*, November 20, 1880, repeated the gist of the statement, adding, however, no last name for "Mysterious Dave."

A man with that appellation was in Texas in March, 1883. In a letter to Kansas Gov. G. W. Glick, a Texan had this question concerning Mysterious Dave:

MANCHACO TEXAS March 29 83

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR OF KANSAS

is there any reward offered by your State for a man is a desperado and gambler goes under the name of Mysterious Dave I have been told he is wanted in Kansas for Murder I do not know his real name but I can get him at any time please answer if he is wanted

address

J C MARTIN

Manchaco

Travis co

Texas

The letter and Governor Glick's answer are both on file in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society:

April 2-nd, 1883.

J. C. MARTIN, Esq.,
Manchaco, Texas.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of March 25-th [*sic*], inquiring whether the Governor of the state of Kansas offered any reward for a murderer whom you call "Mysterious Dave," is at hand. I have no information upon that subject. If I could learn the name of the individual, something might be learned in relation to the matter.

I am sir,

Your obedient servant,

G. W. GLICK

The compilers of this sketch do not have sufficient information at hand to attempt to say whether all of these persons were the same Mysterious Dave. However, Mysterious Dave Mather of Dodge City notoriety was, according to the *Ford County Globe*, June 5, 1883, appointed assistant marshal of that Kansas cowtown about June 1, 1883. Dave's salary was \$75 per month but on July 6, 1883, the city council raised his pay to \$125. The marshal, Jack Bridges, received \$150 under the new pay scale. At the end of the cattle season both salaries were dropped to \$100.¹

The appointment of Mather to the police force did not meet

with universal approval. One disturbed Dodgeite wrote this letter to Gov. G. W. Glick:

June 30th 1883

To

GOVERNOR GLICK

From J. De Grass of Dodge City Kansas

Dr Sir I write to you for protection which is due every Citizen of the U. S. I applied to the Justice here for a warrant to arrest a man and also called on an Officer for Assistance and he Cooly told me he would put me in the Lock up if I spoke of the Affair again. I was assaulted and abused on the Public Streets because I was not a Blackleg and gambler by the Officer and one of his Subordinate's They are running this town and a Decent Family Cannot be Tolerated by them or their Minions the aforesaid officer was taken from a Cold Deck Table and made Assistant Marshal inside of a few hours and no question's asked. I am a Stranger here only been here 6 week's but came to Settle and try to gain an Honest living for my Wife and Children I have been threatened and my Liberty has been Intimidated by a man who should give us their assistance and the other man has been held up to the public as a hero because he has the reputation of being a bad man and he has done his Man as they term it here the Town is being run by such a Class and the State of Kansas or anyone does not say Boo. I sincerely trust that you will give me your assistance or at least take some Steps to allow me to protect myself if only my Life as he has already Killed one Man in Cold Blood and got out of it and I am in danger of my Life here hoping to hear from you I Remain Your

Obedient Sevt.

JAMES DE GRASS

Dodge City

Kans.

P. S. the man that Struck me had a gun in his pocket at the time and I was not armed as I never carry Arms. he is around the Town now and I am sick in Bed with the Doctor's attending me.²

Assistant Marshal Mather's first newspaper appearance by office and name—though misspelled—added no lustre to his career. The role he played was of a minor nature. The *Ford County Globe*, September 25, 1883, reported:

THE CITY vs. JOHN SHERIDAN.

About a week ago our city attorney filed a complaint against John Sheridan, charging him with vagrancy, which came before Police Judge Bobby Burns. The case was called and considerable evidence was offered to show that John Sheridan had visible means of support, and that he had employment at the very time he was charged with vagrancy. It was also in evidence that Sheridan had been a gambler and had paid his monthly tax for that privilege; that on or before the first day of September he notified the city marshal that after the first of said month he would no longer follow the profession of gambling and hence could not be called on to pay a tax to the city, as he had found other employment. He was legitimately employed by Spencer & Drew to take charge of a certain shipment of cattle from here to Kansas City; he made one trip and returned to Dodge and arranged for another trip.

While he was waiting for the time to roll around for this second shipment of stock, he was arrested and brought before the city extortion mill and fined ten dollars and costs, amounting to \$25.60. He refused to pay the fine and costs and was jailed,—placed in the county jail and locked up in a cell with a darkey; finding that the only relief he could get would be to pay the fine and costs, he did so and was released. In connection with the above facts we desire to say that the only evidence against this man was assistant marshal Dave Mathews, who testified that he was "loitering about saloons and had no employment or means of support so far as he knew," or against positive evidence, not only of ready means at his command for his support, but that he was actually employed in a legitimate avocation of life, and in no sense a vagrant, as charged. But the court held that he was a vagrant and that he must shell out or go to jail. This is reform with a vengeance. If a gambler gives notice that his game is closed, and that his employment is to be changed, and it is actually done, what right has a court to declare a fellow mortal a vagrant, a tramp, or anything else they failed to prove him to be. What can be the motive of these exalted dispensers of justice?

In addition to being on the city police force, Mysterious Dave also served as a deputy under Sheriff Patrick F. Sughrue. It was in this capacity that Dave took a small posse to Coolidge on September 29 in search of train robbers. The *Dodge City Times*, October 4, 1883, reported the incident:

TRAIN ROBBERS

ATTEMPT TO ROB THE CANNON BALL AT COOLIDGE.

ENGINEER JOHN HILTON KILLED—FIREMAN GEORGE FADEL BADLY WOUNDED.

Saturday morning Dodge was thrown into a high pitch of excitement by a report that a gang of roughs had attempted to rob the westward bound cannon ball at Coolidge that morning, and that engineer Hilton and fireman Fadel were killed.

It was soon learned that John Hilton was dead and his body at the Fireman's Hall, and George Fadel was at Coolidge badly wounded, and dying. A short time after he was reported dead, but we are glad to say that he is still alive and will undoubtedly recover.

The cannon ball in charge of conductor Greeley and engineer Hilton pulled into Coolidge shortly before one o'clock. After standing some ten minutes three masked men, heavily armed, appeared upon the platform, and while two of them attacked the express car one of them mounted the engine. One of them ordered Hilton to "pull out," and at the same instant sent a ball through his heart. The next instant he placed his pistol almost against George Fadel's face and fired, the ball going in the cheek and coming out of the neck. The express messenger, Peterson, promptly returned the fire into his car and repulsed the robber; several shots were then fired at the conductor, when the villains withdrew.

Dave Mather, of this city, was speedily notified to gather a posse and start in pursuit, which he did, leaving here about 4 o'clock a. m. on a special train. Another special from the west brought Sheriff Parsons and deputies from Bent county, Colo., into Coolidge about the same time. Acting in concert with Sheriff Parsons, Mather arrested two men during the day, Luny and Chambers, and the next morning Dean and Harry Donnelly were arrested at Garden City and brought down on the cannon ball, and lodged in jail.

Engineer Hilton's body reached the city on the train he ran from La Junta to Coolidge, and Fadel was taken to the hotel in Coolidge, where he remained until Tuesday, when he was brought to his brother's residence in this city. Upon his arrival here a *Times* representative obtained from him the following account of the shooting:

The train arrived at Coolidge on time and laid there some six or eight minutes, the time being occupied by Hilton and himself in oiling the engine, Hilton on the right and he on the left. This brought him next to the platform, and when nearly done his attention was drawn to a man standing on the platform by the side of the tender. This man had his hat pulled well down over his face, and as Fadel got on the cab he followed, Hilton being already up.

At this instant Hilton had his hand on the lever about to start, in response to the signal already given by Conductor Greeley. The stranger had a pistol now in each hand, and pointing one at Hilton ordered him to "pull out," at the same moment firing, and Hilton fell, reeling backwards and falling in the gangway. Almost simultaneously he fired from the other revolver at Fadel, who fell by the side of Hilton. He lay for a few moments insensible, and then regaining consciousness attempted to revive poor Hilton, who was dead, having been shot through the heart, the ball going in the shoulder and coming out the side. Fadel was shot in the cheek, the ball passing by the base of the ear and out the back of the head.

Of the four prisoners now in jail it is thought that at least two were implicated in the shooting, and the others were present to aid. But of course no investigation can be had until Fadel has recovered sufficiently to take the stand, as he thinks he can positively identify the man who did the shooting.³

The four suspected train robbers were tried and freed in short order. Notice of their trial and dismissal appeared in the *Ford County Globe*, October 9, 1883:

THE COOLIDGE TRAIN ROBBERS.

Judge Cook's court was in session each day since last Monday, before whom were arraigned four parties brought here charged with complicity in the attempted train robbery at Coolidge a week ago Friday night. The names of the individuals are Mack Dean, Harry Doneley, Lon Chambers and Jim Looney. County Attorney J. T. Whitelaw prosecuting, and H. E. Cryden defending three of the prisoners, and E. D. Swan the other. The case has been continued from day to day and but little evidence has been developed up to Saturday as to who the real parties were in this drama. The cases were again called yesterday and dismissed for want of evidence.

About the middle of November, 1883, Mather journeyed to Texas after William Byrd, an accused cattle thief out on bond who had failed to appear when summoned before court. Byrd's Dodge City bondsmen sent Mysterious Dave after him, but, if the *Ford County Globe*, November 20, 1883, were correct, Dave was not too anxious to capture his man:

WILL THE "BYRD" RETURN?

Just now a great effort is being put forth by the bondsmen of Wm. M. Byrd, charged with cattle stealing, to have him returned and again incarcerated

in our jail in order that he may be here when the next term of court convenes, in February next, as it is feared he may again fail to put in an appearance when his case is called for trial the second time. If this question is to be left with Byrd himself, we do not hesitate in saying as we did before, "he will not be here." But as an officer has been dispatched for him, armed with a requisition from the Governor of this State to the Governor of Texas, it is generally supposed that he will be brought back,—that is he might have been had the officer that was sent for him kept himself and business out of print. But as soon as he arrived at Kansas City an associated press dispatch is made up for the Kansas City Times,—it being the only paper that published it—purporting to have been sent from Austin, Texas, and to the effect that Dave Mathews, of Dodge City, had arrived in that city with a requisition on the Governor of that state for the arrest of Wm. M. Byrd, a notorious cattle thief, and that he had his man, etc. The peculiarity of this special to the Times is that Mathews was in Kansas City on the very day when the supposed special came from Austin.

Why this was done is not known to us. It certainly would not have been done by an ordinarily cautious and prudent officer before he had his man secure, as it might give him the very information he would not care to have him receive, to-wit: That an officer was after him, and thus give him another chance for his freedom. On the other hand if the officer wanted to impart such information, this was an excellent method to resort to. The question is daily asked us "will Mathews get his man?" Not under such broad-gauged tracks that he is making in his questionable efforts in endeavoring to secure him. We haven't the slightest hesitancy in saying that we don't believe that Wm. M. Byrd will ever come back, and more particularly with Dave Mathews; so Byrd's bondsmen must content themselves with Mathews' return.

On November 27, 1883, The *Globe* was able to confirm its own prediction: "Dave Mathews returned home yesterday from his trip to Texas, but minus the 'Byrd,' who is still in the bush. We said HE WOULD return without him, and so he did." ⁴

Byrd did not escape completely, however, for in June, 1884, Sheriff Pat Sughrue "found his man" at Fort Worth and returned him to Dodge for trial.⁵

A more favorable report of Mysterious Dave's activities appeared in the Dodge City *Times*, December 27, 1883:

Patsey Barrett, the boy enticed from his home in Topeka, by Crider, alias Hull, was returned to his brother, who furnished transportation for the boy. Assistant Marshal Dave Mather is entitled to a good deal of credit for the feeling and interest shown in this case, and his exhibition of humanity will certainly weigh considerably in his favor.

On January 5, 1884, the Dodge City *Democrat* reported that Mysterious Dave had thwarted a break from the county jail:

Chas. Ellsworth, the accomplished young horsethief and jail breaker, was on Thursday morning discovered by deputy sheriff Mathers in possession of a vial of aqua fortis and a small saw. Dave, prying his detective nose further

into the matter, discovered that the vial of strong-water was purchased by a female resident of the court house from Gallagher's drug store. Dave will probably reconstruct matters about the bastille?

In February Dave ran for constable of Dodge township. The election was held on February 5 and he was defeated by Nelson Cary and O. D. Wilson, thus placing third in the field of five.⁶

Dodge City's annual municipal election was held April 7, 1884, and George M. Hoover was elected mayor over George S. Emerson by a large majority. The new city council met in special session on April 10 and approved Mayor Hoover's appointments to the police force. William M. Tilghman replaced Jack Bridges as city marshal and Thomas C. Nixon assumed Mysterious Dave's post as assistant. No policemen were appointed.⁷

Dave still held his deputy sheriff's appointment, however, for on June 4 "A man named Frank Denson stole a mule from S. O. Aubery, in this city on Wednesday, and took it to Lakin and sold it. Deputies Mike Sughrue and Dave Mather captured the thief at Cimarron. Judge Cook held him in \$1,000 for trial, and he is now in jail." On June 28, 1884, the Dodge City *Democrat* stated further that Dave, as deputy sheriff, had accompanied three other officers who were taking prisoners to the state penitentiary.⁸

On the night of July 18, 1884, the new assistant marshal took a pot shot at the old assistant marshal. The *Democrat* reported the incident on July 19:

ANOTHER SHOOTING.

About 9 o'clock last night the city was thrown into considerable excitement by the report that Deputy Marshal Thos. Nixon had shot ex-Marshall Dave Mather. Investigation showed that Nixon had fired one shot from his six-shooter at Mather from the foot of the Opera House stairs, Mather at the time standing at the head of the stairs. The bullet went wild, and struck in the woodwork of the porch. Mather's face was considerably powder burned, and the little finger of his left hand was injured by a splinter. The shooting was the result of an old feud, and as both men tell different stories about the shooting, and there were no witnesses, it is impossible to state who provoked the quarrel. Sheriff Sughrue promptly disarmed Nixon and he was taken to jail. Mather claims to have been unarmed, while Nixon claims Dave reached for his gun before he attempted to draw his own. Mather says he will make no complaint, but from all appearances the end is not yet.

Nixon gave bonds before Judge Cook in the sum of \$800 for his appearance at the next term of court. The charge is assault with intent to kill.

Three days later Nixon was dead, shot by Mysterious Dave. The *Globe Live Stock Journal*, July 22, 1884, reported the homicide:

THE MURDER.

ASS'T. MARSHAL THOMAS NIXON KILLED BY DAVE MATHERS.

At about 10 o'clock last evening, while assistant Marshal Thos. Nixon was on duty at the corner of Front street and First Avenue, Mysterious Dave, (Dave Mathers), who keeps a saloon in the Opera House, came down stairs and deliberately shot him through.

The facts as near as we could learn are as follows: Mathers came down the stairs from his saloon and on his arrival at the foot he called to Nixon who was standing at the corner, and as Nixon turned around Mather commenced shooting at him, firing four shots, two of them striking him in the right side, one in the left side and one passed through the left nipple, killing him instantly.

Mather was immediately disarmed and lodged in jail. A cow boy, whose name we could not learn, was hit in the leg and severely wounded by a ball that had passed through Nixon's body.

Thomas Nixon was one of the oldest citizens of our city, coming here years ago to hunt the buffalo. He was made assistant marshal at the election last spring and has been an officer in our city off and on for several years, being once city marshal. He was well liked by all who knew him and a vast number of friends will miss Tom from his accustomed beat on front street. He leaves a wife and two children to mourn the loss of a loving husband and kind father.

Of Dave Mather we have but little to say. He is known at Las Vegas and wherever he has been as a dangerous man to have a quarrel with. He was once assistant marshal in this city, up to last spring when Tom Nixon took his place. While constable at Las Vegas, he killed several men, and killed his man while in a quarrel at Mobeetie, some time ago. After he had killed Nixon he said "I ought to have killed him six months ago," and as they had not been on good terms for a long time it is supposed that it was the result of an old feud.⁹

The preliminary examination of Mather was held July 31, the *Globe Live Stock Journal*, August 5, 1884, reported:

THE MATHER MURDER CASE.

The case of the State of Kansas vs. Dave Mather, who shot and killed Assistant Marshal Tom Nixon in this city on the night of July 21st, on preliminary examination was called up before Justice [W. H.] LyBrand. County [city] attorney H. E. Gryden prosecuted and Messrs. [T. S.] Haun, [E. D.] Swan and [M. W.] Sutton appeared for the defense. Considerable sparring and cross-firing was indulged in by the attorneys present on sundry motions, such as the separation of witnesses on the part of the state, which of course was all proper enough, but when it came to a similar treatment of witnesses for the defense the attorneys for the prosecution were astonished to find that there were no witnesses docketed for the defense and it was further claimed that possibly they would have none, yet desired to reserve the right to call a dozen or more should they need them. The court decided the question by ordering the witnesses for the state to be called and sworn, after which they were to be separated; the defense was not compelled to present their witnesses at this stage of the proceeding.

Just before the evidence on the part of the state was introduced county attorney [J. T.] Whitelaw was upon his feet and appealed to the court that all newspaper reporters be excluded from the room. He was afraid to have the testimony go abroad for the flimsy pretext that the reading of the same would so bias and prejudice the minds of the people of the county against the defendant, Mather, that it would be impossible to get an impartial jury in the county on the final trial of the case; that unless they would promise not to report the evidence he would move their expulsion from the court room. This was certainly an unwarranted as well as unheard of procedure on the part of the high functionary who claims to be the prosecuting attorney.

But he was met by the only representative of the press present, and by one that had seen this gag rule enforced by border ruffians during the early period of Kansas history, when Missourians made our laws as well as our law officers, the same being the Hon. John Speer, who at present is managing the Cow-boy, and to whom we are indebted for the full and complete testimony. He informed the court that it was a simple duty he owed to his employer, Col. [S. S.] Prouty and the readers of the Cow-boy that caused him to be there, and no selfish desire of his own. He knew not what other representatives of the press might be there and within the hearing of his voice, who perhaps desired the same facts that he himself was seeking. The GLOBE, he said, had made a promise that it would have a full and complete report of the proceedings, and as present manager of the Cow-boy, he did not propose to be outwitted in this matter. The court promptly sat down on Mr. County Attorney by allowing the reporters to retain their seats. (Applause in the gallery.)

The following witnesses were sworn: Dr. [C. A.] Milton, Fred Boyd, Bud Gohins, H. V. Cook, Andrew Faulkner, and Archie Franklin.

Dr. Milton was the first witness called. He stated, in reply to interrogatories, that he practiced about two and a half years in Ford County, and was a graduate of Rush Medical College, Chicago. He had examined the body of Mr. Nixon. He found seven wounds and one ball under the skin, which showed four shots in the body. The examination was not thorough enough to make a definite statement. Some things he could state positively and others only to the best of his knowledge.

I found a ball lodged in the skin of the body under upper portion of right arm. Probably all fatal—three certainly; the one which came out near the nipple must have passed through the heart and been instantly fatal. He did not anticipate answering minutely as a witness or he should have made a post mortem. Made examination about ten o'clock of next day after he was shot, July 22d.

Mr. Boyd sworn:

On the night of the 22d he was in the opera house. I was there at the time of the shooting of Thomas Nixon. I did not see the deceased when he was shot. I saw his back. I was about 8 rods and 10 feet distant. When I first noticed him he was standing talking, and I heard his name called—Tom. I looked around. He was standing leaning against the east door looking in to the right—against the north door. He had his left hand on his hip—the right hand against the door. Here he described his position as looking into the door at the game. Immediately the report of a revolver followed. Nixon exclaimed "Oh! I am shot" or "Oh! I am killed." I think he said I am killed. He turned before the revolver was fired. There was nothing in either of his hands as I

could see. Nixon fell immediately on the first fire, and there were three shots in quick succession. He fell to the ground before the last three shots were fired. Tom Nixon neither drew nor attempted to draw any weapons. When he fell he was out of my sight. I did not see the party who fired at the time; but I did some time before.

Cross examined:

I was standing south of center of the gambling table towards the door at the time of the shooting. I had stood there five or ten minutes—perhaps not over five. Al Rudy was standing with me. We had just met as I heard the name "Tom" called. I came from the oil-house, there. I did not discover Nixon till his name was called. I can't say how long he stood there. I don't know where or from what direction he came there. The first call "Tom," Nixon did nothing—he was called twice—at the second call he turned around. Here he described his left hand behind his back—right hand elevated and elbow crooked. He turned to the right. On first shot he turned around outside of the door from where he was standing. It wasn't over a breath from when he turned around till I heard the second shot. I did not see his back then. As he turned around I just got a glimpse of his back, and then he was out of sight. Yes, I said the other three shots immediately followed the first. I did not see Nixon when he fell. He fell immediately after the first shot. I heard him fall. It was after first shot he said "I'm killed;" when I heard that I moved ten or fifteen feet north toward the restaurant door, and remained 10 or 15 minutes. I swear positively I saw Tom at the door before any shot was fired.—I am positive I cannot be mistaken—I swear positively.

Andrew Faulkner sworn:

I was in Dodge City on the night of the 22d July. I was at the opera house, sitting outside of the saloon. I was at the head of the stairs of the opera house the time Tom Nixon was killed. I did not see him until after the first shot was fired. I saw him a second or two afterwards—did not know who it was—but found afterwards it was Tom Nixon. He was lying down when I saw him at the east door of the house. I could not see the whole body. I only saw one man around him that I know—took him to be Dave Mather. He was four or five feet from Nixon—this defendant here was the man I took him to be. When I first saw him he was standing with a revolver in his hand pointed downward, and afterwards I heard three reports of a revolver. Mather after the shooting, walked to the foot of the stairs and came up the steps. I recognized him, and it was Dave Mather. He had a revolver in his right hand as he was going up the stairs. There were four shots fired. I walked right down afterwards and looked at the dead man, he was Tom Nixon.

Cross examined:

Yes, I saw his body lying on the side walk. That was after the first shot. The man's head lay upon the door step, his feet out to the sidewalk. I saw his body at first from his feet to here (the witness putting his hand on his waist) I was standing at the head of the stairs against the banister looking into the window. When I first looked at the body it had not been moved. He was lying on his right side, and back, his feet due east or a little north of east. (At this point the court adjourned to the residence of Mr. Cook, who was sick.)

[H. V. Cook] Sworn: I was at the opera house the night Tom Nixon was

killed. Tom Nixon was close to the east door walking up to it. I saw Dave Mather. I saw Tom Nixon when the defendant shot him. Defendant said "Oh, Tom" immediately preceding the shooting Nixon was then walking toward the door of the saloon—the east door. He turned to the right when Mather spoke to him. As he wheeled Mather shot. When Mather shot him I did not see anything unusual in Nixons hands and he had nothing in his hands after he fell. He made no demonstration I could see. He fired four shots at Nixon. When he fired the three last shots Nixon was lying on the floor. He fell immediately on his firing the first shot. He advanced as he fired the three last shots till he came within four feet of Nixon. Mather then left. I think he went up stairs—at least I saw a person go up I took to be him. Tom Nixon came from the north to the door.

Cross examined:

The exact locality where I stood was on the east edge of the sidewalk. I did not stand there; I moved this way (north) probably got ahead 12 feet when the last shot was fired. Nixon was not leaning up against the door, he was walking and turned. Nixon was struggling a little when he got the last three shots. He fell on his left side and back. His feet were north east, on left side, struggling. Nixon was 18 inches or two feet from the door when he received the first shot. The last three shots after he was down. He did not step up and lean against the door before he was shot. Mather was 10 or 12 feet north from the place where he first shot.

Re-examined by State.

He fell on his left side and back, I am not positive—it might have been the reverse. It is possible he might have leaned against the door, but he must have done it quick, if so, and when I was not noticing him. I did not hear Nixon speak at all after he was shot.

Re-crossed-examined:

It was a very short time he leaned against the door if at all. He might have been. I saw one shot fired, and passed on, but stopped when I heard the other. I did see him lean against the door when the first shot was fired. He was now about 12 feet distant.

Adjourned to restaurant, to take the testimony of Archie Franklin, the cowboy who was shot accidentally by one of the balls, and was unable to appear in court. This witness was found in bed and is still suffering pretty severely.

Archie Franklin sworn:

The night Tom Nixon was shot I was standing leaning up against one of those upright pieces that hold the portico at the opera house. I had been there about 10 minutes. A young fellow of the name of Bud Cohins was standing with Tom Nixon was a little north of me—he was walking along. I couldn't say he was facing north or facing the man that fired at him. He was making no demonstrations of any kind towards defendant when first shot was fired. Both spoke but I did not understand either one. Mather fired four shots. Nixon did not fall after the first shot. He fell between the second and third shots. The second shot hit me. Mather advanced after the first shot was fired. I could not say he shot him after the first shot. Mather told him before he shot that he was going to kill him. That was before the first shot was fired, and he immediately commenced to fire. Nixon had no weapon of any kind at that time. He made no effort to get his gun that I saw.

Cross examined:

I first saw Mr. Nixon that night at the dance hall, over here. The next time I saw him was right down at the corner where the shooting was done. I went with him from the dance hall to Wright & Beverlys. Then I sat down. He sat down. We sat together 15 or 10 minutes. Potter came along the man I was working for, and we got some money from him, and walked down the street together. I next saw Nixon at the corner where the shooting was. We came from the west, and when he was shot he was coming from the west. When he was on the corner Mr. Nixon came down to that corner. As I got a little east past the door, he, Mather, came walking around the corner before I heard them exchange any words. Mather was then at the foot of the stairs. Tom advanced about two steps toward Mather, and Mather towards him, and then he commenced shooting. He told him just before he shot, that he was going to kill him. I cannot tell exactly what, but he didn't say he would "go him one," I will swear to that. I wouldn't swear to the part I did not understand. I don't swear he did not say he would go him one, in that part I did not understand. The exact words were, he would kill him. I kind of think he said "you have lived long enough," but I do not know it well enough to swear to it. Mather spoke first. I can't tell how many were there. I was leaning against a sidewalk post, about the center of the walk going north and south. Bud Gohens stood right beside me. There was no man on the east of the side walk near me. There might have been after the shooting commenced, I should judge Nixon was about five feet from the door.

Re-direct:

It is not probable Nixon could have leaned up against the door without me seeing him, he fell right by the door, could not say which side.

Bat Masterson sworn:

I was among the first to get to the body of Nixon after he was killed. I think I was the first to take hold of him. He was lying on his right side and back, and had his feet to the northeast, his head southwest, his left hand down by his left leg, his right hand up. That was just a minute after the last shot was fired. He had his revolver on him. He was lying on it. It was partially drawn out. He had no other weapons that I saw.

Cross-examination.

He had a leather scabbard made for a short Colt's revolver, heavy leather. The revolver was put in with the handle reversed. His legs from the knee down were slightly drawn up. His head lay on the door sill:

P. F. Sughrue sworn:

I was the officer that arrested the defendant. It was a Colt's 42 that he shot Nixon with.

Cross-examination.

I did not see the pistol at the time it was being shot. I did not see the shooting.

The defense offered no testimony.

After a long discussion on the question of admitting the prisoner to bail, the court over-ruled the motion and remanded the prisoner to jail for trial in the district court.¹⁰

The *Topeka Commonwealth*, August 3, 1884, included some observations on the defendant in its description of the examination:

The prisoner was brought in by Sheriff Sughrue, and as he was seated by

the side of THE COMMONWEALTH reporter, we had a good opportunity of observing his demeanor. He was calm and collected, and being unrestrained, the best observer of human nature could not have selected him as the man whose life was in jeopardy. He is known to the plains men as "Mysterious Dave," was born in Connecticut, and claims to be a lineal descendant of Cotton Mather. He has been a resident of Dodge City, off and on, for several years, and has served both as Marshal and Assistant Marshal of the city. He has acted in similar capacities at other pioneer cities and mining camps, and is reported to have killed several men, but I could not hear that the charge was made that he had ever before killed a man except in the discharge of his duties. It is said that at Las Vegas he came near hanging by a mob and was saved greatly through the instrumentality of a present citizen of Dodge City. . . . The firm of Mather & Black formerly ran a dance hall in the opera house, which was suppressed, and he laid its suppression to Nixon. Nixon was an old citizen of Dodge, a buffalo hunter before the city had "a local habitation or a name," and had quite a number of men in his employ. Though rough, he is generally spoken of as a warm-hearted man and had many friends here.

During the trial, Mather sat quietly and apparently little concerned, whittling the edge of his chair, but to a close observer evidently taking every word. Observing a reporter of THE COMMONWEALTH present, he turned and advised us to give him a fair show when the other side of the story came to be told. This remark was made in an as nonchalant a manner as if we had been reporting the [recent] bull fight. . . .

The Dodge City *Kansas Cowboy*, August 16, 1884, made some comparisons between the Mathers, Dodge City Dave, and his noted kin, Cotton:

THE MATHER FAMILY.

"Since Dave got the drop on his man," his great-great-great-several-times-great-grandfather, old Cotton Mather, has become a person of historical interest. As soon as he told us who he was, we knew his family. Old Cotton is dead, or ought to be by this time. He was an eminent divine of New England, and was very active in putting down witchcraft at Salem in 1692, and wrote a book on witchcraft, in which he proved conclusively there were numerous and divers witches around Salem who were doing more deviltry than his descendant, Dave, ever did in Dodge City, or in the "great boundless west." He was, however, a man of great influence, piety, and usefulness, and with remarkable industry, wrote 382 works. His *Essay to do Good* was among his best, and was highly commended by Benjamin Franklin. In his witchcraft works, he claimed that persons possessed as well as devils, were familiar with foreign and dead languages without classical education. Spiritualists claim the same in regard to mediums to-day, but David and his contemporaries show no disposition to hang them; but when a man got "possessed" in Dodge Dave pulled his little gun, and put an end to him.

We do not know whether old Cotton was so much to blame for hanging the witches as most people imagine at this day. It was a strange infatuation. But it must be remembered that Sir Mathew Hale, one of the greatest jurists and purest of men, tried witches and even Blackstone said that to deny their existence was to deny revelation. For ought we know there may be witches in Dodge, for one of old Cotton's arguments in favor of witchcraft we see all around us, that people act queerly and seem to be possessed of spirits, and

speak if not in dead in devilish languages. We have seen the witches of night around us with more devils in them than Mary Magdalena, and some of them look as pretty as the original Mary, when she donned her new hat and red stockings. In the afternoon and evenings they seem more "possessed" with spirits than any other period, unless it be near the midnight hour. The moon seems to affect them, and they sing "meet me by moonlight alone," but they are not so very particular about being alone either. The favorite hymn of the Dodge witches is

Blessed is the man who hath a little jug,
And in it some good rum,
Who passeth it about,
And gives his neighbor some.

Toward the end of August Dave was freed on bail. The *Cowboy*, August 23, 1884, reported his release:

DAVID MATHER RELEASED.

Judge [J. C.] Strang granted a writ of *habeas corpus* in the case of David Mather charged with the murder of Nixon, and after a hearing of testimony decided that it was a bailable case, and fixed his bond at \$6,000. The bond was promptly given, Messrs. Digger, Drake, Emerson, Crane, Crawford, Bullard, Haun and Sutton filling the bond. They are of the best, most solid and substantial men of Ford county, representing a capital of more than \$100,000. David is therefore again at large among the people. He seems to have had no difficulty in getting a bond.¹¹

At the October, 1884, term of the Ford county district court Dave Mather's case was granted a change of venue to Edwards county. He was to be tried at the December term of that court, in Kinsley.¹²

Meantime it was reported that Mysterious Dave had been killed in Washington territory. The *Dodge City Times*, November 20, 1884, quoted and commented on the rumor as printed in the *Larned Optic*:

The Las Vegas *Optic* says a brother of Dan Mather, who is employed at a brickyard in that city, is in receipt of a letter from Washington Territory, announcing that "Mysterious Dave" was recently shot and killed by a party who quietly followed him all the way from Dodge City. It will be remembered that Dave was released from jail at the latter place on \$10,000 bail.—*Larned Optic*.

Dave was in the city Saturday and was looking hale and hearty. He is engaged in some business at Coolidge in the west line of the State. He has not been out of the State of Kansas for some months.

Commenting on the same rumor the *Dodge City Democrat*, November 15, 1884, said: "We heard from Dave yesterday, he is 'just as well and hearty as ever he was in his life,' and is stopping at Coolidge, Kansas."

The jury in the case of State of Kansas vs. Mather rendered its verdict on December 30, 1884, after deliberating only half an hour. The *Dodge City Times*, January 8, 1885, reported the trial:

THE MATHER TRIAL.

Dave Mather, who was charged with killing City Marshal Nixon, in this city, in July last, was acquitted before a jury in the District Court at Kinsley last week. The trial occupied the time from Monday morning until Wednesday night, at 10 o'clock, at which time the jury returned a verdict of acquittal, after being out 27 minutes. The jury was composed of the very best men of Edwards county. The case was ably prosecuted by the State, being represented by Robert McCanse, county attorney, assisted by Samuel Vandivert, Esq. The defense was represented by M. W. Sutton, of Dodge City, and T. S. Haun, of Jetmore. Messrs. Sutton and Haun devoted considerable time in the preparation of the defense, and have won fame by their indefatigable and successful efforts. The reading of the verdict by the court was interrupted by demonstrations of approval by the audience. Of the trial the Kinsley Mercury says:

The trial of the case of the state against Mather was commenced on Monday and after a trial of two days and a half the jury returned a verdict of not guilty. The verdict was undoubtedly a proper one as the weight of the testimony showed that Nixon was the aggressor in the affray and that Mather was justified in shooting.

The Kinsley Graphic says:

The jury in the case Dave Mather found the defendant "not guilty" after a very few minutes deliberation. The State was represented by County Attorney McCanse and his partner, Mr. Vandivert. The defendant appeared by M. W. Sutton and T. B. Haun. The jury was a good one, and the verdict is generally regarded as the right thing under the evidence.¹³

The 1885 Kansas state census, enumerated as of March 1, listed Dave Mather a farmer, 40 years old, and a resident of Dodge City.

On May 10, 1885, Mysterious Dave was involved in another shooting, this one resulting in the death of an Ashland resident named Dave Barnes. The *Globe Live Stock Journal*, May 12, 1885, was the first to report the incident:

A DESPERATE FIGHT.—

ONE MAN KILLED AND THREE WOUNDED.

Sunday evening, at half past eight, the quiet of the city was broken by the sharp quick reports of fire-arms in the saloon known as Junction's, and to those in the immediate vicinity it was evident that a desperate battle was going on within. It was some time after the firing ceased before any one ventured in, when it was found that David Barnes was shot dead, James Wall, who had nothing to do with the trouble, wounded in the calf of his right leg, C. P. Camp, who was in the door, shot through both legs, and Dave Mathers cut across the forehead, the ball passing out through his hat.

The origin of the trouble as near as we can learn from the many reports, which cannot be given as facts until an investigation is made by the courts, are, that Dave Mathers and Dave Barnes were playing cards for money. Mathers won the first game and Barnes the second, when Mathers got up from the table and took the money. Barnes claimed the money was his, and said he was not treated fair. One word brought on another until Mathers made for Barnes when Sheriff Sughrue, who was present stopped him; a moment afterwards Mathers struck Barnes, and almost instantly a dozen shots were fired

with the result above stated, but by whom at this time cannot be said. When the firing commenced Sheriff Sughrue caught John Barnes, a brother of the man that was killed, just as he was drawing his revolver, and held him until the firing ceased, when he arrested Cyrus Mathers, a brother of Dave, and locked him up in the county jail, and in a few minutes after arrested Dave Mathers and locked him up with his brother.

Owing to the fact that our district court convenes the ninth of next month the jury already being drawn, and the many conflicting reports, we refrain from expressing an opinion as to who is guilty of the murder, or in fault in the first place. From the statements made by parties present the firing was so rapid and the excitement so great it could not be told who all were engaged in the shooting.

The Coroner's court investigating the trouble has adjourned until Thursday.

The Dodge City *Democrat's* story of the shooting, May 16, 1885, included statements of the murdered man's brother and Sheriff Sughrue:

SUNDAY'S SHOOTING.

On last Sunday evening about 9 o'clock, a dispute arose in the Junction saloon between Dave Mather and David Barnes, over a game of cards. They were playing "seven up" at fifty cents a game, and after three games had been played, Mather got up and putting the money that was on the table in his pocket, walked over to the bar. Barnes followed him and claimed the money. Mather then struck him. Immediately the shooting commenced which resulted in the killing of Barnes, and the wounding of Mather in the head, John Wall in the leg, and C. C. Camp shot through both legs. Sheriff Sughrue happened to be there at the time, and no doubt saved two [or] three more from getting killed, as every body who had a pistol was firing. After the shooting was over the sheriff arrested Dave and Josiah Mather and lodged them in jail.

As yet nothing has been produced to show who killed Barnes, or who commenced the shooting. It is claimed, however, that after Mather struck Barnes, he (Barnes) drew his pistol and fired, striking Mather in the forehead, and that a dozen shots were fired within the next ten seconds. Below we give what the brother of the deceased has to say, also Sheriff Pat Sughrue.

STATEMENT OF JOHN BARNES.

My brother told me Saturday evening that he would have to come in to prove up on some land. I came in with him on Sunday. We got here about 3 o'clock. We stopped on the other side of the bridge. We came over to the city to get our mail. My brother said: "We will go down street and see if I can find Doc Neil," who was a friend of my brother. A little boy was with us, by the name of Frank Eastman. We went into a saloon opposite the railroad track, the second door from the corner. My brother went back to look at a game of keno and afterwards came back to the counter. He was talking to two men. I do not know what they said, but heard my brother say: "I will play one or two games for pastime." One of the strangers went behind the bar and got some cards and checks. My brother and the stranger sat down to the table and commenced playing "seven up." They were playing for a dollar a game. The name of the man was Mather or Matthews, I do not know which. My brother won the first game, the other man the second and my brother the third. After my brother went out on the game the man picked up the money with his

right hand and shoved the cards over to my brother with the left, then got up and walked around the table and back of my brother. My brother got up and backed away, and said: "I want my money." The man then jumped toward my brother and tried to get his hand inside of his coat. My brother pulled his coat together with both hands, the man then struck him. My brother fell back considerably and his hat fell off; he may have caught himself on his right hand. My brother had his money purse in the inside pocket of his vest or coat, I do not know which. He had exposed his money when he started to play cards.

When my brother was struck I stepped up and said to this man: "That man has some friends here and he can't be robbed in such a manner." He shoved me back and said: "What have you got to do with this?" I then attempted to pull my revolver which I carried in my hip pocket, when a man caught my hand just as [I] got hold of it, and told me to hold up. Some one caught hold of my other hand and the man had hold of my revolver with both hands. I did not know that he was the sheriff, and thought that if I gave up the revolver he would kill me. He told me he was the sheriff. I heard a ball go by my head, and turned to see where my brother was. I saw him standing at the door with his side toward me acting like he was trying to get out, and then he fell down, easy like. I think that about five shots were fired, and that three revolvers fired at once. The man that was playing with my brother stood about eight feet from me and about fifteen feet from my brother. When I turned to look this man was facing my brother and had his arm out, pointing toward him. I do not know whether he had a gun or not. The man behind the bar was doing something with his arms, and either had one or both of them stretched out. My brother was twenty-four years old this coming birthday. He sold groceries at his residence and had followed that business for six years.

STATEMENT OF SHERIFF SUCHRUE.

Last Sunday evening as I [was] passing the Junction saloon I saw quite a crowd inside, and I went in. A large number were playing keno, and Dave Mather and a stranger were playing "seven up" at a table by themselves. They seemed to be laughing and talking to each other, and I stood behind the stranger and watched the game for a while. They were playing for fifty cents a game, and I believe had played three games, at the end of which Dave Mather got up from the table and picking up the money with one hand threw the cards over toward the stranger with the other. Mather walked around the table and the stranger got up and backed off a little. The stranger then told Dave that he wanted his money, as he had won it fairly. Mather then struck the stranger, and at the same time seemed to be trying to get his hand in the inside of the strangers coat. I said to Mather: "Here, that won't do!" Just then some one in the back part of the room cried out, "Look out, he is pulling a gun!"

I turned around and saw a man trying to get his gun out. I rushed at him and grabbed his hand and revolver at the same time. The shooting then commenced. The man that I was holding did not know me. I could not see who [was] doing the shooting while wrestling with the man. I told him I was the sheriff, and he finally let go of the gun. I then turned around and saw the stranger who was playing with Mather, standing at the door, and in a few seconds he fell to the floor. Josiah Mather was behind the bar, and had a gun in his hand. While I was looking he fired three times in the direction of the stranger at the door. I immediately arrested Josiah Mather. Dave Mather

had a gun on when I arrested him but it was loaded and no empty shells were in it. I then learned that the name of the deceased was David Barnes, and the man I took the gun from was John Barnes.

The preliminary will take place next Monday afternoon, and it is hoped that more light may be thrown on the case.

Deceased and John Barnes lived in Clark county, about eight miles from Fowler City, and deceased sold groceries at his residence. He leaves a wife and two children.¹⁴

An inquest was held on May 11 and 14 and reported in the *Globe Live Stock Journal*, May 19, 1885:

STATE OF KANSAS, }
County of Ford, } ss

An inquisition holden at Dodge City, in Ford county, on the 11th and 14th days of May, 1885, before me, R. G. Cook, J. P., Dodge township, Ford county, and acting coroner of said county, on the body of D. Barnes, there lying dead, by the jurors whose names are hereto subscribed.

The said jurors on their oaths do say that the deceased, D. Barnes, came to his death on the 10th day of May, 1885, from a gun shot wound received at the hands of David Mathers and Josiah Mathers, by means of revolvers by them fired, and that the said shooting was feloniously done.

In witness whereof the said jurors have hereto set their hands this 14th day of May, 1885.

Foreman, H. C. BAKER,
A. C. LANGLEY,
A. McCLEOD,
ANDY FALKNER,
G. T. LOGAN,
B. J. JACKSON.

Attest: R. G. Cook, Justice of the Peace, acting as Coroner.

The Mathers' preliminary examination was held on May 22. The Dodge City *Democrat* reported the hearing next day:

THE SHOOTING.

The preliminary trial of David and Josiah Mather took place yesterday, but nothing, to the testimony given at the coroner's inquest, which appeared in our last issue, was shown. Several witnesses were examined, and their testimony was all about the same. The case shows that D. Barnes was killed at the Junction saloon, and that himself and brother had gone there armed. That D. Barnes had shot at Dave Mather, (the ball going through his hat), with the intention to kill. That John Barnes attempted to pull a revolver but was hindered by the sheriff. That Josiah Mather was seen shooting over the bar. That Dave Mather was not seen to fire a shot.

That is all that has been produced so far, and the case will be very difficult to unravel. There is liable to be more light thrown on it, however, at the trial which takes place at the next term of court in June. . . .¹⁵

On June 11, 1885, the Dodge City *Times* said:

David and Josiah Mather, charged with murdering D. Barnes at Dodge City two or three weeks ago, after being committed to jail without bond were brought before Judge Strang at chambers in Kinsley, Tuesday upon habeas

corpus. After hearing the testimony presented in support of the petition for the writ, the court permitted each of said defendants to be discharged on bond in the sum of three thousand dollars. The defendants are held for bail which they will probably be able to give.—Kinsley Mercury.

Mather apparently was able to raise the required bond for on August 4, 1885, the *Globe Live Stock Journal* reported that he was in Topeka:

Fred Singer and Dave Mathers, alias 'Mysterious Dave,' were registered at the Windsor Hotel on the 31st ult, while Mike Sutton was booked at the Copeland. We failed to see any notice of either having been interviewed by Topeka newspaper reporters.

In the same issue the *Globe* carried this item from the Kinsley Mercury:

The murderer, Dave Mathers, left Dodge City last Wednesday night as Jeff Davis left the Southern Confederacy—in boots petticoats and hoopskirts. It had come time to kill Dave, and not desiring to be present on that occasion he disguised himself as Jeff Davis and took his hoops in hand and walked. His whereabouts will probably be known when it comes time for his next killing.—Kinsley Mercury.

Dave did leave the city, but not in petticoats, the reports of his going, like others from this city, become wonderfully magnified as they travel from home.

Next, Mather, perhaps not so surprisingly, became a lawman again. The Dodge City *Times*, August 20, 1885, recorded his appointment in a Barber county town:

Dave Mather, on Friday last was appointed City Marshal of New Kiowa, and at once entered upon the duties of the office. Dave was marshal at Dodge City, and also assistant marshal for a long time. Dave makes a good officer.¹⁶

The Mather brothers apparently never stood trial for the murder of Barnes, escaping that ordeal by jumping their \$3,000 bonds. The *Globe Live Stock Journal*, December 8, 1885, reported the act: "In the Mathers case they failed to appear, and their bonds were forfeited."

1. *Ford County Globe*, July 17, 24, August 14, September 11, 1883; *Dodge City Times*, November 15, 1883. 2. "Governors' Correspondence," archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. 3. *See, also, Ford County Globe*, October 2, 1883. 4. *See, also, Dodge City Times*, November 29, 1883. 5. *Ford County Globe*, June 10, 1884; *Dodge City Times*, June 12, 1884. 6. "Ford County Commissioners' Journals," v. A, p. 444; *Dodge City Democrat*, February 2, 9, 1884. 7. *Dodge City Times*, April 10, 1884; *Ford County Globe*, April 15, 1884. 8. *Dodge City Democrat*, June 7, 1884, *see, also, Dodge City Kansas Cowboy*, June 28, 1884. 9. *See, also, Dodge City Times*, July 24, 1884; *Dodge City Democrat*, July 26, 1884; *Dodge City Kansas Cowboy*, July 26, 1884. 10. *See, also, Dodge City Democrat*, August 2, 1884; *Dodge City Kansas Cowboy*, August 2, 1884; *Dodge City Times*, August 7, 1884. 11. *See, also, Dodge City Kansas Cowboy*, August 9, 1884; *Dodge City Democrat*, August 16, 1884. 12. *Globe Live Stock Journal*, October 28, 1884; *Dodge City Democrat*, December 20, 1884. 13. *See, also, Dodge City Democrat*, January 3, 1885. 14. *See, also, Dodge City Times*, May 14, 1885. 15. *See, also, ibid.*, May 28, 1885; *Dodge City Democrat*, May 30, 1885. 16. *See, also, Dodge City Democrat*, August 22, 1885.

MEAGHER, MICHAEL

(1844?-1881)

In the spring of 1871 Wichita was a rapidly growing trading center, officially less than one year old. Though the Chisholm trail ended at Wichita, the cattle trade had bypassed the town and continued on north via Joseph G. McCoy's trail extension to Abilene. Not until May, 1872, when the Wichita and Southwestern provided rail connections to the Santa Fe main line at Newton, did Wichita achieve status as a major cowtown and cattle shipping center.

Those first years were not ones of tranquility and even tenored growth, however. From the time the town was incorporated, July, 1870, until its elevation to a city of the third class, April, 1871, at least three marshals were appointed only to resign or leave for unexplained reasons. Nor was death on the city streets unknown as the shooting of J. E. Ledford (which was detailed in the section on Jack Bridges), February 26, 1871, testifies.

Becoming a city of the third class meant that an election had to be held in order for a mayor and city council to be chosen to replace the old board of trustees. Shortly after the election, the new mayor, E. B. Allen, and the council appointed William Smith marshal of the town. Three days later, on April 13, Smith resigned; the council then appointed Mike Meagher. The assistant marshal was Meagher's brother, John. In addition two policemen were appointed, Bradford Dean and Adam Roberts.¹ Each of the officers was formally notified of his selection and was required to complete an oath of office. That of Marshal Meagher was typical:

WICHITA KANSAS
April 13th 1871

MR MICHAEL MEAGHER
SIR

You have this day been duly appointed *City Marshal* in and for the city of Wichita by the City Council of said City. You will proceed at once to be duly qualified.

E B ALLEN
Mayor of the City of Wichita

Attest
O. W. BROMWELL
Clerk

THE STATE OF KANSAS)
County of Sedgwick)
City of Wichita)

I Michael Meagher do solemnly swear that I will support the constitution of the United States, the constitution of the State of Kansas, and faithfully discharge the duties of the office of City Marshal in and for the City of Wichita, so help me God.

MICHAEL MEAGHER

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 13th day of April A. D. 1871.

W. B. HUTCHINSON, Deputy Clerk ²

The first city council of Wichita lost little time in making preparations for the suppression of lawlessness and disorder. On April 15 motions were carried which instructed the city attorney, D. C. Hackett, "to draft an Ordinance prohibiting the carrying of deadly weapons concealed or otherwise," and by which "the City Marshal and two members of the Council (to be selected by the Mayor) [would] be appointed as a committee to ascertain the probable cost of building a suitable City Jail or Calaboose. . . ." On April 29 the council authorized the marshal to "procure six suitable badges to be worn by himself, Asst. Marshal & Policemen."³

The fifth and sixth badges were put to use on May 7, 1871, with the appointment of Policemen William E. Reid and Charles W. Allen. On May 25 another man was added when Daniel Parks was named second assistant marshal. The same day, however, the resignations of Bradford Dean and Adam Roberts were accepted.⁴

The contract for building the city jail was let on June 1, 1871, early construction to be paid for by poll and dog taxes.⁵ So quickly was the work accomplished that by June 22, 1871, the *Wichita Tribune* was able to say: "Our saloon keepers sell the drinks, and next week Marshal Meagher will be ready to cell the drinker's.— In the new calaboose."

At a meeting held June 28 the council authorized acceptance of the new jail provided the "committee on calaboose" judged it satisfactory after a careful inspection.

With a new jail open for business and five men on the police force the city council apparently felt ready to enforce its ordinances. At the June 28 meeting Mike Meagher was instructed

to procure at the expense of the City two pine boards 3 X 4 feet and have the following inscribed thereon.

NOTICE.

All persons are hereby forbidden the carrying of firearms or other dangerous weapons within the city limits of Wichita under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

By Order of the Mayor

M MEAGHER
City Marshal

The Marshal is furthermore instructed to have one of the boards erected at the River ford at the foot of Douglas Avenue and the other near the Harris House or some prominent place near the Emporia Road.⁶

The summer of 1871 was apparently peaceful enough. One of the main police duties was the retention of stray hogs. As the summer progressed the force experienced a heavy turnover in personnel,

including all positions except that of marshal. On August 16 Assistant Marshal John Meagher resigned and upon the recommendation of the marshal Policeman S. K. Ohmert was promoted. Others who served on the force included George D'Amour and Charles Bratton.⁷

On November 15, 1871, Emil Werner, a local saloon keeper, filed a letter with the city council protesting the treatment he had received at the hands of the Wichita police force:

TO HIS HONOR THE MAYOR & COUNCILMEN OF THE CITY OF WICHITA

I Emil Werner your petitioner would respectfully beg leave to represent to your Honorable body that on the 25th day of October A. D. 1871, Michael Meagher, City Marshal, S. K. Ohmert, Deputy Marshal & Charles Bratten, policemen, Entered my saloon situated on Main Street, No. 17, Wichita, Kansas, and arrested and took from thence a Soldier who was sleeping at one of my tables. In a short time they returned and Charles Bratten entered the saloon the other two, viz: Meagher & Ohmert remaining at the door. Bratton spoke to me, telling me, that I would get myself into trouble, selling liquor to men and getting them drunk. I replied that I paid license for selling liquor, and that what I paid to the city, helped to pay his Salary. He (Bratton) without any further provocation, struck me with a revolver and knocked me down and before I could get up the others (Meagher & Ohmert) rushed in, and all three of them struck me with revolvers and sling shots and took me off to the Calaboose, without Coat or hat, tearing my shirt off of my back, locking my door and taking possession of my keys.

I was finally released upon the payment of the sum of \$5.00 into the City Treasury, together with the costs of Suit. Amounting in all to Eight Dollars. Now therefore I would respectfully request your Honorable Body to examine into these Statements that I have here made, and if you find them correct & true, to remit & repay the fine & costs imposed upon me, Otherwise to act as in your judgment you deem best

And this your Petitioner humbly prays

EMIL WERNER.

WICHITA Nov. 15th 1871.

Apparently little came of Emil Werner's protest. At the council meeting of December 6, 1871, it was decided that "action on the petition of Emil Werner complaining of certain acts of the City Police be indefinitely postponed."⁸

In spite of the fact that it was not stimulated by the Texas cattle trade, Wichita was a fast-growing city. Before the next annual election it was elevated to city of the second class, and by law the city marshal was elected by the people, not appointed by the council. The *Wichita City Eagle*, April 12, 1872, reported:

THE CITY ELECTION

The City election in Wichita, under the special act making it a City of the second class, on the 2nd passed off pleasantly and with no particular excitement, and no trouble of whatever character. The men chosen to fill both the offices

of the city and school board are among our most substantial and leading men, in which we congratulate our citizens. The following are the names of those chosen for the various positions and are taken from our contemporary the *Vidette*.

Dr E. B. Allen was elected Mayor, J. M. Atwood, Police Judge, . . . M. Meagher, Marshal, . . . S. K. Ohmert and George D'Amour, Constables.⁹

On April 12, 1872, only a month before the Wichita and South-western guaranteed the town temporary supremacy in the Texas cattle trade, the Wichita *Eagle* described the place as a model of propriety:

The Sabbath day is as strictly observed—Sunday as quiet, upon the streets of Wichita, as in any town of the west. It is remarked by strangers, who, almost unanimously, wonder and congratulate. No drunkenness or street brawling can be seen or heard at any time, notwithstanding the place is a frontier town not three years old, containing all the elements, excepting those of drunkenness and rowdiness, to be found usually in frontier towns. For this moral state of affairs much is due the city government and the wholesome manner in which its ordinances are administered, as also, to the intelligent and moral element that predominates in the society of the place. None others than members of the police force are permitted to carry arms. Upon each avenue leading into the city is a large sign prohibiting the carrying of deadly weapons under penalty of both fine and imprisonment. We can assure all who contemplate making this live city their home, immunity from all danger, and from even disagreeable disturbances.

Six weeks later the railroad had arrived and things were immediately different. Foreseeing a riotous summer's cattle season, the *Eagle*, May 24, 1872, suggested:

It must be evident to every one that the police force of this city should be uniformed, that is, the members should be compelled to wear such a suit as would be recognizable upon the instant. Another thing, each man's beat should be prescribed and in that quarter he should stay except when called upon for assistance by the chief or some other member. We have seen men whooping full of whisky and no police in sight. It is also evident that ways and means must be devised for doubling up the force for at least two or three months during the summer. Should our authorities fail in holding their present power woe will be the sure result.

The newspaper's advice was heeded to an extent. On June 7, 1872, the *Eagle* reported that more men had been hired for the force:

The city council at their meeting on Wednesday night appointed two additional men on the police force of the city, viz: Geo. D'Amour and D. F. Parks. Two secret police were also appointed for a certain duty. The council also incorporated a certain piece of ground near the bridge and extended police authority over it.

A few days later the city council commissioned even more policemen. The minutes of the city council record the appointments:

On motion of Mr Schattner the following resolution was adopted

Resolved that the Mayor be empowered to appoint as special police men the men acting as toll keepers on the bridge whose duty it shall be to take possession of and safely keep all fire arms carried by parties crossing the bridge into the City of Wichita said policemen to receive such salary as may be paid them by the bridge company. . . .

Resolved that the Mayor be empowered to purchase fifty brass copper or tin checks to be supplied to said toll keepers and it shall be the duty of the said toll keepers upon receiving any fire arms from any person crossing the bridge into the City of Wichita to give one of the checks for the same and upon the presentation of which when leaving the City the party owning the fire arm shall be entitled to receive the same.¹⁰

Much of the time of the police force continued to be taken up with the collection of fines, shooting stray dogs, and other routine duties. Occasionally things would get lively but usually were stopped before they could get well developed. The *Wichita Eagle*, June 14, 1872, reported such an incident:

The efficiency of our police was exemplified on Wednesday night. Mike Meagher, city marshal, went into a saloon and took a knife from a fellow's girdle that looked like a butcher's cleaver elongated. There were two together, and they had concluded to stand him off, but finally were persuaded not to do so.

A week later the *Eagle* reported a similar happening:

A fellow that said he would get away with a policeman before night, kept his word. We saw them going toward the calaboose early in the evening. Several of them have got away with the police the same way this week.

The only incident of continued interest that summer of 1872, was the arrest, escape and re-arrest of a man named Sam Teets whom Mike Meagher had captured for the authorities of a Pennsylvania town. The crime charged, seduction, was of minor importance in light of the strange transactions carried on through legal channels. The *Wichita Eagle*, July 26, 1872, reported the first arrest:

One Samuel Teats was arrested here on Saturday, by Marshal Mike Meagher, upon a telegram from the sheriff of Alleghany, Penn. Teats is charged with seduction, under a promise of marriage, which is a crime under the laws of Pennsylvania punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary. We understand that Meagher had previously received a descriptive letter from the authorities in Alleghany, which enclosed a photograph, so there remains little room for mistake. The reward offered for his arrest was \$1,000. Teats was taken before 'Squire Van Trees and in default of proper bail was committed to prison until such time as the Pennsylvania authorities can be heard from.

Further developments were reported in the *Eagle*, August 2, 1872:

Last week we noticed that one Samuel Teats had been arrested by Mike Meagher, upon a telegram from Alleghany City, Penn. Within a day or two after the arrest, a man representing himself as B. F. Clark, chief of police of the above city, made his appearance, provided with a requisition from the governor of Pennsylvania. The night of Clark's arrival Teats, with other prisoners, was furnished tools, and, but for timely discovery, would have made his escape in a few minutes. The next night Clark hand-cuffed Teats and put him aboard the north-bound train. While he was procuring his tickets his prisoner walked out of the car and out into the dark and liberty. The pretended chief made no attempt to recapture his bird, but took the train and left. There is a strong suspicion that all is not as it should be. A thousand dollars had been offered for the arrest of Teats, a per cent. of which Clark forked over to Mr. Meagher. We believe the latter officer has addressed the city authorities of Alleghany upon the subject.

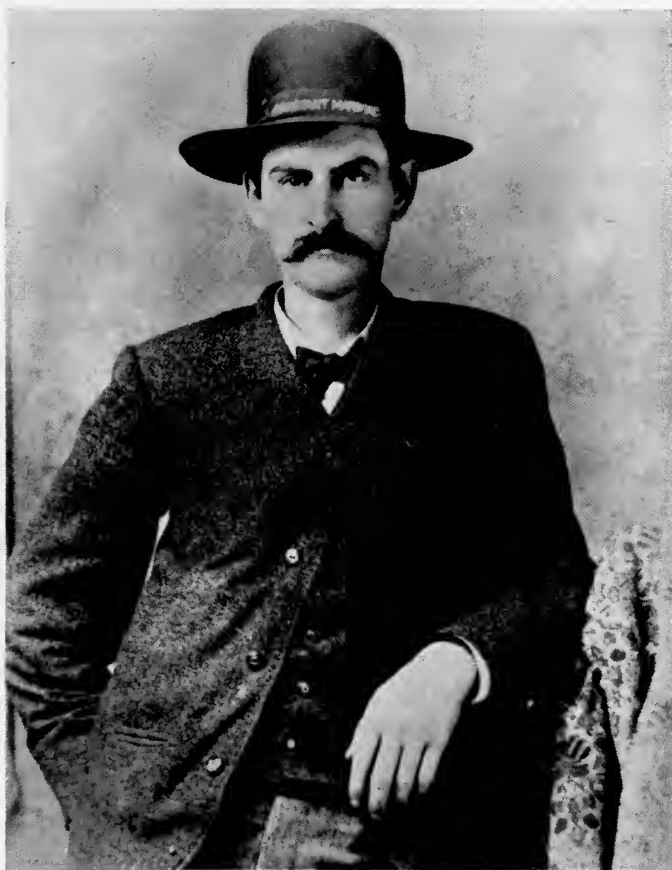
A week later, August 9, 1872, the Teats affair was again on the *Eagle's* pages:

The B. F. Clark great detective embroilment caused some little talk and feeling among our citizens and officers. The associate dispatches, as also Clark's affidavit, both of which set forth that our officers connived at Teats' escape, are a complete tissue of lies, colored only by circumstantial truths. Unfortunately for the great shyster detective, some half dozen of our best citizens were perfectly cognizant of all that occurred at the depot. John Meagher, the sheriff [elected November 14, 1871], Mike Meagher, city marshal, J. C. Morehouse, deputy sheriff, and Jim Antrim, policeman, are too well known, and have had their courage and honor too often tested, for the affidavit of a cowardly sneak to affect them in Wichita. Clark was either bribed by Teats or scared out of his wits, and from the fact that Teats offered \$500 for his release, and the other fact that Clark had a long private conversation with his prisoner, our people entertain but little doubt that Clark was bought. The *Pittsburgh Dispatch* divines the whole matter in the following brief paragraph, which, although misapprehending the facts as far as our officers are concerned, lays Mr. Clark, the pusillanimous coward, wide open:

"While we do not doubt that the town officials of Wichita, Kansas, when Chief Clark went to receive the prisoner Teats, acted very strangely and did all they could do to prevent his being brought away, we cannot help feeling surprised that an experienced detective like Mr. Clark should have left his prisoner in charge of any one for a moment, especially on so trivial an excuse as that of purchasing a ticket. He surely ought to have known that none of the other officers had any authority to hold Teats, after he had been delivered to him and receipted for."

On August 16, 1872, the *Eagle* reported the end of the Samuel Teats case:

The Teats affair has had at last a practical solution, and a solution that proves our boys not only honest, but entirely too sharp for the boobies who undertook to slander them. After all the blowing that was done, the boys quietly made up their minds that Mr. Teats should be put into the hands of the governor of Kansas. To this end they went quietly to work. Nobody



Mysterious Dave Mather, all decked out, about 1883, in his Dodge City policeman's "uniform."

GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION.

\$1700 REWARD!

STATE OF KANSAS,

Executive Department, Topeka, Dec. 9, 1882.

I, **JOHN P. ST. JOHN**, Governor of the State of Kansas, by virtue of the authority vested in me by law, do hereby offer a reward of **FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS** for the arrest and conviction of one **Jim. Talbott**, as principal, and **THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS** each, for the arrest and conviction of **Jim. Martin**, **Bob. Munson**, **Bob. Bigtree**, and **Dug. Hill**, as accessories, to the murder of **MIKE. MEACHER**, in **Sumner County**, **Kansas**, on or about the 17th day of **December**, **1881**.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name, and affixed the Great Seal of the State, at Topeka, the day and year first above written.

[L. S.]

JOHN P. ST. JOHN.

By the Governor:

JAMES SMITH,

Secretary of State.

Reward poster issued by the state of Kansas for the apprehension of the murderers of Mike Meagher at Caldwell, December 17, 1881.

suspicioned anything, or knew that the boys were up to anything until Mike Meagher and George D'Amour came marching into town the other night with the escaped bird. He had been caught at a camp on the high prairies, fifty miles northwest of Wichita, near Hutchinson. The old calaboose was not to be trusted, and Mr. Teets now lies in the Topeka jail awaiting orders from the governor of Pennsylvania. The boys have been at great pains and expense in maintaining their honor against the foul slander of Clark, and we congratulate them upon the happy turn of affairs.

It is possible that Mike Meagher held a commission as either a township or county officer in addition to his office of city marshal for on August 9, 1872, the *Wichita Eagle* reported that he had made an arrest far from the boundaries of the town: "Mike Meagher rode sixty miles day before yesterday and arrested two persons who had stolen a team of horses from a Missourian."

In October Mike again stopped a disturbance before it had a chance to make much headway. The *Eagle*, October 10, 1872, said: "Our efficient city marshal, with his usual promptness and unflinching bravery, on last Tuesday [October 8] quelled a disturbance which was fast assuming dangerous proportions by promptly arresting and lodging the leaders in the calaboose."

Two weeks later Mike prevented a fight between two Wichita lawyers from taking disastrous proportions. The *Eagle*, October 24, 1872, stated:

A slight difference of opinion arose between two law partners of our city, on Tuesday afternoon, which they concluded to decide with their muscle. After taking several rounds on the sidewalk in front of their office, and failing to come to any definite decision, they were invited by the city marshal to postpone further trial until the opening of the police judge's court next morning.

As the *Eagle* said in the same issue: "As far as we know, we believe the boys who look after the good order of the city are seldom complained of."

Within two months, however, a local gambler found something to complain about. It was explained in his petition to the Wichita city council:

TO THE HONERABLE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF WICHITA.

Your petitioner I Thayer states that in the year 1872 he was running a room for gambling purposes & paying for the privilege therefore into the City Treasury of Wichita City the Sum of fifty dollars per month. Your petitioner further states that having paid said sum of money to said city he was allowed to run his the said Gambling room that during this time the Marshal of said city demanded the further sum of twenty five dollars which sum was paid the said marshal. Your petitioner states that it was stipulated & agreed upon that it was to cost your petitioner no more than fifty dollars for running said gambling rooms. that the said city of Wichita was not Entitled to the further

sum of twenty five dollars which your petitioner paid to said city of Wichita, wherefore your petitioner prays that said twenty five dollars be remitted to him, or be applied on his saloon license for the month of February 1873.

I THAYER ¹¹

Except for the disappearance of Assistant Marshal George D'Amour (which was covered in the section on D'Amour) police business in Wichita was slow indeed until well into the spring of 1873. True, the annual city election in April enlivened the scene somewhat but the new mayor, James G. Hope, and the city council, in retaining Meagher in the marshal's office (his post was once again appointive), removed the trauma of change from the police department. Except for William Dibbs, who was named policeman, all were veterans in the business. Dan Parks, the new assistant marshal and W. E. Harwig, policeman, had both served on the Wichita force before. Meagher, of course, was beginning his third term.

In May, Mike nabbed two robbers from eastern Kansas. The *Eagle*, May 15, 1873, reported:

Two criminals, Clark Whisner and Tom Preston, who robbed a store at Twin Springs, Linn county, last week, were arrested by Marshal Meagher, ironed and in the calaboose within an hour after their arrival in town. The only means he had for identifying the thieves was a letter which he had received from the authorities of Linn, which speaks well for his efficiency and discretion as an officer. Wichita is a poor rendezvous for rogues.

A few days later Meagher prevented possible bloodshed. The *Eagle*, June 5, 1873, stated:

A drunken man assaulted Mr. Fox, the omnibus agent, last Thursday night, with a pistol. The owner of the pistol would have figured in the hearse at a funeral next day, but for the opportune appearance of the city marshal.

Apparently Mike Meagher sought to resign from the police force but his resignation was laid over at the July 9, 1873, meeting of the city council. At the meeting of July 16 a motion was made to increase the marshal's salary but this too was postponed. Judging from later salary payments neither the resignation nor the increase was approved.¹²

On July 24, 1873, the police force came in for some criticism from the *Wichita Eagle*:

Two horse races occurred last Saturday, upon one of which \$800 was staked. Of course the decision was unsatisfactory, and much loud talk during the evening was indulged in upon the street, especially at the postoffice crossing on Douglas avenue, where three or four fellows on horses blocked up the walk and cursed and swore, and used vile epithets at a fearful rate, regardless of passing ladies. We noticed two policemen in the crowd who never raised a hand to clear the walk, to stop the oaths or to make an arrest. At last

John M. Steele [Mike Meagher's brother-in-law] stepped forward and told the horseman to clear the track.

On Christmas day, 1873, Wichita was thrown into a frenzy of excitement by what appeared to be an accidental fire and death. Subsequent investigation indicated, however, that neither the fire nor the death was accidental. For weeks the case of the "Christmas Cremation" was the big news in Wichita and little else in the way of police activity was reported upon. Though Mike Meagher was city marshal at the time of the fire the role he played in the drama was small and his name appeared in the cast only infrequently. Finally the climax was reached and two young men, Arthur Winner and Joseph W. McNutt were convicted of the murder of one W. W. Sevier and sentenced to be hanged. The most active police role was taken by an ex-policeman, William Smith, and further details of the crime will appear in the section devoted to him.

Possibly because of the excellent job of detection done by Smith in the Christmas cremation case he was appointed Wichita city marshal by the mayor and city council who were elected in April, 1874. Thus on April 15, 1874, Mike Meagher, after serving three years, was no longer on the city police force.¹³

For a while Mike stayed in Wichita, then went into the Indian territory. He was in Wichita when the *Eagle*, May 7, 1874, reported:

Ex-Marshall Mike Meagher, with a long whip in hand, and astride of a vicious kicking mustang, to which was attached a shaky buggy containing two men, presented such an unusual scene as to frighten a pair of long eared mules, attached to a lumber wagon, into a stampede, for which the colored driver was arrested and fined \$3.00 and costs for reckless driving; all of which had the effect to heighten the usual stir on Douglas avenue of our lively city, on Tuesday afternoon.

Mike then went south but was back in Wichita early in June. The *Eagle*, June 11, 1874, noted his visit:

Our ex-marshal, Mike Meagher, put in an appearance in Wichita last week. He has been milling around through the Indian Territory and the western part of the state. Mike made a good officer, and has hosts of friends in the city where he stood so long as its chief sentinel.

Meagher served as a deputy United States marshal that summer but no record has been found of the terminal dates of his appointment. As a deputy marshal he was mentioned only twice by the Wichita newspapers. The *Eagle*, June 18, 1874, said:

Deputy U. S. Marshal Mike Meagher arrested Frenchy last Sabbath evening in this city, and started for Fort Sill, Indian Territory, with his prisoner last Monday morning.

The second article appeared the following week and once more dealt with "Frenchy":

Mike Meagher, U. S. deputy marshal, returned from Ft. Sill last Monday, having safely delivered French into the hands of the U. S. officers. This French acknowledged that he had himself been, and had put the Indians up to much of the devilment of the last year. He is a desperate character, and it is supposed he had a hand in the murdering of that young doctor at the fort last spring. Sheriff [P. H.] Massey showed us a letter yesterday which made inquiries about French. It was from the great spiritualist E. V. Wilson, and announced that French's father's vessel had arrived in New York 9th inst., it appearing that his father was a sea-captain sailing out of the port of New York. The time French was in Wichita he had two stolen horses and it is supposed that he was on his way east. These facts we gain from Meagher and Massey.¹⁴

While Mike was acting as a deputy U. S. marshal, the Topeka *Commonwealth*, June 14, 1874, reported that he was first lieutenant in a newly formed militia company then engaged in scouting possible Indian difficulties along the southern Kansas border.

With the return of spring and the city elections approaching once again Mike began to eye the office of Wichita city marshal. In 1875, as in 1872, the marshal was to be elected by the people. Both Mike Meagher and incumbent Smith made a bid for the office in the *Eagle* of April 1, 1875. Mike announced:

EDITOR EAGLE:

At the earnest solicitation of business men, and the urgency of many Texas men, by letter, I take this opportunity of announcing myself as a candidate for the office of city marshal, at the ensuing spring election.

Respectfully,
MIKE MEAGHER

A third candidate for the office was Dan Parks who had served as assistant marshal since 1873. When the election was over, April 5, 1875, Mike had won easily, garnering 340 votes to Parks' 311 and Smith's 65.¹⁵

The newly elected mayor, George E. Harris, and city council met on April 21, 1875, naming John Behrens assistant marshal and Wyatt Earp and James Cairns policemen.¹⁶

Mike had hardly begun his fourth term as marshal when he captured two horse thieves. The Wichita *Beacon*, May 5, 1875, reported the arrest:

Last week city marshal Meagher received a postal card from Kalida, Woodson county, giving the description of a mare and three horses that had been stolen from Mr. Stewart, a farmer living four miles this side of Kalida. Taking a turn about town, the marshal struck the trail of two men whose actions excited his suspicions, and tracing them up he found that they had a couple of horses at a livery stable, on Douglas avenue. The horses corresponding to the

description given on the postal card, Mike took possession of them, and afterwards arrested the two men, who gave their names as Thos. Cook and Charley Glosfelter. The fact of their arrest was telegraphed to the Sheriff of Woodson county, who arrived here on Thursday night, accompanied by Mr. Stewart. The men and stock were identified, taken possession of, and on Saturday morning departed for Woodson county, where they will probably receive a full reward for their love of horse flesh and their fondness for traveling at the expense of others.

The cowboys who frequented Wichita's entertainment areas were no respecters of the Sabbath. The *Wichita Eagle*, May 27, 1875, told of one such herder who successfully eluded the city's police:

The three shots that were fired on Main street between the Occidental and Empire last Sunday night, were showered into the innocent air by a hilarious party of the name of Higinbotham, who was a horse back, and heavily armed for the sport. The police chased him to the corporate limits, but could go no further.¹⁷

On August 11, 1875, the *Beacon* reported that

Mike Meagher received a telegram from the sheriff of Douglas county, Tuesday of last week, requesting the arrest of a colored man, named Jesse Harrington, for stealing a horse near Lawrence. The arrest was made but no response to the information sent the sheriff having been received up to Saturday night, Mike released his prisoner Sunday morning.

Also in August the city council relieved James Cairns from the force. The *Eagle* reported the action on August 12: "The city authorities have reduced the police force. This was wise. They might have done the same thing months ago, which would have been wiser." Remaining on the staff were Meagher, Behrens and Earp.

Toward the end of August, 1875, 32-year-old Mike married a 24-year-old Ohio girl named Jenny. The city little suspected Mike of romantic intentions as the *Beacon*, September 1, 1875, indicated in this article:

The marriage of Mike Meagher was quite a surprise, but an agreeable one, to his many friends here. That our popular city marshal should go off and "do so," without consulting some of the old "roadsters," was unexpected by them, to say the least. We wish him, for ourselves, a long, brilliant and happy wedded career with a life lived long enough to get up a full force of his own.¹⁸

Several disturbances of minor importance kept the police force busy in September. A lady of questionable virtue enlivened Main street on September 10, the *Beacon* reporting on September 15, 1875:

A soiled dove got her guzzle full of whisky last Friday and with a fast team drove single handed up and down Main Street, swearing and howling like a wolf. She was finally gathered by a "nabbing guy," following third on the booze register, under charge of loose and "laskivious" conduct.

The next night, Saturday, again saw Main as a place of lively spirits. The *Beacon* reported in the same issue (September 15):

A Main street dive furnished a sufficient amount of generic force to create a first class sceance last Saturday night, which was afterwards transferred to the cooler. The register showed enough names for a full game of eucher. Several of this party were married and reported themselves as lost on a hunt, but didn't tell what kind of a hunt.

In reporting similar disturbances the next week, the *Beacon* September 22, 1875, felt the police were not fully performing their duty:

Several night brawls of a disgraceful character, have occurred lately, between the hours of 12 and 2 o'clock. The scene dragged in front of the Occidental Hotel last Saturday morning was of this kind. Aside from thefts and even burglaries, such might not be worth mentioning, if they did not raise a question as to the whereabouts of our night police. Several citizens have complained of this already, and have intimated in a disreputable way as to the whereabouts of the police at these hours. When our officers do their duty no one is so quick to give them the meed of praise as the BEACON, and it is our equal duty to condemn them for any dereliction.

In November Mike Meagher arrested Bill Potts with the assistance of Wyatt Earp (*see* the section on Earp) and Ed Hays with the assistance of John Behrens (*see* the section on Behrens). The *Beacon* said of the latter capture:

One Ed. Hays came riding down from Little Rattlesnake, Tuesday, "smoothing his horse's chestnut mane," and all unaware that Mike Meagher knew of his coming, had his description, and true to his nature would, and did have him safely lodged in jail before night, charged with passing counterfeit money at Big Bend.¹⁹

After Potts was tried, and released, Meagher served another warrant on him. The *Beacon* reported the second arrest on November 17, 1875:

Bill Potts and the two colored men, an account of whose arrest was given in last week's issue, were brought before Justice Misner on Wednesday last, on a writ of *habeas corpus* and released. Marshal Meagher immediately served a state warrant on them, and they are now under charge of the sheriff. The stolen cattle belonged to a Mr. Saunders, of Fort Sill, for whom these men were working. Mr. Saunders arrived here on Friday night last.

Meagher was re-elected to the office of city marshal on April 4, 1876, in spite of the difficulty his policeman, Wyatt Earp, had caused shortly before the election by striking the rival candidate, William Smith. (*See* the section on Earp.) Mike won a handsome majority over Smith, the votes totalling 477 to 249.²⁰

Wichita's cattle business had begun to fall off sharply after the season of 1874. In both 1875 and 1876 shipments declined ap-

proximately one-half each year. By 1877 only 4,102 head were shipped out. With increased settlement around the older established routes the cattle trails were shifting westward to avoid the barbed wire of the nesters. Dodge City was fast becoming the most popular shipping center and in the years that Wichita's trade fell off, Dodge's increased by even greater percentages. For a while it seemed that the northern end of the Chisholm trail was doomed to a certain death but in the spring of 1880 it was given a transfusion by the completion of the Cowley, Sumner & Fort Smith railroad to Caldwell. From that time until the end of Kansas' trail-driving days Caldwell was booming, boisterous and bloody, aptly named by her residents, "the Border Queen."

Sometime before the completion of the railroad Mike Meagher had moved the scene of his own operations to Caldwell. He had served out his term as Wichita city marshal but between April, 1877, and April, 1880, transferred his loyalties to the Border Queen. On April 5, 1880, ten weeks before the first steam engine puffed into town Mike was elected mayor.²¹ He was Caldwell's second chief executive.

One of Mike's first official acts was to appoint a police force. The mayor nominated William Horseman, marshal; Dan Jones, assistant marshal, and James Johnson, policeman. All of the appointments were confirmed by the council.²² (See the sections devoted to each of these persons.)

On June 5, 1880, the United States census taker enumerated the city of Caldwell, listing Mike Meagher on page 18. Mike then was 37 years old; his brother John, 35, was also listed as being in the town. Both were born in Ireland.

When George Flatt was killed on the night of June 19, 1880, Mayor Mike Meagher, the city marshal, and several others were soon on the scene. Little could be done, however, for Flatt died instantly and the assassin was unknown. (See the section on Flatt.) A few days later Mike and his police force were arrested by county authorities, charged with complicity in the Flatt killing. The *Caldwell Commercial*, July 1, 1880, reported:

THE CITY GOVERNMENT ARRESTED.

Last Friday Sheriff Thralls came down with three or four deputies and warrants for the arrest of Mike Meagher, Mayor of the city, Wm. Horseman, City Marshal; Frank Hunt, James Johnson, Policemen; Dan Jones, Constable; and Geo. W. McFarland and R. H. Collins, charged with complicity in the killing of Geo. Flatt. The Sheriff also summoned Hugh A. Ross, Dr. [D.] MacMillan, Dan Rogers, Charles Spear and William Thompson, as witnesses on the part of the prosecution. No information could be obtained as to whether these ar-

rests were made on a verdict rendered by the Coroner's jury or at the instigation of outside parties.

Hasty preparations were made by prisoners and witnesses, and at 2:20 the party boarded the passenger train and went to Wellington. Arriving there they found that County Attorney Wilsie was sick and that no examination could be had before Tuesday. Steps were at once taken to sue out a writ of habeas corpus, which was done on Saturday and trial under the writ set for Monday before Judge Evans.

On Wednesday evening the trial closed, resulting in the discharge of all the parties except Horseman and Hunt. Warrants were immediately issued and the entire party re-arrested, but on second thought the Justice of the Peace issuing the warrants discharged Mr. Collins.

At noon to-day Meagher, Johnson, Jones and Collins came down, Collins to stay, but the others to return by the afternoon train. What the result of all this will be it is impossible to say, but, if we are correctly informed, the whole thing has the appearance of a put up job. So far no evidence has been offered—except that given by Thompson, a boy employed in the Varieties, who swore that he had been offered money to testify as he did; and the testimony of a man named Sexton, living at Missouri Flatts, who acknowledged that he had offered Thompson \$50 to testify against the parties—against any of the parties charged.

We are told that the Justice of the Peace—whose name we have forgotten—was indignant because the case was taken out of his hands and brought before the Probate Judge, and for that reason he issued the second batch of warrants. Be that as it may, all accounts agree that he showed an unusual personal interest in having any or all of the parties held for the killing of Flatt, regardless of evidence or any thing else.²³

Meagher's second examination was held July 3 before Justice of the Peace I. N. King at Wellington. Though Meagher was discharged, Horseman, Hunt, Jones, and Johnson were bound over for the next term of the district court. The *Caldwell Commercial*, July 8, 1880, indicated there never were any valid grounds for the arrests, that the whole thing was a money making scheme on the part of Wellington officials:

We have endeavored to obtain the evidence given in the trial before the Probate Judge and also before the Justice of the Peace, but have been unable to do so. Statements of its purport have been given by several who were present at both examinations, and from these statements we believe the desire on the part of the officials at Wellington was to bring business to their town and make money out of it rather than to discover who killed Flatt. It looks not only like a money making scheme, but also a scheme to cast odium upon the city of Caldwell, and to injure it in so far as could be done by conveying the impression that our people were a set of thugs and assassins. . . .

As with our other well known frontier characters, Mike was only human, and even the exalted office of mayor did not restrain him from engaging in a business common to his kind. On August 2, 1880, for instance, Mike was arrested for running a keno game. He was fined \$5 and costs by Police Judge James D. Kelly.²⁴

Meagher did not run for re-election in 1881 but on July 18 he was nominated for city marshal. The nomination was rejected by the city council.²⁵ There were those in the city who still wanted Mike to be marshal, however, and on July 21, 1881, the *Commercial* said:

Mike Meagher has taken to the saw and plane. Several of our citizens who know his qualifications for the position, have been anxious to have him appointed City Marshal, but Mike says he has had enough of that kind of business and believes he will stick to his present job.

But next week, on July 28, the *Commercial* announced Mike's appointment: "At the request of Mayor Hubbell, M. Meagher consented yesterday to act as City Marshal for the present."

Mike served as marshal of Caldwell for only five days. At a council meeting held August 1, 1881, the mayor placed both Mike's name and that of James Roberts in nomination for the position. Roberts received three council votes to Mike's one.²⁶ Thus was settled, temporarily, a police problem which had been before the mayor and city council for weeks. The *Commercial*, however, did not think highly of the decision, saying on August 4 that "we presume [the council] feel as proud as peacocks over the wisdom and able statesmanship they have exhibited in settling the vexed question for the time being at least."

The problem reappeared in October and Mike was again offered the marshal's position. He declined, however, as did George Brown and Dan Jones. The man finally selected was John Wilson.²⁷

A few weeks later Mike Meagher was cut down by an assassin's bullet. It happened on December 17, 1881, and was reported by the *Caldwell Post*, December 22:

WAR ON THE BORDER.

TWO MEN KILLED AND ONE WOUNDED.

A DESPERATE FIGHT WITH OUTLAWS.

To begin at the beginning of this affair, one would have to get into the secrets of men's hearts; so we will only begin at the apparent beginning. One Jim Talbot who has been around the city about a month, gambling, drinking, bullying, and attempting to bulldoze every one, was the leader of the party. He has a wife and little boy and girl living on Chisholm street, in this city, and came up the trail with Millett's herd this fall. On Friday night at the play he became very much incensed at the writer hereof, and swore he would kill him before he left the city. He repeated the threat on Saturday morning on the streets; but one editor was too sharp for him, and was out of his way. The aforesaid editor was not aware that the threat had been made until after the shooting on the street had occurred.

With Talbot on the drinking spree during the night were Jim Martin, Bob Bigtree, Tom Love, Bob Munsen, Dick Eddleman and George Speers. Speers did none of the shooting, but was in the act of saddling one of Talbot's horses

when he was shot. Talbot, Martin, Bigtree, Munson and Doug Hill were standing holding their horses near Speers, waiting for him to saddle up.

After the fighting in the city, and Mike Meagher and George Speers were killed, the five outlaws—Jim Talbot, Bob Bigtree, Bob Munson, Jim Martin, and Doug Hill—rode off to the east of town, across the railroad track. Some one of the citizens fired at and killed a horse from under one of them. He got up behind one of the other men. A party of citizens organized, mounted horses and started in pursuit.

The outlaws met a man bringing hay to town, with a lead horse in the rear of the wagon. They cut the horse loose and rode it off. At W. E. Campbell's they got two more horses, those they were riding having been wounded. The party of citizens got sight of them just before they crossed Bluff creek into the I. T. There were five of the outlaws then, but after they appeared on the prairie beyond, there were only four. They followed at a break-neck pace, both parties keeping up a constant fire for about twelve miles.

The outlaws headed for Deutcher Bros.'s horse ranch on Deer creek, intending to get fresh horses there, but were so closely pressed by the pursuing party that they could not make the change and get away. When they reached the ranch the citizens were only a few hundred feet away. The outlaws passed on to the bluff and creek about six hundred feet south of the ranch, dismounted and took to the brush and rocks, firing all the time at the citizens. The citizens finally drove them over the bluff and into a canyon, where there had been a stone dugout. Into this three of the outlaws went, threw up breast-works of stone, got behind them and would bang away at any one who showed an inch of his person to their view.

The citizens surrounded the gulch and kept up a constant firing at the fort, but without effect. One of the outlaws took refuge up in a small gulch leading to the west, and was not seen until he fired at W. E. Campbell, who was sliding down the hill on his face to get a commanding point above the fort. The outlaw's ball took effect in Campbell's wrist, passing between the two bones. Another ball passed through his clothes six or seven times, and made a small flesh wound on the thigh. This disconcerted the citizens to a certain extent, and, it being dark, they could do but little good in fighting. Being above the outlaws, they were splendid marks for their fire, while the outlaws were in the shadows, so that their position could not be distinguished. Had the fourth man been anywhere else in the gulch the citizens could have taken them in; but his position covered every point that the others were exposed from; in fact, he held the key to the situation. Thirty minutes more daylight would have told the tale for the outlaws; or had Campbell escaped the fire of the villain that shot him, he could have killed the other three in as many minutes, as his position commanded the fort in every corner. The two parties were not over seventy-five feet apart at any time during the battle, while Campbell's man was not over twenty-five feet from him when he shot. Johnny Hall got a bullet through the top of his hat, missing his head about an inch.

Reinforcements arrived at the ranch from town about ten o'clock. Pickets were formed around the gulch, but the outlaws had flown before that time. There were only about fifteen men at the place during the evening fight, and most of them returned to town as soon as Campbell was shot, leaving only six men to guard the gulch and over thirty head of horses. The horses required the attention of at least four men, for they were what the outlaws needed.

The morning round-up revealed the fact that the outlaws had escaped. The entire party, except Sheriff Thralls, Frank Evans, Bob Harrington, Jim Dobson, Sam Swayer, Mr. Freeman, A. Rhodes, another man and the writer hereof, came to town. About thirty-five came in, leaving the small party to look up the outlaws, inform the camps below to look out for stolen stock, etc. Our party visited two or three camps on Deer creek and started home. We met several parties coming out from town, most of them for fun, others for business. They all returned before night.

A party of fifteen was organized by the Mayor and started out Sunday evening to guard certain cow camps to see that no horses were stolen from them. The outlaws traveled six or seven miles, or possibly ten, Saturday night.

Two freighters were camped on Bullwhacker creek about eighteen miles south of this city Sunday night, when Talbot's party, five in number this time, rounded them up and took five horses from them. Two of the party were bare-headed, and one had a slight wound in his foot. The outlaws started south.

The freighters came in Monday about two o'clock, when Sheriff Thralls, with a posse, started in pursuit. Another party of freighters passed the outlaws near Pond creek during the night. The outlaws were going south.

A party was organized Tuesday evening and started to Cantonment to intercept them there. Mr. George Brown was in charge of the party.

SYNOPSIS OF EVIDENCE

before Coroner's jury concerning the death of Mike Meagher:

Dr. Noble's evidence was to the effect that Meagher died from the effects of a gunshot wound through the lungs, the ball passing through the fleshy part of the right arm, thence through the body, producing death in about twenty-five or thirty minutes from the time of the infliction of the wound. Dr. West assisted in the *post mortem* examination, and verifies Dr. Noble's evidence. John Wilson, City Marshal, says, in his evidence, that early in the morning (Saturday) Mike Meagher came to his residence and asked him to come down town and stop a riot; that Jim Talbot and party were wanting to kill him. He came down town with Meagher, went to Moores Bros.' saloon, arrested Tom Love for firing a revolver in the building. Bill Mankin, Bob Munson, Dick Eddleman and Jim Talbot were with him, armed with revolvers, needle guns and Winchesters. "I started to take Tom Love to the calaboose, when he resisted. I called Mike Meagher to assist me, when the party made a rush for us and made an attack upon Meagher. Meagher went up the Opera House stair way, and I stood at the bottom. Jim Talbot and Tom Love were loudest in their threats against his life. I stopped at entrance of stairs, and told them I would shoot the first making the attempt. Had been compelled to release Love in the meantime. The party then dispersed.

"About one o'clock I arrested Jim Martin, who was still armed; took him before Judge Kelly, who fined him. Started him to York & Co.'s with Assistant Fosset to get money. He passed down on street, where Love, Talbot, Munson and Eddleman took the prisoner away from Fossett. Talbot started to run south, turned around and fired two shots at me. I followed down sidewalk on east side, passed through alley way south of Pulaski's store, Mike Meagher with me. Stopped in alley back of store. Jim Talbot commenced firing at us from north of Opera House on sidewalk with Winchester rifle. No one was with him. Saw Talbot take aim in the direction we were in. I took hold of

Meagher and warned him to look out. I heard the report of the gun, and Meagher said, 'I am hit, and hit hard.' Took hold of him and helped him to a box. Then left him and went with Hubbell to laundry back of Hubbell's, and began firing at Talbot, Bob Bigtree and three others who were on horses returning fire at citizens. Talbot took a six-shooter from Meagher in the morning in Meagher's saloon."

Ed. F. Rathbun said: "I was with Meagher and Wilson at the rear of Pulaski's store. We were firing at Bob Bigtree near the Chinese laundry, they returning our fire. I looked north toward the M. & D. Bank building. Saw Talbot standing with a Winchester rifle aimed at Meagher or myself. Saw the smoke issue from the gun, heard the report and saw Meagher begin to sink down. Said, 'Good God, Mike, are you hit?' He said, 'Yes; tell my wife I have got it at last.' Mike was standing with his six-shooter in his right hand and rifle under left arm, aiming at Talbot. I assisted him to the south side of Pulaski's store, from where he was removed into the barber shop."

W. D. Fossett: "I was crossing Main St. with Jim Martin in my custody, when Talbot and gang came up to us. Talbot said that Martin need not pay his fine if he did not want to. Wilson saw that two of the party were armed, and ordered them to give up their arms. They refused and scattered. Talbot ran down the street, turned and fired two shots at Wilson, ran between the building east, yelling to the boys to get their Winchesters. He ran to his residence, got his gun, came up 5th street to the rear of Opera House, and began firing at me. I was then at rear of Hockaday's store. Meagher and Rathbun were near me. Doug Hill and Bigtree were firing at me from the east, and Talbot from the north. After the heavy firing ceased up town, I saw Munson and Bigtree come from Talbot's house, armed with Winchesters."

George S. Brown says: "I was standing on the street about eight o'clock in the morning. Saw Wilson arrest Tom Love. Mike Meagher came to his assistance. Talbot's gang and Comanche Bill rushed in and began to threaten Meagher. They went up street and a short distance. Meagher stepped up the Opera House stairs. Was in the rear of my shop when the fight was going on in the afternoon. Saw Talbot shoot at me from rear of Opera House. Ball struck barrel near me. I returned into my shop."

W. H. Reily says: "I was in the street. Saw Wilson arrest a man for shooting off his revolver. Meagher came to Wilson's assistance. Before they got away with prisoner an armed party of men came down street and took prisoner from officers. Talbot remarked, 'Meagher is the man we want, and Meagher is the man we will have.' This happened about 8 o'clock in the morning."

Richard Wilson says: "About 2 o'clock p. m. I was at George Kalbflesch's stable. During a lull in the fighting Doug Hill, Bob Bigtree, Bob Munson, Jim Martin, Dick Addleman, Jim Talbot, and two others came to the barn, presented rifles and ordered us to saddle horses. They chose four horses and made us saddle them. They took an extra saddle with them. After they left Dick Addleman presented a revolver and ordered us to saddle a horse for him. We refused. He put up his revolver, asked us to not give him away, and left."

Andy Caylor's evidence verifies that of Richard Wilson's with reference to taking horses.

Nellie Whitson says: "I saw Jim Martin run to Talbot's house. Doug Hill and Bob Munson came soon after. The door seemed to be locked. Talbot

told the boys to break the door in. They did so. Immediately they came out armed with guns. In the morning a lot of men, Jim in the number, came to our house. Jackson and Comanche Bill were with them, and were trying to get them to lay down their arms and be still. They all did so except Jim Talbot, who for a time refused and swore he would kill Mike Meagher before he left town, if it cost him his life. The guns were taken to Talbot's house. They then left, except Tom Love and Comanche Bill, who went to sleep. About 1 p. m. Talbot, Hill and Munson came back, woke Love and Bill up. Took Love up town with them. Bill would not go with them. When Doug Hill quit firing at Bill Fossett, he directed his fire at two men in the rear of Pulaski's store. After his last shot I saw this man stagger and fall. I saw Rathbun pick him up."

Edward Heiflinger said that he saw Comanche Bill take a pistol away from Love, who was trying to shoot Meagher in his saloon early in the morning.

William Mankin (Comanche Bill) says: "On Saturday morning, about sunrise, I, with Challes, Dave and George Speers, Jim Talbot and five others, were in Robison's saloon, talking and drinking, when John Wilson came in and asked the boys to keep quiet. He asked me to keep them quiet. I wanted them to go with me to breakfast at the Clifton House. Munson objected. Finally got them to go. Got the guns away from the boys, except Jim Talbot. I also got two revolvers from the party. The party were seated at the table. Jim Talbot would not come in. Jim said: 'Boys, they have arrested one of the boys; let's take him away from them.' They started out of the hotel with their guns. I went with them up the street to the Opera House stairs, where two of the boys had their guns down on Meagher. I took them away from them or got them away. I got them to give up their guns. Talbot insisted on having the guns taken to his house, which was done. Tom Love laid down on my bed after the others left. I went to sleep, and woke up when I heard the firing. Before I went to sleep, I went up town to see Wilson, he asking me to do so. Went to Meagher's saloon, where I was sworn in as special police. Did not fire a shot all day, as I had no arms of any kind."

The Coroner's jury returned a verdict to the effect that Mike Meagher came to his death from the effect of a gun shot wound from a gun in the hands of Jim Talbot, and that Bob Bigtree, Jim Martin, Tom Love, Dick Eddleman, Bob Munson and Doug Hill were accessories.

Warrants were issued for the arrest of the above named men. Tom Love and Dick Eddleman were arrested Tuesday and sent up to Wellington. The others escaped into the I. T.

Up to a late hour last night no news had been received from the outlaws below, nor from the Sheriff Thralls party. The party that started out Tuesday evening returned Wednesday morning, six men being too small a party to try a racket with the five outlaws.

Mayor Burrus offers a reward of \$500, Sheriff Thralls \$200, W. E. Campbell \$200 and J. M. Steele, of Wichita, \$200 for the outlaws, dead or alive.

Mike's body was taken to Wichita for burial. Two days later, December 22, 1881, the Wichita *Eagle* printed a glowing tribute to the former marshal:

A BRAVE MAN GONE.

When the history of the daring spirits of the Kansas border are written up, there will be found few brighter than he whose mortal remains were consigned to the grave in this city yesterday. With nothing of the dare-devil or reckless bravado in his composition, nevertheless Mike Meagher did not know the meaning of personal fear. As marshal of this city in the day when one-half of our residents were of the worst desperadoes between the Missouri and the Rio Grande, large numbers of whom boasted the blood of fellow beings, reckless, red-handed manslayers, whose only notion of heroism was embodied in the expression that "he had killed his man," Mike Meagher, by his consummate coolness and wonderful bravery, preserved the lives and property of our people. Many a time and oft has he faced death upon these streets with a bravery, fortitude and composure beyond the power of words to describe. He has fallen at last, fallen only at the hands of an assassin—at the hands of one who has threatened his life for years, but who would never have accomplished his awful work in an open field and equal chances. The brave spirit before whom murderers have quailed and mobs slunk away, was freed only by deadly stealth. Kind of heart, gentle as a child, generous and open in all things, always helpful and never overbearing, his life was a heroic ideal. His remains were brought to this city by Captain J. M. Steele, his brother-in-law, attended by his sorrowing wife and relations, and were buried on Tuesday, being followed to the grave by a very large concourse of people, most of whom were his fast friends in life, and who regret and mourn his untimely taking off. "After life's fitful fever he sleeps well."

Not often does one hear two sides of such rows as that which resulted in the death of Mike Meagher, especially when the "other side" has made a successful escape. The Caldwell fracas was an exception, however, for on January 12, 1882, the killers wrote an indignant letter to the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* explaining things as they saw it. The letter was copied in the *Caldwell Commercial*, January 26, 1882:

THE CALDWELL COW BOYS

PUT IN A DEFENCE FOR THEIR RECENT FIGHT DOWN THERE.

TO THE KANSAS CITY SUNDAY TIMES.

IN CAMP, January 12.—We have noticed through the columns of your paper the account of the so called cut-throats. You are aware of the fact that every story has two sides, so we wish to inform the readers of the *Times* that we have been very basely misrepresented. In the first place we were not drunk at the time of the fight. In the next place we never rode into the city of Caldwell. We had been in town about one month and had always abided by its laws, and as far as helping ourselves to anything it is false. We never molested any thing that was not our own. As for Meagher when he was killed we were not mounted. He had two six shooters in his hands at the time he was shot; and more he went to Hubbell's store and borrowed the pistols. It seems to be the general opinion that Meagher was a leading man in Caldwell. Do you know his business? He was nothing more than a saloon keeper and ran a keno table. Just a few days before the row he was arrested and had to give bond for selling whisky in Caldwell. It has been published that the row

grew out of the killing of George Flat, this is also false. It never entered our minds.

The very reason the row came up was that the honorable Marshal of Caldwell, John Wilson, was on a protracted drunk and stationed a posse of men in the Exchange saloon and told them to shoot every man that moved—that is, cowboys—then arming himself with two pistols, and then throwing them down on every one of the cow boys, telling them to throw up our hands, which we refused to do. He then withdrew his weapons and proceeded to organize a mob to take or kill us. We went and got our guns and marched to the front and engaged in a fight, which lasted about an hour. We then went and got our horses and started to leave town and then we were fired on from every and all concealed place imaginable. The second skirmish lasted about thirty minutes and then we were forced to ride. We were pursued by about 100 armed men. They at length got us rounded up in a washout and there we stayed until night; then we got together and left. After the mob had dispersed Wilson turned to shoot one of the boys in the back, and this is why the row came up. George Spears was shot by the town mob. He had no hand in the fight whatever. He was a friend to the cow boys and that was the cause of his death. He was just as honorable a citizen as Caldwell had. The Assistant Marshal acknowledged that Wilson was drunk, and that if he (Wilson) had let things alone every thing would have been all right and there would have been no row.

We did take the freighters' horses and told them that we would return their horses in six or eight days, and on the seventh day we took them back. They told us that if they were situated in the same position that they would do the same thing and did not blame us. Caldwell citizens seem to think that Talbot was one of Billy the Kid's gang. This is a bare falsehood, he has never seen the Kid and has never had any acquaintance with him whatever. We notice that it was stated we had a fight at a ranch on Wagon creek; this is a mistake; we never was at Wagon creek and took saddles and horses. We never took any horses but the freighters. We are willing to go and stand our trial if we thought we could get justice, but this we know we cannot get. This is the true facts of the row.

[Signed] JIM TALBOT,
DUG HILL,
BOB MUNSON,
JIM MARTIN,
BOB BIGTREE.

On January 24, 1882, Tom Love, one of the two who were captured shortly after the Meagher murder, was acquitted at his preliminary examination in Wellington.²⁸ Dick Eddleman, the other prisoner, escaped from the Sumner county jail three days later. The Caldwell Post, February 2, 1882, reported his flight and recapture:

JAIL DELIVERY.

Dick Eddleman, who has been confined in the county jail in Wellington for some time for participation in the Talbot riot, succeeded in walking out Saturday evening while the guards were feeding the prisoners. The cage door was open and Eddleman climbed upon the cell and was locked out when the cage

was shut. Deputy Sheriff Thralls missed his man at bed time, and, supposing he had skipped for Caldwell, procured a team and drove to this city and notified his brother, Sheriff Thralls. They together drove north on the road towards Wellington. When out about three miles they met Eddleman on horseback, and commanded him to halt; he heeded not the command, but skipped out at a lively pace.

The Sheriff's party fired upon the escaped prisoner, and suppose they wounded the horse, as, after he had gone a short distance the horse was unable to go faster than a walk. The prisoner wandered around the north part of town for a short time, then went around to the north-east part of town where he unsaddled his horse and turned him loose, then struck off in a northwesterly direction. The Sheriff's party soon rounded him up over by the Avery place, brought him into the city and sent him up to Wellington in charge of Deputy Sheriff Thralls. Eddleman will probably get about seven years for breaking jail and stealing a horse. This will be rather rough on the boy if he could have escaped the charge of participating in the Talbot riot. It was rather convenient this time for Sheriff Thralls that he was at his branch office in this city.

Doug Hill was arrested in 1887 and placed on trial for murder. He pleaded guilty to manslaughter in the fourth degree, was convicted, and given six months in the county jail. Jim Talbot, the supposed leader of the bunch, did not stand trial for the crime until 1895. His first trial ended in a deadlocked jury and in the second he was acquitted. He returned to his home in Ukiah, Calif., where in the late summer of 1896 he was killed by an unknown assassin. It was rumored that Talbot, whose real name was James D. Sherman, was killed by his wife's lover.²⁹

The fate of the remainder of the gang remains unknown.

1. "Miscellaneous Papers," Records of the City of Wichita. 2. *Ibid.* 3. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal A, pp. 44, 46, 55.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 76; "Miscellaneous Papers," Records of the City of Wichita. 5. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal A, pp. 78, 81.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90. 7. "Miscellaneous Papers," Records of the City of Wichita. 8. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal A, p. 128.
9. See, also, *ibid.*, p. 159. 10. *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 187. 11. "Miscellaneous Papers," Records of the City of Wichita. 12. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal A, pp. 316, 320; many routine official records bearing the name of Mike Meagher have not been included in this sketch since their presence would contribute little in proportion to the space they would require. 13. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal A, p. 371; *Wichita Eagle*, April 23, 1874.
14. *Ibid.*, June 25, 1874. 15. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Journal B, p. 42.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 44; *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, April 28, 1875. 17. See, also, *ibid.*, May 26, 1875. 18. See, also, "United States Census," 1880, Caldwell, Sumner county, Kansas, p. 18.
19. November 10, 1875. 20. "Proceedings of the Governing Body," Records of the City of Wichita, Journal B, p. 103. 21. *Caldwell Post*, April 8, 1880. 22. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1880. 23. See, also, *ibid.*, July 1, 1880. 24. "Police Court Docket," Records of the City of Caldwell. 25. *Caldwell Commercial*, July 21, 1881. 26. *Ibid.*, August 4, 1881; *Caldwell Post*, August 4, 1881. 27. *Caldwell Commercial*, November 3, 1881. 28. *Caldwell Post*, January 26, 1882. 29. *Caldwell News*, April 18, 25, September 19, 1895, September 3, 1896; *Caldwell Messenger*, April 30, 1956.

MORCO, JOHN

(-1873)

In the summer of 1873 there were five "Jacks" manning the Ellsworth police force, a situation that was not to endure for long. John H. (or W.) "Brocky Jack" Norton, one of Wild Bill Hickok's policemen at Abilene in November, 1871, was city marshal. John "Happy Jack" Morco, John S. "High Low Jack" Branham, Long Jack, and Short Jack were policemen.¹ When their terms began has not been determined.

On July 15 Brocky Jack and Happy Jack rode over to Fort Harker, four miles east, and arrested a thief. The *Ellsworth Reporter*, July 17, 1873, stated:

POLICE ITEMS.—John Smith and another man whose name we did not get, were arrested about sunrise Tuesday morning, for breaking into Davis' store. Smith had a preliminary trial yesterday, and will have some more today. It is reported that he has been engaged in extensive steals in the Territories. Smith was captured by "Brocky Jack" and "Happy Jack," at Fort Harker, after a careful, determined chase and search on horseback. It is supposed that Smith's companion escaped, and that the second man arrested will be discharged.

Ellsworth county Sheriff Chauncey B. Whitney was murdered by Billy Thompson on the streets of Ellsworth on August 15, 1873. Billy's brother, Ben, would not surrender his weapons until Happy Jack had been disarmed since the Thompson brothers seemed to have a bitter grudge against Morco. The full story of the Whitney killing will be presented in the section on C. B. Whitney.

Because of their apparent inefficiency during the Whitney-Thompson episode, the entire police force of Ellsworth was discharged by the mayor. Happy Jack, who declined to stop wearing his weapons in accordance with city ordinance, traveled to Salina but on his arrival there was arrested on order from Ellsworth. The *Saline County Journal*, September 4, 1873, reported the facts:

"Happy Jack," ex-policeman of Ellsworth, whom the wayward Texans especially dread, was arrested upon a dispatch from Ellsworth, last Thursday evening [August 28], on the eastern bound train, after it had stopped at our depot. We are informed that there is a division of feeling among the Ellsworth people as to how their present troubles with lawless Texans should be managed—one party advocating enforcement of the laws on every occasion, the other clamoring for great leniency towards Texas law-breakers, whose trade they desire to retain. The latter party has lately obtained the ascendancy and through their influence Jack was removed from office, as the Texans had threatened to withdraw their herds from Ellsworth provided it was not done. Upon his discharge Jack was asked to give up his arms—to comply with a city

ordinance which would not permit him to carry weapons. This he refused to do, as desperadoes were awaiting the first favorable opportunity to take his life, and he was only safe when armed. To avoid what he considered was personal danger he jumped on to the train and came to Salina, when he was arrested as above stated. He was confined in jail for a day or so and then was released. Several parties from Ellsworth came by carriage and demanded that he should be turned over to them unarmed, which our officers refused to do, suspecting some intended foul play. Since Jack has been domesticated in Salina he has been the center of attraction.

Happy Jack returned to Ellsworth on September 3 and next evening was killed by Policeman Charles Brown. His death was recorded in the *Ellsworth Reporter*, September 11, 1873:

"HAPPY JACK" KILLED.

Last Thursday evening during the time between early twilight and dark, we heard the report of a revolver, and a second report the next instant told us that it might "mean something."—These shots were for "Happy Jack," and before the sound of them had died way upon the evening air, "Happy Jack" was not of this world. He was shot through the heart and he died without a struggle, a word or an audible groan. The circumstances causing his death are somewhat difficult to get at, but as nearly as we can ascertain, are as follows:

It will be remembered that Happy Jack was discharged with the balance of the police force about three weeks ago. Jack remained here for several days thereafter and then went to Salina. On arriving there he was arrested on an order from the authorities here, for carrying off a pair of pistols. He was kept in prison a day, and no one appearing against him, was released.—These pistols that he was accused of taking, belonged to John Good, and are said to have cost \$100. At the request of Mayor Miller, policeman Brown went to Salina to give in his testimony, as he had some knowledge of the matter.—Brown wanted a warrant, but was told that none was needed. Accordingly he went to Salina. But no trial was had; Good, for some reason, hurried back to Ellsworth.

At Salina, Brown advised Jack not to come to Ellsworth, telling him that he would send him anything he wanted, and he did express his things to Salina after reaching home.—But Happy Jack was determined to come, against the advise of his friends at Salina, and the entire population seemed to be his friends; at Brookville where he stopped and purchased ammunition he was also told to keep away, but he said "he was good for all his enemies up there." He arrived here during the night on the freight train. During the following day, Thursday, he was on the street armed with his revolvers, but making no trouble.—He refused to give up his arms, however, with an oath, and threatened to "make way" with some one before morning. Repeatedly he was urged to obey the ordinance but he was obstinate and determined to die rather than surrender his revolver. As night was coming on the police for the last time approached him and told him he must give up his revolvers. Still persisting he was shot, the first ball passing thro' his heart; as he was falling a second shot went through his head. He fell to the ground in front of the sidewalk and died without a struggle.

Thus ended a career that is sure to come to all who live such lives as he claims to have led. Happy Jack came here last spring from California. He

claimed to have fought the Modocs, to have killed twelve men in Portland, Oregon, in self defence. His wife, who came here with a theatrical troupe from Wichita recently, says that it was four men he killed—that he used to get drunk and abuse her—that one time she called for help while they were living in Portland and that Jack shot four good citizens who came to her relief. He was put in jail but managed to escape. It was at this time that he had his arm broken. Jack and his wife had not met for several years, and she was three days in town before he recognized her.

We write the above with the desire to do full justice to all. It is possible that fuller particulars may be gained in time. Policeman Brown has always had our respect, and he denies most emphatically that he was "hired or asked to kill Happy Jack," claims that he was obliged to do it; that to have arrested him would have cost his own life. We are sorry for the unfortunate event. Jack was a man, and not without good qualities. But he invited his fate; it came quickly and he is at rest.

Jack's friends back in Salina thought he had been purposely murdered. The *Saline County Journal*, September 11, 1873, said:

"Happy Jack" has met the fate of many like him—"died with his boots on." We gave an account of his arrest and release at this place, last week. Last Thursday he returned to Ellsworth. While there, he is reported to have acted properly and shown no disposition to disobey the laws. But he would not give up his arms, though the city ordinance was strict in that respect. He considered that his life hung by a brittle cord when deprived of his weapons, (as the Texans were undoubtedly ready to take advantage of his being unarmed) and he acted as nine out of ten would have done under like circumstances. The demand by policeman Brown to give them up was not acceded to, and Jack was brutally murdered, as we think, by this cowardly officer. One bullet went through his brain and another through his heart. Justice would demand that Brown should be tried for murder. In the unsettled state in which Ellsworth is now in, it is not probable that the murderer will be brought to trial. Jack may have been too reckless in re-visiting Ellsworth, but under no circumstances can a murder of this kind be justified.

A coroner's jury acquitted Policeman Brown. See the section on J. Charles Brown.

1. *Ellsworth Reporter*, July 3, 1873.

(To Be Continued in the Spring, 1962, Issue.)

Bypaths of Kansas History

SURELY, NOT OUR BUFFALO BILL!

From the *Marion County Record*, Marion, May 3, 1873.

A THRILLING EPISODE IN THE LIFE OF BUFFALO BILL.—Buffalo Bill was at Hartford, Connecticut, the other day, and while visiting Colt's armory, the large number of spectators who had assembled to see the famous scout, desired him to favor them with an exhibition of his skill as a marksman. Bill gave the chew of tobacco in his mouth to a small boy to keep warm, a small piece of white paper was put upon a barn door fifty rods distant. B. William seized a fine new rifle, spit on his hands, and in the manner so often described by Ned Buntline raised the rifle until his nose rested on the stock, fired, and a picket was knocked off from a fence ten feet to the left of the barn. "This rifle barrel is crooked," said Bill; so saying he hit it over a stone to straighten it, then shot again, this time barking a shin of an old pie woman on the right flank. A third trial and he hit the barn fair in the centre, and the shout that arose from the spectators attested their joy at his success. Bill is just as good an actor as he is a marksman, which is very remarkable in these days of corruption and bribery.—(*Danbury News*.)

1873 WAS AN INFLATION YEAR, TOO

From the *Newton Kansan*, May 22, 1873.

WHAT NEXT.—For the benefit of our lady readers, and because we are pained to see that newspaper bustles are going out of date, we will state that inflated rubber bustles are gaining a high reputation and wide spread; also inflated bosoms of the same material we see advertised in our eastern exchanges, and highly recommended by the ladies. A contemporary, in recommending these articles, says that a young lady of that place arose in her sleep and partially dressed herself, raised the window sash and fastened it up, then rolled out and came down on her bustle, and bounded back through the window on her bed again. The bound however awoke her. She did not know that she had been out of bed. She was uninjured. Truly these are days of great inventions.

BUFFALO IN THE FLINT HILLS

From *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, July 27, 1876.

The historian of Butler county says: During the big snow in January, 1861, the buffalo came into the settlements all over the county, and many were killed. Some were killed in Chase and Greenwood. The buffalo would come around the haystacks and feed with the stock. I know a lady in Butler county who killed one while thus feeding.

AN EMBARRASSING SITUATION IN EARLY GREAT BEND

From the *Inland Tribune*, Great Bend, July 20, 1878.

Our quiet city was thrown into a fever of excitement last week by the arrival of a medical female professor in male habiliments. It was difficult to distinguish her sex from her dress, yet it was of that mongrel mixture of the male and female order of paraphernalia that would instantly attract attention.

She put up at the Occidental Hotel, and called on the proprietor for a room. The rooms being all occupied, the landlord told her—thinking of course she was a man—that he could only accommodate her with a bed in a room with two other gentlemen. The doctor modestly informed Mr. Birdsall that she was of the feminine order and detested men. The confused landlord made many apologies, and escorted her to the ladies' room.

The Doctor, it seems, was traveling over this country for her health, on horse-back. She was in Pratt County the day before reaching here, and it so happened that Mr. Pomeroy of Sterling and Mr. Bickerdyke of this city were visiting that county at the time. The Doctor, meeting Mr. Pomeroy, and supposing him to be alone, proposed to ride up with him in his buggy and lead her pony as it was foot-sore. On being informed that he had a gentleman with him, this arrangement was abandoned. But, Mr. Pomeroy, on meeting Mr. Bickerdyke told him that he had made arrangements with a lady who was coming to Great Bend, to ride with him, Bickerdyke, and he, Pomeroy, would ride the pony and take his time canvassing the county.

It is said that James will never look more like a corpse than he did at that moment. After recovering his speech he exclaimed "*I wont!* I will walk bare-footed three days over the sand hills before I will jeopardize my reputation in such a manner! Ride with a woman, in a buggy, by ourselves, all day! Why Mr. Pomeroy, I'm astonished at such a monstrous proposition!"

We have always had the utmost faith in James' integrity, and this only strengthens our good opinion. James ought to have been named Joseph, though.

A YOUNG MAN GOING PLACES

From *The Times*, Clay Center, August 9, 1883.

Last Saturday evening was pleasant, and Mrs. James Thompson had her horse harnessed for a buggy ride; sat down to tea, and after partaking of some came out to take a pleasant ride, but lo and behold the horse and buggy were no where to be seen. Little Jimmie, her son, about six years old, had his mind made up also for a ride—and while his mother was at tea jumped into the buggy, put whip to the horse and started in the direction of the fair ground. He drove to the race track—and went three times round the track—then drove over to the creamery, took a survey of the premises, and started home on a keen run. His father got word of his whereabouts, started for the fair ground, and met his sporting son on the return trip. He pulled on the lines and invited the old man to get in and he would take him home. This is young America with a vengeance.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Wallace E. Emmons published a history of the U. S. dragoons in the area of present Kansas, 1833-1850's, in his *Enterprise-Chronicle*, Burlingame, February 23, 1961. The article was printed in the *Wichita Eagle Magazine*, February 26.

Biographical sketches of Justice William Agnew Johnston and Judge Rilando Forrester Thompson were published in the *Minneapolis Messenger*, March 2, 1961, having been presented at a meeting of the Ottawa County Historical Society in Minneapolis, February 18, 1961. Johnston and Thompson became law partners in Minneapolis in 1872. Later Johnston became chief justice of the Kansas supreme court and Thompson served as district judge in his home district.

In its issue of March 6, 1961, the *Wilson County Citizen*, Fredonia, announced the formal opening of the new Wilson county courthouse and printed a history of the county's older courthouses.

Ninety-one years of continuous operation is the record of the Mitchell County Farmers Union Co-op Feed Mill at Beloit. A two-column history of the mill was published in the *Beloit Gazette*, March 16, 1961.

The *Marysville Advocate*, March 30, 1961, published a history of the Hollenberg Pony Express station in Washington county, by Gordon S. Hohn.

A discussion of John Brown's Harper's Ferry raid by Dr. Avery Craven appeared in an article entitled "Lee's Dilemma," in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Richmond, April, 1961.

In his presidential address to the Kansas Press Association's annual convention, in Wichita, March 9, 1961, George Clasen reviewed the history of newspaper publishing in Kansas. This talk was printed in the April, 1961, issue of *The Kansas Publisher*, Topeka.

An article on Luray's early history, by Capt. John Fritts, was reprinted from a 1902 issue of the *Luray Herald* in the *Natoma-Luray Independent*, April 6, 1961.

Will Vernon gave a review of Pawnee county history at the April 11, 1961, meeting of the Larned Rotary club. The highlights of his talk appeared in the *Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, April 12.

Council Grove's three historic trees, the Council oak, Post Office oak, and Custer's elm, were the subjects of a historical article in the Council Grove *Republican*, April 19, 1961.

"Kansas, My Kansas," a historical and descriptive article by John Bird, a native Kansan, was published in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia, April 29, 1961.

In a section entitled "Going Places With Esquire," *Esquire* magazine for May, 1961, reviewed some of Kansas' history and described what the traveler might find in the state during this centennial year.

"Kansas History and Folksong," by William E. and Mary Koch, comprised the May, 1961, issue of *Heritage of Kansas*, publication of the English department, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia.

"Hatchets and Hoopskirts: Women in Kansas History," is the title of an article by Elizabeth Cochran in the Spring, 1961, issue of *The Midwest Quarterly*, publication of Kansas State College of Pittsburg.

Continuing the list of Kansas newspapers publishing centennial editions, are the following: *Sherman County Herald*, Goodland, June 15, 1961; *Hutchinson News*, June 28; *Hays Daily News* and *Ellis County Farmer*, July 6; *Dodge City Daily Globe*, July 17; *Abilene Reflector-Chronicle*, August 18; and *Florence Bulletin*, August 31.

Historical articles in great number have appeared in Kansas newspapers this centennial year. In addition to those mentioned in above paragraphs, the following were among articles published: a history of the *South Kansas Tribune*, published at Independence from 1871 to 1942, by Wilma Schweitzer, *Independence Reporter*, March 5, 1961; "The Early Days of Kansas," by Elizabeth W. Gibson, *Western Kansas World*, WaKeeney, April 13; "Hunt Finds Grave of Doc Holliday," *Dodge City Daily Globe*, April 21; "Johnson County's Namesake [Rev. Thomas Johnson] Wanted Slavery in Kansas," *The Scout*, Prairie Village, May 4; "Jeff Durfey Saw Herd of Buffalo Drink Solomon River Dry in 1872," *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, May 4; "Famed Slavery Skirmish [Battle of Black Jack, June 2, 1856] Is Recalled," by Mrs. Nora Cleland, *Journal-World*, Lawrence, June 2; "First Hand Report of Events During War Between the States," letters of Robert Mechlin of Arkansas, written during the Civil War period, *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, June 8; "Ravanna Ruins Mark Ghost Town," by Wayne

M. Campbell, Garden City *Telegram*, June 28; history of Kansas and the Axtell community, Axtell *Standard*, July 6; "Counties Claim Historic Names," *News Chronicle*, Scott City, July 13; a history of Lily School, District 52, Woodson county, Yates Center *News*, July 13; "Indians and Climate Opposed First Settlers [in Solomon valley]," by Darrel Miller, Downs *News*, July 20; a history of Castleton, by E. Lawson May, Hutchinson *News*, July 23; "Coronado, Lewis and Clark, and Many Others Are Found in Kansas History," by Larry Cole, *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, August 10; "Western Kansas' Own Gay '90s Gold Rush Faded Fast," by Kittie Dale, Hutchinson *News*, August 13; and "History of N. C. K. Free Fair Goes Back 72 Years," Belleville *Telescope*, August 17.

Kansas Historical Notes

The annual meeting of the Decatur County Historical Society was held in Oberlin, June 1, 1961. Marvin Meyer and Bill Warren were elected to the board of directors. The following officers were elected by the board: Ward Claar, president; Ira Laidig and Ralph Brown, vice-presidents; LaVerne Ploussard, secretary-treasurer; and Jay Paddock, chairman of the board.

A new Fort Wallace museum building on Highway 40 east of Wallace, was dedicated June 3, 1961. The program included a re-enactment of a stage coach run on the Butterfield trail, a parade, and the dedicatory address by Edward M. Beougher.

Paul Gibler, Claflin, was named president of the Barton County Historical Society at the society's annual meeting, June 6, 1961, in Great Bend. Other officers elected were: Leon McKinney, Great Bend, first vice-president; Mrs. Floyd Rich, Hoisington, second vice-president; Louis Ernsting, Ellinwood, third vice-president; Mrs. Ernest Grosshardt, Claflin, secretary; Mrs. Alex Casey, Claflin, treasurer; Mrs. Percy Converse, Pawnee Rock, corresponding secretary; H. Martin Glenn, Ellinwood, publicity director; Mrs. David T. Loy, Great Bend, co-ordinator; and Mrs. William Wells, Great Bend, historian. Ray S. Schulz, Great Bend, was the retiring president.

L. A. Powell was re-elected president of the Marion County Historical Society at a meeting of the society's board of directors in Marion, June 9, 1961. Also re-elected were Al Riffel, vice-president, and Mrs. O. J. Shields, secretary-treasurer.

On June 11, 1961, the Safari museum, Chanute, was opened to the public. A memorial to the work of Osa and Martin Johnson, explorers, authors, and photographers, the museum was made possible by contributions of a building, funds, and labor.

The Peabody Historical Society was organized June 12, 1961. Ross Baker was elected president; Mrs. S. H. Bennett, vice-president; and M. W. Mason, secretary-treasurer. Named to the board of directors in addition to the three officers were: Dr. D. M. Greene, Ernest Holler, Hartman Baker, Mrs. N. H. Poe, Mrs. Ted Craig, and Grace Roberts.

Clarence Winger was chosen president of the Stanton County Historical Society at a meeting of the directors June 17, 1961. Lewis Gum was elected vice-president, and Bernice Trostle secretary. Roger Jones was the retiring president.

Dedication ceremonies were held July 4, 1961, for the El Quartejejo Kiva Indian Museum near Scott City. A kiva was "a circular, semi-underground structure for the performance of rites," used by the Pueblo Indians. Congressman Robert Dole gave the dedicatory address. The museum is a project of the Scott County Historical Society.

Officers elected by the Barber County Historical Society at a meeting in Medicine Lodge, July 15, 1961, were: Alice MacGregor, president; D. C. Chads, first vice-president; Alice Rankin, second vice-president; R. T. Ishmael, third vice-president; I. N. Hewitt, co-ordinator; Mabel McGuire, secretary; H. E. Nixon, treasurer; Jack Fisher, publicity; and Marjorie Stranathan, historian. Allan Hibbard was the retiring president.

Jack Porter was named president of the Stevens County Gas and Historical Museum at an organizational meeting in Hugoton, July 17, 1961. Other officers chosen included: Bob Schroeder, vice-president; Kate Morgan, secretary; and Harding Nix, treasurer. The museum was opened May 16, 1961.

A circus museum in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Ned Aitchison, Columbus, was dedicated August 3, 1961. The museum area has been designated the Merle Evans rooms in honor of the Ringling Brothers, Barnum, and Bailey Circus bandmaster, who is a native of Columbus.

A 30-page mimeographed pamphlet containing local and family history of the Munden area was recently issued under the title *Munden Centennial*.

In its 1961 edition of the *Great Bend City Directory*, the R. L. Polk Co., Kansas City, Mo., planned a pictorial history of the city. A reprint of this history was made available for distribution during Great Bend's centennial celebration in May, 1961.

The History of Sheridan County, a ten-page pamphlet by Mrs. Pearl Toothaker, was published in June, 1961.

In connection with Meade county's celebration of its 75th year and the Kansas centennial, June 7-10, 1961, a 40-page booklet of articles on the history of the county was published.

In commemoration of Lane county's 75th anniversary the Dighton *Herald* recently published a 64-page booklet devoted to the history of the county.

A 96-page historical booklet, sponsored by the Leavenworth branch of the American Association of University Women, was published as a part of Leavenworth's observance of the Kansas centennial.

Historical sketches of points along the Santa Fe trail are included in a booklet consisting of 46 pages and a fold-out map, entitled *Take a Santa Fe Trail Trip*, published recently under the supervision of Mrs. Grace Collier of Great Bend.

1861—The Doctor—1961 is the title of a newly-published 32-page pictorial history of medicine in Kansas planned and edited by two 1961 graduates of the University of Kansas School of Medicine, Dr. John B. Runnels and Dr. George F. Sheldon. Included are pictures and biographical sketches of many physicians prominent in Kansas history.

History of Milford, Kansas, 1855-1961 is a 76-page pamphlet printed by the Republic Printing Co., Junction City, early in 1961.

The American Association for State and Local History, 816 State Street, Madison 6, Wis., recently published a *Directory of Historical Societies and Agencies in the United States and Canada, 1961*. The information in the 111-page volume was compiled by Clement M. Silvestro and Sally Ann Davis.

Reflections of Franklin County and Chautauqua Days, a 56-page brochure, was published by the Franklin County Chautauqua Day celebration committee and sponsored by the Ottawa Chamber of Commerce as a part of the Chautauqua days celebration, April 29-May 6, 1961. The booklet features historical sketches of Franklin county towns.

The Pony Express Rides On, a 163-page history compiled by the late Mabel Loving, was published in 1961 by the Robidoux Printing Co., St. Joseph, Mo.

Early Midwest Aviation History, an 85-page volume by Earl C. Reed, was published at Kansas City, Mo., in 1960. The book includes pictures of many of the aircraft that made aviation history.

Charles Rath, Indian trader, merchant, buffalo hunter, organizer of towns and trading posts, and trail maker, was the subject of a

204-page biography by Ida Ellen Rath, entitled *The Rath Trail*, published by McCormick-Armstrong Co., Wichita, in February, 1961.

Eugene D. Decker is the author of *A Selected, Annotated Bibliography of Sources in the Kansas State Historical Society Pertaining to Kansas in the Civil War*, published as the June, 1961, number of *The Emporia State Research Studies*, Emporia. Mr. Decker is a member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

David Rice Atchison of Missouri—Border Politician, by William E. Parrish, is a 271-page biography published in the current year by the University of Missouri Press, Columbia. The Missouri soldier, senator, and judge was a Proslavery leader in the struggle over slavery in the Kansas territorial period.

Frontier Book Co., Ruidoso, N. M., published a 191-page volume by Ed Bartholomew entitled *Western Hard-Cases or Gunfighters Named Smith* in 1960. Biographical sketches of more than 80 Western characters by the name of Smith comprise the book.

A 383-page book by Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother*, an account of the intervention of the United States in the Philippine Islands during the Spanish-American War and the Philippine insurrection, was recently published by Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N. Y. Of special interest to Kansans is Wolff's story of the capture of the Filipino leader, Aguinaldo, by Gen. Fred Funston, which greatly hastened the termination of the conflict.

Stanley W. Zamonski and Teddy Keller are authors of a 281-page work entitled *The Fifty-niners: A Denver Diary*, published in 1961 by Alan Swallow, Denver. The book is a detailed account of Auraria and Denver City history, 1858 to late 1861.

A new 200-page biographical work by F. Stanley is *Dave Rudabaugh—Border Ruffian*, printed by the World Press, Inc., Denver.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, recently published a 301-page volume of history and folklore of the Plains from the writings of George Bird Grinnell, entitled *Pawnee, Blackfoot and Cheyenne*. The material was selected by Dee Brown who is also author of the introduction.

Rebellion in Missouri: 1861, the story of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon and his army of the West, by Hans Christian Adamson, is a new 305-page work published by the Chilton Co., Philadelphia and New York.

Cowtown—Abilene, the Story of Abilene, Kansas, 1867-1875, by Stewart P. Verckler, is a 76-page volume published in 1961 by the Carlton Press, New York.

"Selected works of quality and vitality by Kansas writers" have been included in a 173-page volume called *Kansas Renaissance*, edited by Warren Kliever and Stanley J. Solomon, with an introduction by Allen Crafton, and published by Coronado Publications, Lindsborg, in 1961.

A 450-page biography of the late Sen. William E. Borah, by Marian C. McKenna, entitled *Borah*, was recently published by the University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor. Borah lived in Kansas, 1885-1890. He attended the University of Kansas and practiced law at Lyons.

Abilene and some of its famous sons and daughters are the subjects of a new 203-page book by Henry B. Jameson entitled *Heroes by the Dozen*, printed by Shadinger-Wilson Printers, Inc., Abilene, and Myers, Inc., Topeka.

Frisco Folks, stories and pictures of the steam days of the St. Louis and San Francisco railway, by William E. Bain, was recently published in a 272-page volume by Sage Books, Denver.

John Kagi and John Brown is a 137-page volume by John W. Wayland, published by Shenandoah Publishing House, Inc., Strasburg, Va., in 1961. It is a biography of Kagi who was sometimes called John Brown's secretary of war.

Errata, Volume XXVII

Page 55, lines 19 and 20, Charles Sanford Shelton should be Charles Sanford Skilton.

Page 56, line 23, Birger Sandzen joined the faculty of Bethany College in 1894 instead of 1893.

Page 156, line 3, *Arkansas Daily Traveler* should be *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*.

Page 404, line 3 from bottom, "Messrs. [C. E.] Beeson . . ." should be "Messrs. [C. M.] Beeson. . . ."

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